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THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY

THE AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY

PART ONE

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DANIEL J. LEVINSON
R. NEVITT SANFORD

in collaboration with

BETTY ARON, MARIA HERTZ LEVINSON
AND WILLIAM MORROW.

Studies in Prejudice
EDITED BY MAX HORKHEIMER
AND SAMUEL H. FLOWERMAN

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FOREWORD TO STUDIES IN PREJUDICE

At this moment in world history anti-Semitism is not manifesting itself with the full and violent destructiveness of which we know it to be capable. Even a social disease has its periods of quiescence during which the social scientists, like the biologist or the physician, can study it in the search for more effective ways to prevent or reduce the virulence of the next outbreak.

Today the world scarcely remembers the mechanized persecution and extermination of millions of human beings only a short span of years away in what was once regarded as the citadel of Western civilization. Yet the conscience of many men was aroused. How could it be, they asked each other, that in a culture of law, order, and reason, there should have survived the irrational remnants of ancient racial and religious hatreds? How could they explain the willingness of great masses of people to tolerate the mass extermination of their fellow citizens? What tissues in the life of our modern society remain cancerous, and despite our assumed enlightenment show the incongruous atavism of ancient peoples? And what within the individual organism responds to certain stimuli in our culture with attitudes and acts of destructive aggression?

But an aroused conscience is not enough if it does not stimulate a systematic search for an answer. Mankind has paid too dearly for its naive faith in the automatic effect of the mere passage of time; incantations have really never dispelled storms, disaster, pestilence, disease or other evils; nor does he who torments another cease his torture out of sheer boredom with his victim.

Prejudice is one of the problems of our times for which everyone has a theory but no one an answer. Every man, in a sense, believes that he is his own social scientist, for social science is the stuff of everyday living. The progress of science can perhaps be charted by the advances that scientists have made over commonsense notions of phenomena. In an effort to advance beyond mere commonsense approaches to problems of intergroup conflict, the American Jewish Committee in May, 1944, invited a group of American scholars of various backgrounds and disciplines to a two-day conference on religious and racial prejudice. At this meeting, a research program was outlined which would enlist scientific method in the cause of seeking solutions to this crucial problem. Two levels of research were recommended. One was more limited in scope and geared to the recurring problems faced by educational agencies; e.g., the study of public reaction to selected current

events, and the evaluation of various techniques and methods such as those involved in mass media of communication as they impinge upon intergroup relationships. The other level suggested was one of basic research, basic in that it should result eventually in additions to organized knowledge in this field. The first level frequently consists of a large number of small studies, limited in scope and focused sharply on a given issue. In practice, we have found that the "goodness" of our smaller studies was proportional to our ingenuity in so devising them that they, too, could contribute basically to knowledge. The chief difference between the two levels of research—sometimes loosely called "short-range" and "long-range" research—seems largely to be due to the immediacy of implementation of findings as program-related or unrelated, rather than to differences in methodology, skills and techniques. On both levels, it is necessary to pursue an interdisciplinary approach to research problems.

To further research on both levels, the American Jewish Committee established a Department of Scientific Research, headed in turn by each of us. The department saw its responsibility not only in itself initiating fundamental studies in the phenomenon of prejudice, but also in helping to stimulate new studies.

The present series of volumes represents the first fruits of this effort. In a sense, the initial five volumes constitute one unit, an integrated whole, each part of which illuminates one or another facet of the phenomenon we call prejudice. Three of the books deal with those elements in the personality of modern man that predispose him to reactions of hostility to racial and religious groups. They attempt answers to the question: What is there in the psychology of the individual that renders him "prejudiced" or "unprejudiced," that makes him more or less likely to respond favorably to the agitation of a Goebbels or a Gerald K. Smith? The volume on *The Authoritarian Personality* by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, based upon a combination of research techniques, suggests one answer. It demonstrates that there is a close correlation between a number of deep-rooted personality traits, and overt prejudice. The study has also succeeded in producing an instrument for measuring these traits among various strata of the population.

Within a more limited range of inquiry, the same question was asked with respect to two specific groups. The study on *Dynamics of Prejudice* by Bettelheim and Janowitz, considers the connection between personality traits and prejudice among war veterans. Here the investigators were able to examine the impact of the war experience, with its complex anxieties and tensions, as an added factor of major significance affecting tens of millions of people. *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder* by Ackerman and Jahoda, is based upon case histories of a number of individuals, from different walks of life, who have received intensive psychotherapy. The special sig-

nificance of this study lies precisely in the analytical source of the material, in the availability of a body of evidence dealing with phenomena beneath the realm of the conscious and the rational, and illuminating the correlation established in more general terms in the basic investigation of the authoritarian personality.

The other important factor in prejudice is of course the social situation itself, i.e., the external stimuli to which the predispositions within the individual have reacted and continue to react. Nazi Germany is the vivid example of the effect of the social situation, and it is to the understanding of the roots of Nazi anti-Semitism and thence to the present task of democratic reorientation in Germany that *Rehearsal for Destruction* by Massing is directed.

In *Prophets of Deceit* by Lowenthal and Guterman the role of the agitator is studied. The agitator's technique of persuasion, the mechanism of mediation that translates inchoate feeling into specific belief and action make up the theme of that volume. As mediator between the world and the individual psyche, the agitator molds already existing prejudices and tendencies into overt doctrines and ultimately into overt action.

It may strike the reader that we have placed undue stress upon the personal and the psychological rather than upon the social aspect of prejudice. This is not due to a personal preference for psychological analysis nor to a failure to see that the cause of irrational hostility is in the last instance to be found in social frustration and injustice. Our aim is not merely to describe prejudice but to explain it in order to help in its eradication. That is the challenge we would meet. Eradication means re-education, scientifically planned on the basis of understanding scientifically arrived at. And education in a strict sense is by its nature personal and psychological. Once we understand, for example, how the war experience may in some cases have strengthened personality traits predisposed to group hatred, the educational remedies may follow logically. Similarly, to expose the psychological tricks in the arsenal of the agitator may help to immunize his prospective victims against them.

Since the completion of these studies the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Committee has moved ahead into areas of research in which the unit of study is the group, the institution, the community rather than the individual. Fortified by a better knowledge of *individual* dynamics, we are now concerned with achieving a better understanding of *group* dynamics. For we recognize that the individual *in vacuo* is but an artifact; even in the present series of studies, although essentially psychological in nature, it has been necessary to explain individual behavior in terms of social antecedents and concomitants. The second stage of our research is thus focused upon problems of group pressures and the sociological determinants of roles in given social situations. We seek answers to such ques-

PREFACE

This is a book about social discrimination. But its purpose is not simply to add a few more empirical findings to an already extensive body of information. The central theme of the work is a relatively new concept—the rise of an "anthropological" species we call the authoritarian type of man. In contrast to the bigot of the older style he seems to combine the ideas and skills which are typical of a highly industrialized society with irrational or anti-rational beliefs. He is at the same time enlightened and superstitious, proud to be an individualist and in constant fear of not being like all the others, jealous of his independence and inclined to submit blindly to power and authority. The character structure which comprises these conflicting trends has already attracted the attention of modern philosophers and political thinkers. This book approaches the problem with the means of socio-psychological research.

The implications and values of the study are practical as well as theoretical. The authors do not believe that there is a short cut to education which will eliminate the long and often circuitous road of painstaking research and theoretical analysis. Nor do they think that such a problem as the position of minorities in modern society, and more specifically the problem of religious and racial hatreds, can be tackled successfully either by the propaganda of tolerance or by apologetic refutation of errors and lies. On the other hand, theoretical activity and practical application are not separated by an unbridgeable gulf. Quite the contrary: the authors are imbued with the conviction that the sincere and systematic scientific elucidation of a phenomenon of such great historical meaning can contribute directly to an amelioration of the cultural atmosphere in which hatred breeds.

This conviction must not be brushed aside as an optimistic illusion. In the history of civilization there have been not a few instances when mass delusions were healed not by focused propaganda but, in the final analysis, because scholars, with their unobtrusive yet insistent work habits, studied what lay at the root of the delusion. Their intellectual contribution, operating within the framework of the development of society as a whole, was decisively effective.

I should like to cite two examples. The superstitious belief in witchcraft was overcome in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries after men had come more and more under the influence of the results of modern science. The impact of Cartesian rationalism was decisive. This school of philosophers

demonstrated—and the natural scientists following them made practical use of their great insight—that the previously accepted belief in the immediate effect of spiritual factors on the realm of the corporal is an illusion. Once this scientifically untenable dogma was eliminated, the foundations of the belief in magic were destroyed.

As a more recent example, we have only to think of the impact of Sigmund Freud's work on modern culture. Its primary importance does not lie in the fact that psychological research and knowledge have been enriched by new findings but in the fact that for some fifty years the intellectual world, and especially the educational, has been made more and more aware of the connection between the suppression of children (both within the home and outside) and society's usually naive ignorance of the psychological dynamics of the life of the child and the adult alike. The permeation of the social consciousness at large with the scientifically acquired experience that the events of early childhood are of prime importance for the happiness and work-potential of the adult has brought about a revolution in the relation between parents and children which would have been deemed impossible a hundred years ago.

The present work, we hope, will find a place in this history of the interdependence between science and the cultural climate. Its ultimate goal is to open new avenues in a research area which can become of immediate practical significance. It seeks to develop and promote an understanding of social-psychological factors which have made it possible for the authoritarian type of man to threaten to replace the individualistic and democratic type prevalent in the past century and a half of our civilization, and of the factors by which this threat may be contained. Progressive analysis of this new "anthropological" type and of its growth conditions, with an ever-increasing scientific differentiation, will enhance the chances of a genuinely educational counterattack.

Confidence in the possibility of a more systematic study of the mechanisms of discrimination and especially of a characterological discrimination-type is not based on the historical experience of the last fifteen years alone, but also on developments within the social sciences themselves during recent decades. Considerable and successful efforts have been made in this country as well as in Europe to raise the various disciplines dealing with man as a social phenomenon to the organizational level of cooperation that has been a tradition in the natural sciences. What I am thinking of are not merely mechanical arrangements for bringing together work done in various fields of study, as in symposia or textbooks, but the mobilization of different methods and skills, developed in distinct fields of theory and empirical investigation, for one common research program.

Such cross-fertilization of different branches of the social sciences and psychology is exactly what has taken place in the present volume. Experts

in the fields of social theory and depth psychology, content analysis, clinical psychology, political sociology, and projective testing pooled their experiences and findings. Having worked together in the closest cooperation, they now present as the result of their joint efforts the elements of a theory of the authoritarian type of man in modern society.

They are not unmindful that they were not the first to have studied this phenomenon. They gratefully acknowledge their debt to the remarkable psychological profiles of the prejudiced individual projected by Sigmund Freud, Maurice Samuel, Otto Fenichel, and others. Such brilliant insights were in a sense the indispensable prerequisites for the methodological integration and research organization which the present study has attempted, and we think achieved to a certain degree, on a scale previously unapproached.

Institutionally, this book represents a joint undertaking of the Berkeley Public Opinion Study and the Institute of Social Research. Both organizations had already made their mark in efforts to integrate various sciences and different research methods. The Berkeley Public Opinion Study had devoted itself to the examination of prejudice in terms of social psychology and had hit upon the close correlation between overt prejudice and certain personality traits of a destructive nihilistic nature, suggested by an irrationally pessimistic ideology of the intolerant. The Institute of Social Research was dedicated to the principle of theoretical and methodological integration from its earliest days at the University of Frankfurt, and published several studies growing out of this basic approach. In one volume, on authority and the family, the concept of the "authoritarian personality" was put forward as a link between psychological dispositions and political leanings. Pursuing this line of thought further, the Institute formulated and published in 1939 a comprehensive research project on anti-Semitism. Some five years later, a series of discussions with the late Dr. Ernst Simmel and Professor R. Nevitt Sanford of the University of California laid the basis for the present project.

As finally organized, the research staff was headed by four senior members, Dr. R. N. Sanford of the Berkeley Public Opinion Study and Dr. T. W. Adorno of the Institute of Social Research, who were the directors, and Dr. Else Frenkel-Brunswik and Dr. Daniel Levinson. Their collaboration was so close, perhaps I should say democratic, and the work so evenly divided among them that it became clear at an early stage that they ought to share equally in the responsibility and the credit for the present publication. The main concepts of the study were evolved by the team as a whole. This is true above all of the idea of the indirect measurement of antidemocratic trends, the F scale. Some division of labor could not be avoided, however, and it proved advisable to have the various chapters signed by individual staff members. The actual writing process necessarily involves

a more intimate occupation with the materials under consideration and thus a measure of more specific responsibility. Nevertheless, the fact remains that each of the four senior members contributed to every chapter and hence that the work as a whole is thoroughly collective.

It may be of interest to note the primary assignments of each of the senior staff members during the actual research process. Dr. Sanford conceived the way the various techniques should be combined and planned the research procedures. Much of his time was devoted to detailed case studies, with special reference to the dynamic etiology of the prejudiced personality. Dr. Adorno introduced sociological dimensions related to personality factors and characterological concepts concomitant with authoritarianism. He also analyzed the ideological sections of the interviews by means of categories of social theory. Dr. Brunswik formulated some of the first personality variables of the research. On the basis of her earlier work, she carried through the systematic, dynamically oriented categorization and quantification of the interview material. Dr. Levinson had primary responsibility for the AS, E, and PEC scales, for the analysis of ideology in psychological terms, for the Projective Question analysis, and for the statistical design and procedure.

Three monographic chapters, one an over-all presentation of the methodology and results of one of the main techniques, the Thematic Apperception Test, and two dealing with "critical" groups were written by Betty Aron, Maria Levinson, and William Morrow. All three were permanently on the staff of the study and completely familiar with its progress.

The project could not have been realized without the generous and intelligent support of the American Jewish Committee. In 1944 the Committee, feeling the need for a sound research basis for the financial and organizational support it planned to give to cooperative studies, of a type which this book exemplifies, decided to create a Department of Scientific Research. From the first the Department was conceived as a scientific center to stimulate and co-ordinate the work of leading scientists in the sociology and psychology of prejudice and, at the same time, as a laboratory for evaluating action programs. Though the members of the Department's research staff are constantly under pressure to solve problems set up for them by the day-to-day work of an extensive organization fighting for democratic rights on several broad fronts, they have never shirked the responsibility of furthering basic research programs. This volume symbolizes that link between democratic education and fundamental research.

MAX HORKHEIMER,
Director, Institute of Social Research

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Our collaborators, Betty Aron, Maria Levinson, and Dr. William Morrow, are to be thanked not only for their special studies which contribute so substantially to the content of this volume but for their participation in all phases of the study as a whole. For extended periods during the course of the study each of them contributed to the development of theory and to the collection, analysis and interpretation of data in areas other than those covered by their special studies. Dr. Suzanne Reichard, who conducted a special investigation of the Rorschach records of some of our subjects, likewise participated in the various phases of the study; she devoted most of her time to administering the Thematic Apperception Test, interviewing subjects and assisting in the analysis and interpretation of the interview material.

In conducting interviews with our subjects in the San Francisco Bay Area we had the able assistance of Dr. Merle Elliott, Virginia Ives, Dr. Mary Cover Jones, Sheila Moon and Rose Segure. Rose Segure also assisted, as did Jack Danielson, in making the arrangements whereby certain groups of subjects filled out our questionnaires. Dr. Winfield Wickham generously cooperated by administering the Thematic Apperception Test to a large group of our subjects, and Roger Bardsley assisted in the analysis of Thematic Apperception Test records.

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Chapters XVI, XVII, XVIII and XIX, were prepared in continuous collaboration with members of the Institute of Social Research. Particular thanks are due Dr. Leo Lowenthal and Dr. Frederick Pollock. The latter also participated in organizing a small staff to carry on our research in Los Angeles. The gathering of data was here supervised by Dr. J. F. Brown, who also contributed important theoretical concepts. The distribution and collection of questionnaires and the interviewing of subjects in Los Angeles was in the hands of Emily Gruen and Carol Creedon, assisted by Ida Malcolm and James Mower. Grace Berg and Margaret Weil served ably as secretaries, and Margot von Mendelssohn, permanent secretary of the Institute of Social Research, devoted a large part of her time to this project. Dr. Frederick Hacker, Dr. Ernest Lewy, and Dr. Marcel Frym participated in the seminars which were held regularly in Los Angeles while the research was in progress there; their devotion to the study is particularly appreciated.

The mountainous task of scoring, tabulating and performing innumerable statistical operations upon the material gathered by means of some 2000 questionnaires was performed with patience and care by Ellan Ulery and Anne Batchelder Morrow. They were assisted in no small way by Lionel Whitnah, Jack Danielson, Frank Vanasek, and Nannette Heiman. Ellan Ulery and Anne Batchelder Morrow also deserve much credit for their scoring of the material elicited by the "projective questions" described in Chapter XV. Dr. Alfred Glixman is to be thanked for performing a special correlational analysis of our attitude scales—work which is described in Chapters IV and VII.

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If we were to mention here all the people who cooperated by making arrangements for us to administer our questionnaires to the groups with which they were associated, and other people who assisted in particular aspects of the study, the list would be very long indeed. Acknowledgments are made at appropriate places in the chapters that follow.

To complete a special project lying within the scope of our study and to meet unexpected expenses connected with preparation of the manuscript for publication it was necessary to seek financial aid in addition to that described above. We are indebted to the Social Science Research Council for the Grant-in-Aid which made possible the correlational analysis described in Chapters IV and VII, and to the Rosenberg Foundation, the Research Board of the University of California, the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of California and the Graduate Division of Western Reserve University for their support in time of special need.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. THE PROBLEM

The research to be reported in this volume was guided by the following major hypothesis: that the political, economic, and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a "mentality" or "spirit," and that this pattern is an expression of deep-lying trends in his personality.

The major concern was with the *potentially fascistic* individual, one whose structure is such as to render him particularly susceptible to anti-democratic propaganda. We say "potential" because we have not studied individuals who were avowedly fascistic or who belonged to known fascist organizations. At the time when most of our data were collected fascism had just been defeated in war and, hence, we could not expect to find subjects who would openly identify themselves with it; yet there was no difficulty in finding subjects whose outlook was such as to indicate that they would readily accept fascism if it should become a strong or respectable social movement.

In concentrating upon the potential fascist we do not wish to imply that other patterns of personality and ideology might not profitably be studied in the same way. It is our opinion, however, that no politico-social trend imposes a graver threat to our traditional values and institutions than does fascism, and that knowledge of the personality forces that favor its acceptance may ultimately prove useful in combating it. A question may be raised as to why, if we wish to explore new resources for combating fascism, we do not give as much attention to the "potential antifascist." The answer is that we do study trends that stand in opposition to fascism, but we do not conceive that they constitute any single pattern. It is one of the major findings of the present study that individuals who show extreme susceptibility to fascist propaganda have a great deal in common. (They exhibit numerous characteristics that go together to form a "syndrome" although typical variations within this major pattern can be distinguished.) Individuals who are extreme in the opposite direction are much more diverse. The task of diagnosing potential fascism and studying its determinants required techniques especially designed for these purposes; it could not be

asked of them that they serve as well for various other patterns. Nevertheless, it was possible to distinguish several types of personality structure that seemed particularly resistant to antidemocratic ideas, and these are given due attention in later chapters.

If a potentially fascistic individual exists, what, precisely, is he like? What goes to make up antidemocratic thought? What are the organizing forces within the person? If such a person exists, how commonly does he exist in our society? And if such a person exists, what have been the determinants and what the course of his development?

These are questions upon which the present research was designed to throw some light. Though the notion that the potentially antidemocratic individual is a totality may be accepted as a plausible hypothesis, some analysis is called for at the start. In most approaches to the problem of political types two essential conceptions may be distinguished: the conception of ideology and the conception of underlying needs in the person. Though the two may be thought of as forming an organized whole within the individual, they may nonetheless be studied separately. The same ideological trends may in different individuals have different sources, and the same personal needs may express themselves in different ideological trends.

The term ideology is used in this book, in the way that is common in current literature, to stand for an organization of opinions, attitudes, and values—a way of thinking about man and society. We may speak of an individual's total ideology or of his ideology with respect to different areas of social life: politics, economics, religion, minority groups, and so forth. Ideologies have an existence independent of any single individual; and those which exist at a particular time are results both of historical processes and of contemporary social events. These ideologies have for different individuals, different degrees of appeal, a matter that depends upon the individual's needs and the degree to which these needs are being satisfied or frustrated.

There are, to be sure, individuals who take unto themselves ideas from more than one existing ideological system and weave them into patterns that are more or less uniquely their own. It can be assumed, however, that when the opinions, attitudes, and values of numerous individuals are examined, common patterns will be discovered. These patterns may not in all cases correspond to the familiar, current ideologies, but they will fulfill the definition of ideology given above and in each case be found to have a function within the over-all adjustment of the individual.

The present inquiry into the nature of the potentially fascistic individual began with anti-Semitism in the focus of attention. The authors, in common with most social scientists, hold the view that anti-Semitism is based more largely upon factors in the subject and in his total situation than upon actual characteristics of Jews, and that one place to look for determinants of anti-Semitic opinions and attitudes is within the persons who express them. Since

this emphasis on personality required a focusing of attention on psychology rather than on sociology or history—though in the last analysis the three can be separated only artificially—there could be no attempt to account for the existence of anti-Semitic ideas in our society. The question was, rather, why is it that certain individuals accept these ideas while others do not? And since from the start the research was guided by the hypotheses stated above, it was supposed (1) that anti-Semitism probably is not a specific or isolated phenomenon but a part of a broader ideological framework, and (2) that an individual's susceptibility to this ideology depends primarily upon his psychological needs.

The insights and hypotheses concerning the antidemocratic individual, which are present in our general cultural climate, must be supported by a great deal of painstaking observation, and in many instances by quantification, before they can be regarded as conclusive. How can one say with assurance that the numerous opinions, attitudes, and values expressed by an individual actually constitute a consistent pattern or organized totality? The most intensive investigation of that individual would seem to be necessary. How can one say that opinions, attitudes, and values found in groups of people go together to form patterns, some of which are more common than others? There is no adequate way to proceed other than by actually measuring, in populations, a wide variety of thought contents and determining by means of standard statistical methods which ones go together.

To many social psychologists the scientific study of ideology, as it has been defined, seems a hopeless task. To measure with suitable accuracy a single, specific, isolated attitude is a long and arduous proceeding for both subject and experimenter. (It is frequently argued that unless the attitude is specific and isolated, it cannot properly be measured at all.) How then can we hope to survey within a reasonable period of time the numerous attitudes and ideas that go to make up an ideology? Obviously, some kind of selection is necessary. The investigator must limit himself to what is most significant, and judgments of significance can only be made on the basis of theory.

The theories that have guided the present research will be presented in suitable contexts later. Though theoretical considerations had a role at every stage of the work, a beginning had to be made with the objective study of the most observable and relatively specific opinions, attitudes, and values.

Opinions, attitudes, and values, as we conceive of them, are expressed more or less openly in words. Psychologically they are "on the surface." It must be recognized, however, that when it comes to such affect-laden questions as those concerning minority groups and current political issues, the degree of openness with which a person speaks will depend upon the situation in which he finds himself. There may be a discrepancy between what he says on a particular occasion and what he "really thinks." Let us say that what

he really thinks he can express in confidential discussion with his intimates. This much, which is still relatively superficial psychologically, may still be observed directly by the psychologist if he uses appropriate techniques—and this we have attempted to do.

It is to be recognized, however, that the individual may have "secret" thoughts which he will under no circumstances reveal to anyone else if he can help it; he may have thoughts which he cannot admit to himself, and he may have thoughts which he does not express because they are so vague and ill-formed that he cannot put them into words. To gain access to these deeper trends is particularly important, for precisely here may lie the individual's potential for democratic or antidemocratic thought and action in crucial situations.

What people say and, to a lesser degree, what they really think depends very largely upon the climate of opinion in which they are living; but when that climate changes, some individuals adapt themselves much more quickly than others. If there should be a marked increase in antidemocratic propaganda, we should expect some people to accept and repeat it at once, others when it seemed that "everybody believed it," and still others not at all. In other words, individuals differ in their *susceptibility* to antidemocratic propaganda, in their readiness to exhibit antidemocratic tendencies. It seems necessary to study ideology at this "readiness level" in order to gauge the potential for fascism in this country. Observers have noted that the amount of outspoken anti-Semitism in pre-Hitler Germany was less than that in this country at the present time; one might hope that the potentiality is less in this country, but this can be known only through intensive investigation, through the detailed survey of what is on the surface and the thorough probing of what lies beneath it.

A question may be raised as to what is the degree of relationship between ideology and action. If an individual is making antidemocratic propaganda or engaging in overt attacks upon minority group members, it is usually assumed that his opinions, attitudes, and values are congruent with his action; but comfort is sometimes found in the thought that though another individual expresses antidemocratic ideas verbally, he does not, and perhaps will not, put them into overt action. Here, once again, there is a question of potentialities. Overt action, like open verbal expression, depends very largely upon the situation of the moment—something that is best described in socio-economic and political terms—but individuals differ very widely with respect to their readiness to be provoked into action. The study of this potential is a part of the study of the individual's over-all ideology; to know what kinds and what intensities of belief, attitude, and value are likely to lead to action, and to know what forces within the individual serve as inhibitions upon action are matters of the greatest practical importance.

There seems little reason to doubt that ideology-in-readiness (ideological

receptivity) and ideology-in-words and in action are essentially the same stuff. The description of an individual's total ideology must portray not only the organization on each level but organization among levels. What the individual consistently says in public, what he says when he feels safe from criticism, what he thinks but will not say at all, what he thinks but will not admit to himself, what he is disposed to think or to do when various kinds of appeal are made to him—all these phenomena may be conceived of as constituting a single structure. The structure may not be integrated, it may contain contradictions as well as consistencies, but it is *organized* in the sense that the constituent parts are related in psychologically meaningful ways.

In order to understand such a structure, a theory of the total personality is necessary. According to the theory that has guided the present research, personality is a more or less enduring organization of forces within the individual. These persisting forces of personality help to determine response in various situations, and it is thus largely to them that consistency of behavior —whether verbal or physical—is attributable. But behavior, however consistent, is not the same thing as personality; personality lies *behind* behavior and *within* the individual. The forces of personality are not responses but *readinesses for response;* whether or not a readiness will issue in overt expression depends not only upon the situation of the moment but upon what other readinesses stand in opposition to it. Personality forces which are inhibited are on a deeper level than those which immediately and consistently express themselves in overt behavior.

What are the forces of personality and what are the processes by which they are organized? For theory as to the structure of personality we have leaned most heavily upon Freud, while for a more or less systematic formulation of the more directly observable and measurable aspects of personality we have been guided primarily by academic psychology. The forces of personality are primarily *needs* (drives, wishes, emotional impulses) which vary from one individual to another in their quality, their intensity, their mode of gratification, and the objects of their attachment, and which interact with other needs in harmonious or conflicting patterns. There are primitive emotional needs, there are needs to avoid punishment and to keep the good will of the social group, there are needs to maintain harmony and integration within the self.

Since it will be granted that opinions, attitudes, and values depend upon human needs, and since personality is essentially an organization of needs, then personality may be regarded as a *determinant* of ideological preferences. Personality is not, however, to be hypostatized as an ultimate determinant. Far from being something which is given in the beginning, which remains fixed and acts upon the surrounding world, personality evolves under the impact of the social environment and can never be isolated from the social totality within which it occurs. According to the present theory, the effects

of environmental forces in moulding the personality are, in general, the more profound the earlier in the life history of the individual they are brought to bear. The major influences upon personality development arise in the course of child training as carried forward in a setting of family life. What happens here is profoundly influenced by economic and social factors. It is not only that each family in trying to rear its children proceeds according to the ways of the social, ethnic, and religious groups in which it has membership, but crude economic factors affect directly the parents' behavior toward the child. This means that broad changes in social conditions and institutions will have a direct bearing upon the kinds of personalities that develop within a society.

The present research seeks to discover correlations between ideology and sociological factors operating in the individual's past—whether or not they continue to operate in his present. In attempting to explain these correlations the relationships between personality and ideology are brought into the picture, the general approach being to consider personality as an agency through which sociological influences upon ideology are mediated. If the role of personality can be made clear, it should be possible better to understand which sociological factors are the most crucial ones and in what ways they achieve their effects.

Although personality is a product of the social environment of the past, it is not, once it has developed, a mere object of the contemporary environment. What has developed is a *structure* within the individual, something which is capable of self-initiated action upon the social environment and of selection with respect to varied impinging stimuli, something which though always modifiable is frequently very resistant to fundamental change. This conception is necessary to explain consistency of behavior in widely varying situations, to explain the persistence of ideological trends in the face of contradicting facts and radically altered social conditions, to explain why people in the same sociological situation have different or even conflicting views on social issues, and why it is that people whose behavior has been changed through psychological manipulation lapse into their old ways as soon as the agencies of manipulation are removed.

The conception of personality structure is the best safeguard against the inclination to attribute persistent trends in the individual to something "innate" or "basic" or "racial" within him. The Nazi allegation that natural, biological traits decide the total being of a person would not have been such a successful political device had it not been possible to point to numerous instances of relative fixity in human behavior and to challenge those who thought to explain them on any basis other than a biological one. Without the conception of personality structure, writers whose approach rests upon the assumption of infinite human flexibility and responsiveness to the social situation of the moment have not helped matters by referring persistent

trends which they could not approve to "confusion" or "psychosis" or evil under one name or another. There is, of course, some basis for describing as "pathological" patterns of behavior which do not conform with the most common, and seemingly most lawful, responses to momentary stimuli. But this is to use the term pathological in the very narrow sense of deviation from the average found in a particular context and, what is worse, to suggest that everything in the personality structure is to be put under this heading. Actually, personality embraces variables which exist widely in the population and have lawful relations one to another. Personality patterns that have been dismissed as "pathological" because they were not in keeping with the most common manifest trends or the most dominant ideals within a society, have on closer investigation turned out to be but exaggerations of what was almost universal below the surface in that society. What is "pathological" today may with changing social conditions become the dominant trend of tomorrow.

It seems clear then that an adequate approach to the problems before us must take into account both fixity and flexibility; it must regard the two not as mutually exclusive categories but as the extremes of a single continuum along which human characteristics may be placed, and it must provide a basis for understanding the conditions which favor the one extreme or the other. Personality is a concept to account for relative permanence. But it may be emphasized again that personality is mainly a potential; it is a readiness for behavior rather than behavior itself; although it consists in dispositions to behave in certain ways, the behavior that actually occurs will always depend upon the objective situation. Where the concern is with antidemocratic trends, a delineation of the conditions for individual expression requires an understanding of the total organization of society.

It has been stated that the personality structure may be such as to render the individual susceptible to antidemocratic propaganda. It may now be asked what are the conditions under which such propaganda would increase in pitch and volume and come to dominate in press and radio to the exclusion of contrary ideological stimuli, so that what is now potential would become actively manifest. The answer must be sought not in any single personality nor in personality factors found in the mass of people, but in processes at work in society itself. It seems well understood today that whether or not antidemocratic propaganda is to become a dominant force in this country depends primarily upon the situation of the most powerful economic interests, upon whether they, by conscious design or not, make use of this device for maintaining their dominant status. This is a matter about which the great majority of people would have little to say.

The present research, limited as it is to the hitherto largely neglected psychological aspects of fascism, does not concern itself with the production of propaganda. It focuses attention, rather, upon the consumer, the indi-

vidual for whom the propaganda is designed. In so doing it attempts to take into account not only the psychological structure of the individual but the total objective situation in which he lives. It makes the assumption that people in general tend to accept political and social programs which they believe will serve their economic interests. What these interests are depends in each case upon the individual's position in society as defined in economic and sociological terms. An important part of the present research, therefore, was the attempt to discover what patterns of socioeconomic factors are associated with receptivity, and with resistance, to antidemocratic propaganda.

At the same time, however, it was considered that economic motives in the individual may not have the dominant and crucial role that is often ascribed to them. If economic self-interest were the only determinant of opinion, we should expect people of the same socioeconomic status to have very similar opinions, and we should expect opinion to vary in a meaningful way from one socioeconomic grouping to another. Research has not given very sound support for these expectations. There is only the most general similarity of opinion among people of the same socioeconomic status, and the exceptions are glaring; while variations from one socioeconomic group to another are rarely simple or clear-cut. To explain why it is that people of the same socioeconomic status so frequently have different ideologies, while people of a different status often have very similar ideologies, we must take account of other than purely economic needs.

More than this, it is becoming increasingly plain that people very frequently do not behave in such a way as to further their material interests, even when it is clear to them what these interests are. The resistance of white-collar workers to organization is not due to a belief that the union will not help them economically; the tendency of the small businessman to side with big business in most economic and political matters cannot be due entirely to a belief that this is the way to guarantee his economic independence. In instances such as these the individual seems not only not to consider his material interests, but even to go against them. It is as if he were thinking in terms of a larger group identification, as if his point of view were determined more by his need to support this group and to suppress opposite ones than by rational consideration of his own interests. Indeed, it is with a sense of relief today that one is assured that a group conflict is merely a clash of economic interests—that each side is merely out to "do" the other—and not a struggle in which deep-lying emotional drives have been let loose. When it comes to the ways in which people appraise the social world, irrational trends stand out glaringly. One may conceive of a professional man who opposes the immigration of Jewish refugees on the ground that this will increase the competition with which he has to deal and so decrease his income. However undemocratic this may be, it is at least rational in a limited sense. But for this man to go on, as do most people who oppose Jews on

occupational grounds, and accept a wide variety of opinions, many of which are contradictory, about Jews in general, and to attribute various ills of the world to them, is plainly illogical. And it is just as illogical to praise all Jews in accordance with a "good" stereotype of them. Hostility against groups that is based upon real frustration, brought about by members of that group, undoubtedly exists, but such frustrating experiences can hardly account for the fact that prejudice is apt to be generalized. Evidence from the present study confirms what has often been indicated: that a man who is hostile toward one minority group is very likely to be hostile against a wide variety of others. There is no conceivable rational basis for such generalization; and, what is more striking, prejudice against, or totally uncritical acceptance of, a particular group often exists in the absence of any experience with members of that group. The objective situation of the individual seems an unlikely source of such irrationality; rather we should seek where psychology has already found the sources of dreams, fantasies, and misinterpretations of the world—that is, in the deep-lying needs of the personality.

Another aspect of the individual's situation which we should expect to affect his ideological receptivity is his membership in social groups—occupational, fraternal, religious, and the like. For historical and sociological reasons, such groups favor and promulgate, whether officially or unofficially, different patterns of ideas. There is reason to believe that individuals, out of their needs to conform and to belong and to believe and through such devices as imitation and conditioning, often take over more or less ready-made the opinions, attitudes, and values that are characteristic of the groups in which they have membership. To the extent that the ideas which prevail in such a group are implicitly or explicitly antidemocratic, the individual group member might be expected to be receptive to propaganda having the same general direction. Accordingly, the present research investigates a variety of group memberships with a view to what general trends of thought—and how much variability—might be found in each.

It is recognized, however, that a correlation between group membership and ideology may be due to different kinds of determination in different individuals. In some cases it might be that the individual merely repeats opinions which are taken for granted in his social milieu and which he has no reason to question; in other cases it might be that the individual has chosen to join a particular group because it stood for ideals with which he was already in sympathy. In modern society, despite enormous communality in basic culture, it is rare for a person to be subjected to only one pattern of ideas, after he is old enough for ideas to mean something to him. Some selection is usually made, according, it may be supposed, to the needs of his personality. Even when individuals are exposed during their formative years almost exclusively to a single, closely knit pattern of political, economic, social, and religious ideas, it is found that some conform while others rebel,

and it seems proper to inquire whether personality factors do not make the difference. The soundest approach, it would seem, is to consider that in the determination of ideology, as in the determination of any behavior, there is a situational factor and a personality factor, and that a careful weighing of the role of each will yield the most accurate prediction.

Situational factors, chiefly economic condition and social group memberships, have been studied intensively in recent researches on opinion and attitude, while the more inward, more individualistic factors have not received the attention they deserve. Beyond this, there is still another reason why the present study places particular emphasis upon the personality. Fascism, in order to be successful as a political movement, must have a mass basis. It must secure not only the frightened submission but the active cooperation of the great majority of the people. Since by its very nature it favors the few at the expense of the many, it cannot possibly demonstrate that it will so improve the situation of most people that their real interests will be served. It must therefore make its major appeal, not to rational self-interest, but to emotional needs—often to the most primitive and irrational wishes and fears. If it be argued that fascist propaganda fools people into believing that their lot will be improved, then the question arises: Why are they so easily fooled? Because, it may be supposed, of their personality structure; because of long-established patterns of hopes and aspirations, fears and anxieties that dispose them to certain beliefs and make them resistant to others. The task of fascist propaganda, in other words, is rendered easier to the degree that antidemocratic potentials already exist in the great mass of people. It may be granted that in Germany economic conflicts and dislocations within the society were such that for this reason alone the triumph of fascism was sooner or later inevitable; but the Nazi leaders did not act as if they believed this to be so; instead they acted as if it were necessary at every moment to take into account the psychology of the people—to activate every ounce of their antidemocratic potential, to compromise with them, to stamp out the slightest spark of rebellion. It seems apparent that any attempt to appraise the chances of a fascist triumph in America must reckon with the potential existing in the character of the people. Here lies not only the susceptibility to antidemocratic propaganda but the most dependable sources of resistance to it.

The present writers believe that it is up to the people to decide whether or not this country goes fascist. It is assumed that knowledge of the nature and extent of antidemocratic potentials will indicate programs for democratic action. These programs should not be limited to devices for manipulating people in such a way that they will behave more democratically, but they should be devoted to increasing the kind of self-awareness and self-determination that makes any kind of manipulation impossible. There is one explanation for the existence of an individual's ideology that has not so far been considered: that it is the view of the world which a reasonable man,

with some understanding of the role of such determinants as those discussed above, and with complete access to the necessary facts, will organize for himself. This conception, though it has been left to the last, is of crucial importance for a sound approach to ideology. Without it we should have to share the destructive view, which has gained some acceptance in the modern world, that since all ideologies, all philosophies, derive from nonrational sources there is no basis for saying that one has more merit than another.

But the rational system of an objective and thoughtful man is not a thing apart from personality. Such a system is still motivated. What is distinguishing in its sources is mainly the *kind of personality organization* from which it springs. It might be said that a mature personality (if we may for the moment use this term without defining it) will come closer to achieving a rational system of thought than will an immature one; but a personality is no less dynamic and no less organized for being mature, and the task of describing the structure of this personality is not different in kind from the task of describing any other personality. According to theory, the personality variables which have most to do with determining the objectivity and rationality of an ideology are those which belong to the ego, that part of the personality which appreciates reality, integrates the other parts, and operates with the most conscious awareness.

It is the ego that becomes aware of and takes responsibility for nonrational forces operating within the personality. This is the basis for our belief that the object of knowing what are the psychological determinants of ideology is that men can become more reasonable. It is not supposed, of course, that this will eliminate differences of opinion. The world is sufficiently complex and difficult to know, men have enough real interests that are in conflict with the real interests of other men, there are enough ego-accepted differences in personality to insure that arguments about politics, economics, and religion will never grow dull. Knowledge of the psychological determinants of ideology cannot tell us what is the *truest* ideology; it can only remove some of the barriers in the way of its pursuit.

B. METHODOLOGY

1. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE METHOD

To attack the problems conceptualized above required methods for describing and measuring ideological trends and methods for exposing personality, the contemporary situation, and the social background. A particular methodological challenge was imposed by the conception of *levels* in the person; this made it necessary to devise techniques for surveying opinions, attitudes, and values that were on the surface, for revealing ideological

trends that were more or less inhibited and reached the surface only in indirect manifestations, and for bringing to light personality forces that lay in the subject's unconscious. And since the major concern was with *patterns* of dynamically related factors—something that requires study of the total individual—it seemed that the proper approach was through intensive clinical studies. The significance and practical importance of such studies could not be gauged, however, until there was knowledge of how far it was possible to generalize from them. Thus it was necessary to perform group studies as well as individual studies, and to find ways and means for integrating the two.

Individuals were studied by means of interviews and special clinical techniques for revealing underlying wishes, fears, and defenses; groups were studied by means of questionnaires. It was not expected that the clinical studies would be as complete or profound as some which have already been performed, primarily by psychoanalysts, nor that the questionnaires would be more accurate than any now employed by social psychologists. It was hoped, however—indeed it was necessary to our purpose—that the clinical material could be conceptualized in such a way as to permit its being quantified and carried over into group studies, and that the questionnaires could be brought to bear upon areas of response ordinarily left to clinical study. The attempt was made, in other words, to bring methods of traditional social psychology into the service of theories and concepts from the newer dynamic theory of personality and in so doing to make "depth psychological" phenomena more amenable to mass-statistical treatment, and to make quantitative surveys of attitudes and opinions more meaningful psychologically.

In the attempt to integrate clinical and group studies, the two were carried on in close conjunction. When the individual was in the focus of attention, the aim was to describe in detail his pattern of opinions, attitudes, and values and to understand the dynamic factors underlying it, and on this basis to design significant questions for use with groups of subjects. When the group was in the focus of attention, the aim was to discover what opinions, attitudes, and values commonly go together and what patterns of factors in the life histories and in the contemporary situations of the subjects were commonly associated with each ideological constellation; this afforded a basis on which to select individuals for more intensive study: commanding first attention were those who exemplified the common patterns and in whom it could be supposed that the correlated factors were dynamically related.

In order to study potentially antidemocratic individuals it was necessary first to identify them. Hence a start was made by constructing a questionnaire and having it filled out anonymously by a large group of people. This questionnaire contained, in addition to numerous questions of fact about the subject's past and present life, a variety of antidemocratic statements with which the subjects were invited to agree or disagree. A number of individuals who showed the greatest amount of agreement with these state-

ments—and, by way of contrast, some who showed the most disagreement or, in some instances, were most neutral—were then studied by means of interviews and other clinical techniques. On the basis of these individual studies the questionnaire was revised, and the whole procedure repeated.

The interview was used in part as a check upon the *validity* of the questionnaire, that is to say, it provided a basis for judging whether people who obtained the highest antidemocratic scores on the questionnaire were usually those who, in a confidential relationship with another person, expressed antidemocratic sentiments with the most intensity. What was more important, however, the clinical studies gave access to the deeper personality factors behind antidemocratic ideology and suggested the means for their investigation on a mass scale. With increasing knowledge of the underlying trends of which prejudice was an expression, there was increasing familiarity with various other signs or manifestations by which these trends could be recognized. The task then was to translate these manifestations into questionnaire items for use in the next group study. Progress lay in finding more and more reliable indications of the central personality forces and in showing with increasing clarity the relations of these forces to antidemocratic ideological expression.

2. THE TECHNIQUES

The questionnaires and clinical techniques employed in the study may be described briefly as follows:

a. THE QUESTIONNAIRE METHOD. The questionnaires were always presented in mimeographed form and filled out anonymously by subjects in groups. Each questionnaire included (1) factual questions, (2) opinion-attitude scales, and (3) "projective" (open answer) questions.

1. The *factual questions* had to do mainly with past and present group memberships: church preference and attendance, political party, vocation, income, and so on. It was assumed that the answers could be taken at their face value. In selecting the questions, we were guided at the start by hypotheses concerning the sociological correlates of ideology; as the study progressed we depended more and more upon experience with interviewees.

2. *Opinion-attitude* scales were used from the start in order to obtain quantitative estimates of certain surface ideological trends: anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, politico-economic conservatism. Later, a scale was developed for the measurement of antidemocratic tendencies in the personality itself.

Each scale was a collection of statements, with each of which the subject was asked to express the degree of his agreement or disagreement. Each statement concerned some relatively specific opinion, attitude, or value, and the basis for grouping them within a particular scale was the conception that taken together they expressed a single general trend.

The general trends to which the scales pertained were conceived very broadly, as complex systems of thought about wide areas of social living. To define these trends empirically it was necessary to obtain responses to many specific issues—enough to "cover" the area mapped out conceptually—and to show that each of them bore some relation to the whole.

This approach stands in contrast to the public opinion poll: whereas the poll is interested primarily in the distribution of opinion with respect to a particular issue, the present interest was to inquire, concerning a particular opinion, with what other opinions and attitudes it was related. The plan was to determine the existence of broad ideological trends, to develop instruments for their measurement, and then to inquire about their distribution within larger populations.

The approach to an ideological area was to appraise its grosser features first and its finer or more specific features later. The aim was to gain a view of the "over-all picture" into which smaller features might later be fitted, rather than to obtain highly precise measures of small details in the hope that these might eventually add up to something significant. Although this emphasis upon breadth and inclusiveness prevented the attainment of the highest degree of precision in measurement, it was nevertheless possible to develop each scale to a point where it met the currently accepted statistical standards.

Since each scale had to cover a broad area, without growing so long as to try the patience of the subjects, it was necessary to achieve a high degree of efficiency. The task was to formulate items which would cover as much as possible of the many-sided phenomenon in question. Since each of the trends to be measured was conceived as having numerous components or aspects, there could be no duplication of items; instead it was required that each item express a different feature—and where possible, several features—of the total system. The degree to which items within a scale will "hang together" statistically, and thus give evidence that a single, unified trait is being measured, depends primarily upon the surface similarity of the items—the degree to which they all say the same thing. The present items, obviously, could not be expected to cohere in this fashion; all that could be required statistically of them was that they correlate to a reasonable degree with the total scale. Conceivably, a single component of one of the present systems could be regarded as itself a relatively general trend, the precise measurement of which would require the use of numerous more specific items. As indicated above, however, such concern with highly specific, statistically "pure" factors was put aside, in favor of an attempt to gain a dependable estimate of an over-all system, one which could then be related to other over-all systems in an approach to the totality of major trends within the individual.

One might inquire why, if we wish to know the intensity of some ideolog-

ical pattern—such as anti-Semitism—within the individual, we do not ask him directly, after defining what we mean. The answer, in part, is that the phenomenon to be measured is so complex that a single response would not go very far toward revealing the important differences among individuals. Moreover, anti-Semitism, ethnocentrism, and politico-economic reactionism or radicalism are topics about which many people are not prepared to speak with complete frankness. Thus, even at this surface ideological level it was necessary to employ a certain amount of indirectness. Subjects were never told what was the particular concern of the questionnaire, but only that they were taking part in a "survey of opinions about various issues of the day." To support this view of the proceedings, items belonging to a particular scale were interspersed with items from other scales in the questionnaire. It was not possible, of course, to avoid statements prejudicial to minority groups, but care was taken in each case to allow the subject "a way out," that is to say, to make it possible for him to agree with such a statement while maintaining the belief that he was not "prejudiced" or "undemocratic."

Whereas the scales for measuring surface ideological trends conform, in general, with common practice in sociopsychological research, the scale for measuring potentially antidemocratic trends in the personality represents a new departure. The procedure was to bring together in a scale items which, by hypothesis and by clinical experience, could be regarded as "giveaways" of trends which lay relatively deep within the personality, and which constituted a *disposition* to express spontaneously (on a suitable occasion), or to be influenced by, fascist ideas.

The statements in this scale were not different in form from those which made up the surface ideology scales; they were direct expressions of opinion, of attitudes, or of value with respect to various areas of social living—but areas not usually touched upon in systematic presentations of a politico-socioeconomic point of view. Always interspersed with statements from other scales, they conveyed little or nothing to the subject as to the nature of the real question being pursued. They were, in the main, statements so designed as to serve as rationalizations for irrational tendencies. Two statements included in this scale were the following: (a) "Nowadays with so many different kinds of people moving around so much and mixing together so freely, one has to be especially careful to protect himself against infection and disease" and (b) "Homosexuality is an especially rotten form of delinquency and ought to be severely punished." That people who agree with one of these statements show a tendency to agree with the other, and that people who agree with these two statements tend to agree with open antidemocratic statements, e.g., that members of some minority group are basically inferior, is hardly to be explained on the basis of any obvious logical relation among the statements. It seems necessary, rather, to conceive of some underlying central trend which expresses itself in these different ways.

Different people might, of course, give the same response to a statement such as the above for different reasons; since it was necessary to give the statements at least a veneer of rationality, it was natural to expect that the responses of some people would be determined almost entirely by the rational aspect rather than by some underlying emotional disposition. For this reason it was necessary to include a large number of scale items and to be guided by the general trend of response rather than by the response to a single statement; for a person to be considered potentially antidemocratic in his underlying dynamic structure, he had to agree with a majority of these scale items.

The development of the present scale proceeded in two ways: first, by finding or formulating items which, though they had no manifest connection with open antidemocratic expressions, were nevertheless highly correlated with them; and second, by demonstrating that these "indirect" items were actually expressions of antidemocratic potential within the personality as known from intensive clinical study.

3. *Projective Questions*, like most other projective techniques, present the subject with ambiguous and emotionally toned stimulus material. This material is designed to allow a maximum of variation in response from one subject to another and to provide channels through which relatively deep personality processes may be expressed. The questions are not ambiguous in their formal structure, but in the sense that the answers are at the level of emotional expression rather than at the level of fact and the subject is not aware of their implications. The responses always have to be interpreted, and their significance is known when their meaningful relations to other psychological facts about the subject have been demonstrated. One projective question was, "What would you do if you had only six months to live, and could do anything you wanted?" An answer to this question was not regarded as a statement of what the subject would probably do in actuality, but rather an expression having to do with his values, conflicts, and the like. We asked ourselves if this expression was not in keeping with those elicited by other projective questions and by statements in the personality scale.

Numerous projective questions were tried in the early stages of the study, and from among them eight were selected for use with most of the larger groups of subjects: they were the questions which taken together gave the broadest view of the subject's personality trends and correlated most highly with surface ideological patterns.

b. CLINICAL TECHNIQUES. 1. *The interview* was divided roughly into an ideological section and a clinical-genetic section. In the first section the aim was to induce the subject to talk as spontaneously and as freely as possible about various broad ideological topics: politics, religion, minority groups,

income, and vocation. Whereas in the questionnaire the subject was limited to the topics there presented and could express himself only by means of the rating scheme offered, here it was important to know what topics he would bring up of his own accord and with what intensity of feeling he would spontaneously express himself. As indicated above, this material afforded a means for insuring that the questionnaire, in its revised forms, more or less faithfully represented "what people were saying"—the topics that were on their minds and the forms of expression that came spontaneously to them—and provided a valid index of antidemocratic trends. The interview covered, of course, a much wider variety of topics, and permitted the expression of more elaborated and differentiated opinions, attitudes, and values, than did the questionnaire. Whereas the attempt was made to distill from the interview material what seemed to be of the most general significance and to arrange it for inclusion in the questionnaire, there was material left over to be exploited by means of individual case studies, qualitative analyses, and crudely quantitative studies of the interview material by itself.

The clinical-genetic section of the interview sought to obtain, first, more factual material about the subject's contemporary situation and about his past than could be got from the questionnaire; second, the freest possible expressions of personal feelings, of beliefs, wishes, and fears concerning himself and his situation and concerning such topics as parents, siblings, friends, and sexual relationships; and third, the subject's conceptions of his childhood environment and of his childhood self.

The interview was conducted in such a way that the material gained from it would permit inferences about the deeper layers of the subject's personality. The technique of the interview will be described in detail later. Suffice it to say here that it followed the general pattern of a psychiatric interview that is inspired by a dynamic theory of personality. The interviewer was aided by a comprehensive interview schedule which underwent several revisions during the course of the study, as experience taught what were the most significant underlying questions and what were the most efficient means for evoking material bearing upon them.

The interview material was used for estimation of certain common variables lying within the theoretical framework of the study but not accessible to the other techniques. Interview material also provided the main basis for individual case studies, bearing upon the interrelationships among all the significant factors operating within the antidemocratic individual.

2. The *Thematic Apperception Test* is a well-known projective technique in which the subject is presented with a series of dramatic pictures and asked to tell a story about each of them. The material he produces can, when interpreted, reveal a great deal about his underlying wishes, conflicts, and mechanisms of defense. The technique was modified slightly to suit the present

purposes. The material was analyzed quantitatively in terms of psychological variables which are found widely in the population and which were readily brought into relation with other variables of the study. As a part of the case study of an individual an analysis in terms of more unique personality variables was made, the material here being considered in close conjunction with findings from the interview.

Though designed to approach different aspects of the person, the several techniques actually were closely related conceptually one to another. All of them permitted quantification and interpretation in terms of variables which fall within a unified theoretical system. Sometimes two techniques yielded measures of the same variables, and sometimes different techniques were focused upon different variables. In the former case the one technique gave some indication of the validity of the other; in the latter case the adequacy of a technique could be gauged by its ability to produce measures that were meaningfully related to all the others. Whereas a certain amount of repetition was necessary to insure validation, the main aim was to fill out a broad framework and achieve a maximum of scope.

The theoretical approach required in each case either that a new technique be designed from the ground up or that an existing one be modified to suit the particular purpose. At the start, there was a theoretical conception of what was to be measured and certain sources—to be described later—which could be drawn upon in devising the original questionnaire form and the preliminary interview schedule. Each technique then evolved as the study progressed. Since each was designed specifically for this study, they could be changed at will as understanding increased, and since an important purpose of the study was the development and testing of effective instruments for diagnosing potential fascism, there was no compulsion to repeat without modification a procedure just in order to accumulate comparable data. So closely interrelated were the techniques that what was learned from any one of them could be applied to the improvement of any other. Just as the clinical techniques provided a basis for enriching the several parts of the questionnaire, so did the accumulating quantitative results indicate what ought to be concentrated upon in the interview; and just as the analysis of scale data suggested the existence of underlying variables which might be approached by means of projective techniques, so did the responses on projective techniques suggest items for inclusion in the scales.

The evolution of techniques was expressed both in expansion and in contraction. Expansion was exemplified in the attempt to bring more and more aspects of antidemocratic ideology into the developing picture and in the attempt to explore enough aspects of the potentially antidemocratic personality so that there was some grasp of the totality. Contraction took place continuously in the quantitative procedures as increasing theoretical clarity

permitted a boiling down so that the same crucial relationships could be demonstrated with briefer techniques.

C. PROCEDURES IN THE COLLECTION OF DATA

1. THE GROUPS STUDIED

a. THE BEGINNING WITH COLLEGE STUDENTS. There were enough practical reasons alone to determine that the present study, which at the beginning had limited resources and limited objectives, should start with college students as research subjects: they were available for the asking, whether singly or in groups, they would cooperate willingly, and they could be reached for retesting without much difficulty. At the same time, other considerations favored the use of college students in a study of ideology. In the first place, the intellectual and educational level is high enough so that there needed to be relatively little restriction with respect to the number and nature of issues that might be raised—a very important matter in a study that emphasized breadth and inclusiveness. One could be fairly certain that college students *had* opinions about most of the various topics to be considered. In the second place, there could be relative certainty that all the subjects understood the terms of the questions in the same way and that the same responses had uniform significance. In the third place, however large a population one might be able to sample he would probably find that most of his generalizations had in any case to be limited to various relatively homogeneous subclassifications of the total group studied; college students form one group that is relatively quite homogeneous with respect to factors that might be expected to influence ideology. And they represent an important sector of the population, both through their family connections and through their prospective leadership in the community.

It is obvious, however, that a study which used only college students as subjects would be seriously limited in its general significance. Of what larger population could a group of students at a state university be regarded as an adequate sample? Would findings on this sample hold for all the students at this university? For college students generally? For young people of the middle class? It depends upon what kind of generalization is to be made. Generalizations about the distribution of particular opinions or about the average amount of agreement with this or that statement—the kind of information sought in poll studies—could hardly go beyond the students at the university where the survey was made. Results from an Eastern university or from a privately endowed institution might be quite different. The present concern, however, was not so much with questions of distribution as with questions of relationship. For example, there was less

interest in what per cent of the general population would agree that "labor unions have grown too powerful" and that "there are too many Jews in government agencies" than in whether or not there was a general relationship between these two opinions. For the study of how opinions, attitudes, and values are organized within the individual, college students had a great deal to offer, particularly in the early stages of the work where the emphasis was upon improving techniques and obtaining first approximations of general relationships. This work could proceed without hindrance so long as the factors to be studied were present, and varied sufficiently widely from one individual to another. In this regard, the limitations of the college sample were that the relatively high intellectual and educational level decreased the number of extremely prejudiced individuals, and that some of the factors which were presumed to influence prejudice were rarely or never present.

These considerations made it necessary to study various other groups of subjects. As it turned out, the *strength* of the various ideological trends was found to vary widely from one group to another, while the *relationships* found in the college group were very similar to those found elsewhere.

b. The General Noncollege Population from Which Our Subjects Were Drawn. When it became possible through increased resources to expand the scope of the study, there began an attempt to obtain as subjects a wide variety of adult Americans. The aim was to examine people who possessed in different degrees as many as possible of the sociological variables presumed to be relevant to the study—political, religious, occupational, income, and social group memberships. A list of all the groups (college and noncollege) from whom questionnaires were collected is given in Table 1(I).

The group within which a subject was functioning at the time he filled out the questionnaire was, of course, not necessarily the most important or representative of the various groups to which he belonged. The questionnaire itself was relied upon to give information about the group memberships deemed most relevant to the study, and subjects could be categorized on this basis regardless of the group through which the questionnaires were collected.

The emphasis throughout was upon obtaining different *kinds* of subjects, enough to insure wide variability of opinion and attitude and adequate coverage of the factors supposed to influence ideology. The subjects are in no sense a random sample of the noncollege population nor, since there was no attempt to make a sociological analysis of the community in which they lived, can they be regarded as a representative sample. The progress of the study was not in the direction of broadening the basis for generalization about larger populations, but rather toward the more intensive investigation

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TABLE 1(I)
GROUPS FROM WHOM QUESTIONNAIRES WERE COLLECTED[a]

	No. of Cases
I. *Form 78* (January to May, 1945)	
University of California Public Speaking Class Women	140
University of California Public Speaking Class Men	52
University of California Extension Psychology Class (adult women)	40
Professional Women (public school teachers, social workers, public health nurses) (San Francisco area)	63
Total	295
II. *Form 60* (Summer, 1945)	
University of Oregon Student Women	47
University of Oregon and University of California Student Women	54
University of Oregon and University of California Student Men	57
Oregon Service Club Men (Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary Clubs) (Total questionnaire)	68
Oregon Service Club Men (Form A only)[b]	60
Total	286
III. *Forms 45 and 40* (November, 1945, to June, 1946)	
A. *Form 45*	
University of California Extension Testing Class (adult women)	59
Psychiatric Clinic Patients (men and women) (Langley Porter Clinic of the University of California)	121
San Quentin State Prison Inmates (men)	110
Total	243
B. *Both Forms 45 and 40*	
Alameda School for Merchant Marine Officers (men)	343
U.S. Employment Service Veterans (men)	106
Total	449
C. *Form 40*	
Working-Class Women:	
California Labor School	19
United Electrical Workers Union (C.I.O.)	8
Office Workers	11
Longshoremen and Warehousemen (I.L.W.U.) (new members)	10
Federal Housing Project Workers	5
	53

[a] In most cases each group taking the questionnaire was treated separately for statistical purposes, e.g., San Quentin Prison Inmates, Psychiatric Clinic Men. However, some groups were too small for this purpose and were therefore combined with other sociologically similar groups. When such combinations occurred, the composition of the overall group is indicated in the table.

[b] *Form A* included the scale for measuring potentially antidemocratic trends in the personality and half of the scale for measuring politico-economic conservatism.

Working-Class Men:		
United Electrical Workers Union (C.I.O.)	12	
California Labor School	15	
Longshoremen and Warehousemen (I.L.W.U.) (new members)	26	
United Seamen's Service	8	
		61
Middle-Class Women:		
Parent-Teachers' Association	46	
California Labor School (middle-class members)	11	
Suburban Church Group	29	
Unitarian Church Group	15	
League of Women Voters	17	
Upper Middle-Class Women's Club	36	
		154
Middle-Class Men:		
Parent-Teachers' Association	29	
Suburban Church Group	31	
California Labor School (middle-class members)	9	
		69
California Service Club Men:		
Kiwanis Club	40	
Rotary Club	23	
		63
George Washington University Women Students	132	
Los Angeles Men (classes at University of California and University of Southern California, fraternity group, adult evening class, parents of students, radio writers group)	117	
Los Angeles Women (same groupings as above)	130	
		779
Total		1,518
Total Forms 45 and 40		2,099
Overall Total of All Forms		

of "key groups," that is, groups having the characteristics that were most crucial to the problem at hand. Some groups were chosen because their sociological status was such that they could be expected to play a vital role in a struggle centering around social discrimination, e.g., veterans, service clubs, women's clubs. Other groups were chosen for intensive study because they presented extreme manifestations of the personality variables deemed most crucial for the potentially antidemocratic individual, e.g., prison inmates, psychiatric patients.

Save for a few key groups, the subjects were drawn almost exclusively from the middle socioeconomic class. It was discovered fairly early in the study that the investigation of lower classes would require different instru-

ments and different procedures from those developed through the use of college students and, hence, this was a task that had best be postponed.

Groups in which there was a preponderance of minority group members were avoided, and when minority group members happened to belong to an organization which cooperated in the study, their questionnaires were excluded from the calculations. It was not that the ideological trends in minority groups were considered unimportant; it was rather that their investigation involved special problems which lay outside the scope of the present study.

The great majority of the subjects of the study lived within the San Francisco Bay area. Concerning this community it may be said that the population increased rapidly during the decade preceding the outbreak of World War II, so that a large proportion were newcomers from all parts of the nation. During the war, when the area took on the aspect of a boom town, the influx was greatly intensified and, hence, it is probable that a large number of the present subjects were people who had recently come from other states.

Two large groups were obtained in the Los Angeles area, several smaller groups in Oregon, and one group in Washington, D. C.

Unless a person had at least a grammar school education, it was very difficult, if not impossible, for him to fill out the questionnaire properly—to understand the issues set forth in the scales and the instructions for marking the forms. The average educational level of the subjects in the study is about the twelfth grade, there being roughly as many college graduates as there were subjects who had not completed high school. It is important to note that the present samples are heavily weighted with younger people, the bulk of them falling between the ages of twenty and thirty-five.

It will be apparent that the subjects of the study taken all together would provide a rather inadequate basis for generalizing about the total population of this country. The findings of the study may be expected to hold fairly well for non-Jewish, white, native-born, middle-class Americans. Where the same relationships appeared repeatedly as different groups—e.g., college students, women's clubs, prison inmates—came under scrutiny, generalizations may be made with the most certainty. When sections of the population not sampled in the present study are made the subjects of research, it is to be expected that most of the relationships reported in the following chapters will still hold—and that additional ones will be found.

2. THE DISTRIBUTION AND COLLECTION OF QUESTIONNAIRES

In approaching a group from whom questionnaires were to be collected, the first step was to secure the cooperation of the group leadership. This was never difficult when the leader was liberal in his outlook, e.g., the instructor of a class in public speaking, the psychologist at a Maritime School,

a minister in the inner councils of a men's service club. The purposes and procedures of the study were explained to him fully, and he then presented the project of filling out the questionnaires to his group. When the group leadership was conservative, the procedure was more difficult. If it were made known that the study had something to do with social discrimination, it was not unusual for great interest in this "important problem" to be expressed at first and then for one delay to follow another until hope of obtaining responses from the group in question had to be abandoned. Among people of this type there appeared to be a conviction that it was best to let sleeping dogs lie, that the best approach to the "race problem" was not to "stir up anything." A more successful approach to conservative leaders was to present the whole project as a survey of general public opinion, "like a Gallup poll," being carried forward by a group of scientists at the University, and to count upon the variety and relative mildness of the scale items to prevent undue alarm.

In collecting questionnaires from classes of students, whether in regular sessions of the University, in summer school, or in university extension, it was usual for the instructor of the class to handle the whole proceeding himself. In other instances it was usually necessary to combine the administration of the questionnaire with a talk to the group by a member of the Study staff. He gave the instructions for filling out the questionnaires, aided in their collection, and then gave a talk on "Gauging Public Opinion," coming only as close to the real issues of the study as he judged possible without arousing the resistances of his audience.

Whether the group was judged to be liberal or not, the questionnaire was always presented to it as a public opinion inventory—not as a study of prejudice. The instructions given to the groups follow:

SURVEY OF GENERAL PUBLIC OPINION: INSTRUCTIONS

We are trying to find out what the general public feels and thinks about a number of important social questions.

We are sure you will find the enclosed survey interesting. You will find in it many questions and social issues which you have thought about, read about in newspapers and magazines, and heard about on the radio.

This is *not* an *intelligence test* nor an information test. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers. The best answer is *your personal opinion.* You can be sure that, whatever your opinion may be on a certain issue, there will be many people who agree, many who disagree. And this is what we want to find out: how is public opinion really divided on each of these socially important topics?

It must be emphasized that the sponsors of this survey do not necessarily agree or disagree with the statements in it. *We have tried to cover a great many points of view.* We agree with some of the statements, and disagree with others. Similarly, you will probably find yourself agreeing strongly with some statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and being perhaps more neutral about still others.

We realize that people are very busy nowadays, and we don't want to take too much of your time. All that we ask is that you:

(a) Read each statement carefully and mark it according to your first reaction. It isn't necessary to take a lot of time for any one question.
(b) *Answer every question.*
(c) *Give your personal point of view.* Don't talk the questions over with anyone until you have finished.
(d) Be as *sincere*, *accurate*, and *complete* as possible in the limited time and space.

This survey works just like a Gallup Poll or an election. As in any other secret ballot, the "voters" who fill it out do not have to give their names.

The cooperation of the groups, once they were presented with the questionnaire, was excellent, at least 90 per cent of those present usually handing in completed questionnaires. Some members of each group were, of course, absent on the day the questionnaire was administered, but since there was never any advance notice about this part of the program, there is no reason to believe that the responses of these absentees would have been generally different from those of the rest of the group. Subjects who were present but failed to hand in completed questionnaires fall almost entirely into two classes: those who made no attempt to cooperate and those who handed in incomplete questionnaires. It is to be suspected that the former were more antidemocratic than the average of their group, while the slowness or carelessness of the latter is probably of no significance for ideology.

There was one attempt to collect questionnaires by mail. Over 200 questionnaires with complete instructions were mailed to teachers and nurses, together with a letter soliciting their cooperation and covering letters from their superintendents. The return was a disappointing 20 per cent, and this sample was strongly biased in the direction of low scores on the scales for measuring antidemocratic trends.

3. THE SELECTION OF SUBJECTS FOR INTENSIVE CLINICAL STUDY

With a few exceptions, the subjects from a given group who were interviewed and given the Thematic Apperception Test were chosen from among the 25 per cent obtaining the highest and the 25 per cent obtaining the lowest scores (high and low quartiles) on the Ethnocentrism scale. This scale, it seemed, would give the best initial measure of antidemocratic tendencies.

If the group from which subjects were to be selected was one which held regular meetings, as was usually the case, the procedure was to collect the questionnaires at one meeting, to obtain the scale scores and decide upon suitable interviewees, and then to solicit further cooperation at the next meeting. In the few cases where the use of a second meeting was impossible, the request for interviewees was made at the time of administering the questionnaire, those willing to be interviewed being asked to indicate how they might be reached. In order to disguise the basis of selection and the purpose of the clinical study, the groups were told that the attempt was being made to carry on a more detailed discussion of opinions and ideas

with a few of their number—about 10 per cent—and that people representing the various kinds and degrees of response found in the group were being asked to come for interviews.

Anonymity was to be insured for the interviews as well as for the group survey, if the subject so desired. In order to arrange this, subjects desired for individual study were referred to by the birth date which they had entered on their questionnaires. This could not be done, however, in those cases where subjects were asked to signify at the time of filling out the questionnaire whether or not they were willing to be interviewed. This may have been one reason why the response in these instances was poor. But there were other reasons why subjects of these groups were difficult to interview, and it is to be noted that the great majority of those secured under the birth date arrangement showed no concern about anonymity once their appointments had been made.

Subjects were paid $3.00 for the two to three hours they spent in the clinical sessions. In offering this inducement at the time of the request for interviewees, it was pointed out that this was the only way to insure that the staff of the Study would not be conscience-stricken for taking so much valuable time. The arrangement did indeed have this effect, but what was more important, it was a considerable aid to securing suitable subjects: most of those who scored low on the Ethnocentrism scale would have cooperated anyway, being somewhat attracted to psychology and willing to give their time in a "good cause," but many of the high scorers made it plain that the money was the determining consideration.

In selecting subjects for clinical study the aim was to examine a variety of high and low scorers. Considerable variety was assured by the device of taking a few from most of the different groups studied. Within a given group it was possible to achieve further variety with respect to group memberships and scores on the other scales. There was no attempt, however, to arrange that the percentage of the interviewed subjects having each of various group memberships was the same as that which held for the group from which they were drawn. The question of how well the high and low scorers who were interviewed represent all those who scored high or low on the Ethnocentrism scale is taken up in Chapter IX.

Very few "middle" subjects—the 50 per cent whose scores fall between the high and the low quartiles—were interviewed. It was believed that for the understanding of antidemocratic trends the most important first step was to determine the factors which most clearly distinguished one extreme from the other. In order properly to compare two groups it is necessary to have a minimum of thirty to forty subjects in each group, and since men and women, as it turned out, presented somewhat different problems and had to be treated separately, the study of high- vs. low-scoring men and the study of high- vs. low-scoring women involved four statistical groupings totaling

150. To conduct more interviews than this was for practical reasons impossible. The intensive study of representative middle scorers should form a central part of any future research along the lines of the present study. Since they are more numerous than either extreme, it is especially important to know their democratic or antidemocratic potentialities. The impression gained from a few interviews with middle scorers, and from the examination of many of their questionnaires, is that they are not indifferent or ignorant with respect to the issues of the scales, or lacking in the kinds of motivation or personality traits found in the extremes. In short, they are in no sense categorically different; they are, as it were, made of the same stuff but in different combinations.

PART I

The Measurement of Ideological Trends

CHAPTER II

THE CONTRASTING IDEOLOGIES OF TWO COLLEGE MEN: A PRELIMINARY VIEW

R. Nevitt Sanford

A. INTRODUCTION

Although the present research is concerned primarily with the organization of ideological trends within the individual, the reader will soon note that the bulk of this volume is concerned not with individuals as such but with variables and their general relationships. This is unavoidable, for although each variable is but an abstraction when lifted out of the total context in which it operates, the study of individuals can proceed only by analysis into components, and the relations of these components can be regarded as significant only if they can be, to some extent at least, generalized. Nevertheless, every effort will be made to keep the individual constantly in mind as the analysis of components proceeds.

The verbatim interview protocols of two extreme scorers—one high (prejudiced) and one low (against prejudice)—on the Ethnocentrism scale will, in the present chapter, picture these subjects as they might appear to the casual observer during, let us say, an evening's discussion, among friends, of current social issues. Only the interview discussions of minorities, politics, religion, vocation, and income are given, the more personal clinical-genetic material being left for later sections. That the distinction between "ideological" and "personal" is artificial—though often useful—is indicated by the fact that in the subject's spontaneous discussion of ideology some references to personal matters such as family and childhood repeatedly crop up. The aim is to set forth in a preliminary way that which is to be studied, to give a general impression of the totality which is to be analyzed and, in so far as possible, generalized. As the various components are taken up in turn in the following chapters, each is related to what has gone before, until a point is reached where each can be related to the whole. The value of the analysis can be measured in terms of how much the formulations arrived at in the end contribute to an understanding of the individuals whose protocols are presented here.

A special advantage of having actual cases in view at the start is that it becomes possible to state research problems in concrete terms. The reader will probably find that the kinds of discussion presented below are familiar; he may even have asked himself after listening to such a discussion, "Why does he talk that way?" This is one way of putting the major question of the present research. In order to approach an answer it is necessary first to describe as precisely as possible *how* the subject talks, to have terms in which the manner and content of his thought may be compared with that of others. In the present chapter, therefore, the interviews are used to illustrate the derivation of the descriptive concepts of the study. These concepts are then employed in framing research questions and formulating explanatory hypotheses.

The protocols which follow do not represent the most extreme cases found in the study (if the total population were sampled they probably would not be extreme at all); nor can they be said to be typical, in any strict sense of the word, of subjects falling into the high or the low quartiles on the Ethnocentrism scale. There are other types of extremes than these, but at the least they belong to the types found most commonly among the high and low scorers. Lack of space makes it impossible to consider in this chapter examples of women with extreme scores; studies of individual women are, however, presented in later sections.

Much of the interview material given below may, at first glance, impress the reader as rather unimportant, and quite unrelated to prejudice. The analysis to follow, however, will show that nearly everything these subjects say makes some contribution to the general picture and has meaning when viewed in relation to it.

B. MACK: A MAN HIGH ON ETHNOCENTRISM

This subject is a twenty-four year old college freshman who intends to study law and hopes eventually to become a corporation lawyer or a criminal lawyer[1]:

His grades are B— on the average. After graduating from high school and attending business school for a year, he worked in the Civil Service in Washington, D. C. His brief sojourn in the Army was terminated by a medical discharge—because of a stomach condition—when he was attending Officer Candidate School.

He is a Methodist, as was his mother, but he does not attend services and he thinks religion is not important to him. His political party affiliation

[1] Most of the material of this brief introduction to the subject was contained in his questionnaire, though a few pertinent facts are from his interview. In later sections all of his responses on the questionnaire will be considered in relation to the clinical material, but here the aim is merely to identify him, as it were, before proceeding with the discussion of his ideology.

is, like his father's, Democratic. He "agrees" with the political trends expressed by the Anti-New Deal Democrats and "disagrees" with the New Deal Democrats; he "disagrees" with the traditional Republicans but "agrees" with the Willkie-type Republicans.

The subject is of "Irish" extraction and was born in San Francisco. Both of his parents were born in the United States. He states in his questionnaire that his father is a retired lumberman who owns his own home and has a retired income of $1,000. It is learned in the interview that the father was a worker in the woods and in the mills and it is to be inferred that his income derives mainly from a pension. The mother died when the subject was six. He has a sister four years his senior.

The protocol of his interview follows:[2]

Vocation: This student has decided to make law his vocation. He says he has been out of school three years and is now a freshman at the University. However, he went for two years to business school and in addition has attended night school; but he has to start at the beginning here. He had a Civil Service job in Washington, being for a time principal clerk in one of the sections of the War Department. (What made you decide to be a lawyer?) "I decided when I was in Washington. Of course, I was half decided when I was at business school, where business law was emphasized. When I was in high school, my financial means were such that I figured I had better get a general business education and then go to work. (In what ways does law appeal to you?) Well, it seems to me to unlock an awful lot of doors. In any profession, you go so far and then you bump up against it. It is the fundamental basis of our government. It is really the foundation of our enterprise. Sometime I have hopes of making it available to people without funds, so that they can have equal sittings in the court. I want to go in for a general practice at the start and then maybe corporate law and then maybe criminal law. Law will be more important in the future than ever before. There is a trend toward more stringent laws, more regimentation. This will be true whether the form of government alters or not. Economists have determined that for the good of everybody there has to be central control. (What does your father think of the law?) My father is quite interested in it. Of course, he wanted business for me. He has business ability but he is a very retiring fellow. He wouldn't meet people. He owned some lumber land, but mostly he preferred working for other people. He is very unassuming; he worked in the woods and in the mills. His $1,000 income now is from investments, stocks and bonds. He hasn't worked for thirty years. At the time he worked, the wage was around $75 a month. He had stomach trouble. Yes, he owns his own home in a little town. We have our own cistern and an electric pump that I helped install. He built the old house himself and he has all the modern conveniences. He can get by all right on $1,000 a year."

Income: (You want to earn $5,000 per year?) "Well, $5,000 sounds like a lot of money right now. It depends on where you live and how. In ordinary circumstances you could live comfortably on it. The opportunities for a lawyer in a small town are limited, but I do like the small town. Especially those that are adjacent

[2] The interviewer wrote as rapidly as he could, in a "shorthand" of his own, throughout the interview and then immediately used a dictaphone to record all that he had written. In this way it was possible to approach a verbatim recording of what the subject had said. Throughout the book, the interviewer's report of the interview is given in small type. Quotation marks within this material indicate a verbatim record of the subject's statements.

to the mountains. I enjoy hunting, fishing, and camping. But I like the conveniences of the city. In the city you have finer houses and the theaters. I haven't found any place I like better than California, and I have traveled quite a lot. I'm going to travel to Alaska. My father's brother died there in the Yukon. There are great possibilities there in the future. If a person studies it carefully and locates properly, he goes up with a town. I worked with some men lumbering last summer who worked on the Alaska highway. They found it pretty tough going. But these difficulties can be overcome if big capitalists get interested. There is a huge pool of oil up there, you know, and that ought to be developed."

Politics: "I voted for Dewey. In previous times I would have voted for FDR, but I worked there in Washington and saw things I would put a stop to. There is a concentration of power in the bureaus. People who work there have different attitudes. In the Civil Service you are paid according to how many people are under you, so they want people to come in. They think of themselves only. I'm not mercenary enough to understand it. I would simplify things by a competent administration. There is too much overlapping and bungling. I was the right-hand man of the General there when the OWI was introduced. They put up this building for $600,000 with little purpose in mind. They did the same thing that the Army monitoring service was already doing. The OWI wanted to take it over. Even after the OWI took it over, the War Department still helped prepare the communiques; but the OWI wanted credit. All that duplication at a tremendous outlay of money for no purpose. And all the time our department was crying for personnel. I worked many hours overtime for no pay because I was in the Civil Service. I was there from September, 1940, to September, 1942. I was there when war was declared. I worked then for thirty-seven hours straight. It was quite a day in Washington. I liked living in Washington very much. I like being close to the center of things. You can learn a lot about how the government functions. There are daily events at your fingertips that by the time it gets here have changed somehow. It was fun knowing about the background, knowing about the secret committees. My salary was $2,000 a year. Living conditions, of course, were terrible. (What did you like about Dewey especially?) I liked Dewey's background, his frankness, honesty, his clear-cut way of presenting his case. I think that at heart he is a very honest man, interested in maintaining the old government traditions. (How do you see things shaping up for the future?) If we maintain our present system of government, and I think we will for a time, some things will have to be altered. The system in Washington has outgrown the limits of one man to control. We have got to eliminate confusion. The man who runs it must pick his lieutenants carefully. The way it is now, there is no clear authority. You have to consult a half a dozen agencies to get anywhere. This will recede very little after the war. Eventually the President will have to appoint a strong Cabinet to run things for him. There is no doubt that the system is becoming more centralized. I doubt that President Roosevelt will be reelected. It depends on the way the war goes. From his speeches, one seems to see that he feels he is necessary to the United States. He has control of the Party and will run as long as he is physically able. The popular vote in the last election was very close. It was skilful politics that enabled the old guard to win. Considering his obstacles, Dewey did very well. In ordinary times, he would have had a landslide. People who had sons in the war effort felt that taking the President out might prolong the war. That was wrong. The Army and the Navy were prepared for the war ten years in advance. General Marshall would have had a lot to say, whoever was elected. I have sat beside him and heard him talk. Nobody could alter his position. A change of presidents might have altered

our relations to England, but not to Russia. Recently there has been a lot of opposition to Churchill. He has been OK in war, but how he will be in peace is a question. There is, of course, close feeling between Roosevelt and Churchill. But Roosevelt would come out second-best in a contest with Winnie. Of course, a lot of Roosevelt's ideas came from Hoover. (Would there be a difference in our relations with Russia?) No, there would be no difference in our relations with Russia. I think Joe Stalin would play pretty fair with us. And Dewey is honest to the death. He has a good background, though not of the wealthy class, and he would think of the average people. His honesty and straightforwardness appeal to me greatly. But a man has to use some underhandedness to get across the highest ideals."

Religion: "On my father's side, my folks were Catholic. My father and his brothers and sisters were Catholic. Father was never deeply religious, but he was a good man. He drank but little, and he never smoked. He was very honest and strict in his dealings. He followed the church rules without going to church. It stems back to his not wanting to meet people. He was very retiring, and I can't understand it. The other members of his family were not that way. His sisters are very average. My mother was a Methodist and quite strict up until her death. I was sick much of the time. She brought us up very strictly under this guidance. Her aunt took us in hand when Mother died and saw that we attended Sunday School with her children. That was up until I was twelve or thirteen. Then I got out of the habit. I like church OK, though I disagree with some of its doctrines. I like the music and singing in church. I was so busy since high school that I stopped going. I have gone in for social things in spite of a great dread of them. But I looked at my father and saw that I had to do differently. Yes, the teachings of Sunday School did mean something. But the arbitrary beliefs were too much. I grew up quickly. My father has allowed me to do as I pleased, although he forced some decisions upon me. About smoking, he said I must do it in front of him, if I must. He also provided wines and liquors in the ice chest. I soon tired of smoking and never took much to drinking. I have a stubborn nature, and if he had tried to stop me, I probably would have taken it up. (Under what conditions might you turn to religion?) Yes, under some conditions I might. I have had a lot of sickness, stomach trouble ever since I was twelve. I was in the hospital once for three months. During those periods, I like to turn to the Bible. I like the history and sayings of Christ, principally. I like to consider them and analyze them and figure out how they affect me. I'm not so interested in the apostles' sayings—that's not first-hand, so I don't accept it entirely. I have to be assured of it factually. I have always tried to live according to His Ten Commandments. I like to receive just treatment and to give it to others. (What about your conception of God?) Well, I have none especially. The closest conception I got was when I was in the service, that is, God as strictly man, greater than any on this earth, one that would treat us as a father would his son. I don't think God is terrible in His justice. If one lives justly, his laxness will be overlooked. The thing is to make things happier and juster on the earth."

Minorities: "My mother comes from an Irish-English-German background. I think of myself as Irish—perhaps because my father is definitely so, and proud of it. He likes the thought of St. Patrick's Day. I have a quick temper like the Irish. If there is a lot of Irish in people, they are very enjoyable. They are easy spenders, even though they never have much. They have the ability to make other people happy. They are often witty. I wish I were more like that. But there is too much of the lackadaisical and laziness in some classes of Irish. (Which groups would you contrast with the Irish?) The Irish are most different from the Germans or Dutch

or maybe the Scandinavians—perhaps Polish or White Russians, where you find a more stolid person in thought and action. The types that I have encountered have a solid build and are not very excitable. (Question about Irish assimilating.) I like to think of an Irish strain; it is enjoyable. Yet in some people the Irish seems to predominate. It depends on the individual. I don't have any desire to be Irish, but I like people who are. I never met an Irishman I didn't like. My brother-in-law is very definitely Irish. (What about groups of people you dislike?) Principally those I don't understand very well. Austrians, the Japanese I never cared for; Filipinos—I don't know—I'd just as soon leave them as have them. Up home there were Austrians and Poles, though I find the Polish people interesting. I have a little dislike for Jewish people. I don't think they are as courteous or as interested in humanity as they ought to be. And I resent that, though I have had few dealings with them. They accent the clannish and the material. It may be my imagination, but it seems to me you can see their eyes light up when you hand them a coin. I avoid the Jewish clothiers because they have second-rate stuff. I have to be careful about how I dress. I mean, I buy things so seldom I have to be careful I get good things. (Can you tell that a person is a Jew?) Sometimes; usually only after I get their ideas. Like one of the girls in Public Speaking. She had all the characteristics, but she left a favorable impression on me, even though her ideas I disagree with. (You mean there are certain ideas which characterize the Jews?) Yes, to stick together, no matter what; to always be in a group; to have Jewish sororities and Jewish organizations. If a Jew fails in his business, he's helped to get started again. Their attention is directed very greatly toward wealth. Girls at the Jewish sorority house all have fur coats, expensive but no taste. Almost a superiority idea. I resent any show of superiority in people, and I try to keep it down myself. I like to talk with working people. (Do you think the dislike of Jews is increasing?) No, I think this war has made people closer together in this country. I've come across Jewish soldiers and sailors; they would be liked and accepted if they would be willing to mix, but they would rather be alone, though I would have accepted them the same as anybody. I think they have interesting ideas, but they have to have something in return. (Do you think the Jews have done their part in the war effort?) Perhaps they have, but they are businessmen, and they have been fully repaid. (Do you think the Jews are a political force in this country?) Yes, in New York there is an organization for Jewish immigration and comfort of Jews. They are very well organized. This should not be allowed. (What do you think is the danger?) I don't believe it is a danger except in a concentration of wealth in a certain class. I hate to see people in this country take on the burdens of people who have been misfits in other countries. We have enough problems at home without helping the oppressed of other countries. The Jews won't intermingle. So they are not a great contribution to our country—though Jewish scientists and doctors have contributed a great deal. I checked on the immigration. Three-quarters of those leaving Europe arrive here. They are very thorough in it. They are businessmen and they will bring pressure to bear on Congress. We ought to prevent further immigration and concentrate on trying to get them to mingle and become a part of our people. (Do you think they would mingle more if they felt there was no prejudice against them?) If they would mingle more, there would be more willingness to break down the barriers on the part of other people. Of course, they have always been downtrodden, but that's no reason for resentment. (I notice you stated you wouldn't marry a Jew.) I certainly wouldn't. I would date that girl in Public Speaking, but she doesn't emphasize her Jewishness. She was accepted by

the whole class. I would marry her if she had thrown off her Jewishness, but I wouldn't be able to associate with her class."

C. LARRY: A MAN LOW ON ETHNOCENTRISM

This subject is a twenty-eight year old college sophomore, a student of Business Administration, with a B– average. Like Mack, his choice of a career was made after he had been out of school for a number of years—working part of the time and spending part of the time in a tuberculosis sanitarium.

He is of "American" extraction and was born in Chicago. Both parents were born in the United States. His father is a café and bar owner (a small businessman, working in his own business), whose income is now $12,000 as compared with a prewar $3,000. The father owns his own home and some other real estate.

The subject, like his parents, is a Methodist, though he attends church seldom. He is a Republican—again like his parents. He "agrees" with the Willkie-type Republicans and "disagrees" with the traditional Republicans; he "disagrees" with the New Deal Democrats, while "agreeing" with the Anti-New Deal Democrats. This pattern of response, on the questionnaire, is the same as that of Mack, the high-scoring man. It will be especially interesting therefore to note the contrast in the political ideologies of these two men as given in the interview. It will show how great, sometimes, is the discrepancy between the political party or the "official" ideology of a subject and his actual political tendencies.

Vocation: "I have definite plans; I want to go into real estate and finance. I want to own my own business as an executive. I want to combine real estate and finance, that is lending money, and if successful, I would go into a brokerage business, buying and selling stocks and bonds. (Money?) Several of my relatives and my father have money, and will support me. I worked for them, as assistant manager for my father who is in a café and bar business, and he is also in real estate. Then I worked for CPA accounting firms, for several, and I have taken courses where I could pick things up, in accounting and business. I had one year of junior college, but I didn't take my work seriously. I got fairly good grades, but not as good as I should have gotten. I got a disease; I was in the hospital for four years. (It took several questions to learn that the subject had tuberculosis and was in a sanitarium.) But I never lost hope. I always planned to return to college. I took correspondence courses during my last two years in the hospital. (Larry always calls it a hospital, never a sanitarium.) In accounting, business management, etc., I did reading to improve my mind. I almost memorized Dale Carnegie's *How to Win Friends* . . . because I thought it would help me in business contacts. I planned my whole life, even where I'd settle down, in Los Angeles. That was all I had to do, lying there in bed, was plan my whole future, what I would do, and how I would do it. (What do you like about your planned business?) My grandmother had a rather successful restaurant; she was a very efficient businesswoman, and I admired her. My whole environment was about business; it glorified it, and I

learned the same attitude. Being in business for yourself gives independence, more money, vacations whenever you want, the freedom you don't get in a 365-days-a-year job. I never cared for sciences like chemistry, zoology, dentistry, and stuff like that. (Medicine?) That would be all right if I thought I could go to the top; but the average one is holed up in a top-floor office, not making more than $200 a month very often. That's nothing compared to a businessman who hasn't had any education or worked to prepare himself as a doctor has. It's not only the money, but also the general way of living. (However, the money seems to be clearly and focally important.) I returned to school for three reasons: (1) knowledge—to be able to philosophize and understand things; (2) security—to get an adequate living; (3) social prestige." (This is a good example of Larry's tendency to make everything organized and explicit. He knows just what he wants to do and why he wants to do it, and has even tried to make psychological explanations for this tendency. He enumerated 1, 2, 3 on his fingertips.)

Income: "I'd like to earn at least $25,000 a year and have a personal capital of $100,000, that is to say, my own money apart from the business, so I could travel, do whatever I want, whatever I see other people do, go to Europe, attend the Kentucky Derby, or whatever. I would travel first class, go by air, see South America, go nearly any place. I've traveled only a little so far. Or, go to a convention in the East if I want to. Not a millionaire, just enough to do these things with full security for the future. (How optimistic or pessimistic are you?) I'm very optimistic. I don't know exactly how much, but I'll be at least fairly successful, probably as I said before. I've already had a little success. Last year in Chicago I had an opportunity to go into business with some men in the cabaret and bowling-alley business, along that line. But they didn't offer enough money, and I didn't like the bowling business anyway. Besides, I wanted to come back to school, lay a basis for my final plans, and having my own business. (What if you fail?) I wouldn't commit suicide or get terribly depressed. That sickness (he never calls it by name) taught me to philosophize, to take things as they come with a smile, to start again fresh after every difficulty. (What about your family?) During the depression my father had a good job, as always; not wealthy, but better than average, about $3,000 a year, I guess; but we had a large family, six children; I'm in the middle. Then he went into business and did very well; he now has a gold-mine bar. He makes more in a year than he ever expected to make in a lifetime. He has also bought some property on the side and is making a lot at that. He is like his mother, my grandmother. She and he just love their business. He doesn't want vacations, or social prestige, or wealth as such. He just wants to be an efficient, successful businessman, and all his pleasure comes from that. I guess it's wanting to have satisfied customers, having them come in for years and be satisfied and to have well-coordinated employees. (What kind of a boss is he?) He is kind but firm. He bought homes for two employees; he lets them pay it off to him gradually. He gives them a Christmas bonus, stuff like that, but he also demands efficiency and output. He is an ideal employer. In fact, I don't think I'd be as good to my employees as he is, like risking money on their homes and not knowing whether they might run out on me or not."

Politics: "My father and mother are Republicans. They never voted for Roosevelt. I have voted in two elections, and I voted Republican. But our relatives are Democrats and our friends too. The whole family has been Republican for years and I guess that's why I am, and that's why my father is too. Also because businessmen generally don't like the taxes, restrictions, and bureaus, the red tape. Roosevelt is too much of a politician; he hasn't enough principles. Like the way

he threw over Wallace in the last election. I prefer Jones to Wallace as Secretary of Commerce, because Jones is a better businessman and would be more efficient; in general I like Wallace and Willkie, though I don't like Wallace's farm program. (Who is the best Republican?) Willkie. I voted for Dewey mostly as a protest against Roosevelt. But Dewey is too young and not experienced enough. (Dewey vs. Wallace?) Wallace is the better man, and I usually vote for the better man, but I guess I put politics ahead of the man this time, to get the Republicans back. I think it's time for a change of party."

Minorities: (What do you think about the minority problem in this country?) "I can say that I haven't any prejudices; I try not to. (Negroes?) They should be given social equality, any job they are qualified for; should be able to live in any neighborhood, and so on. When I was young, I may have had prejudices, but since the war I've been reading about the whole world, and our minority problems seem so petty compared with the way other countries have worked things out. (Example?) Like Russia; I don't like their share-the-wealth economics, but I think they are unified and fighting so wonderfully because everyone is equal. (He then gives a discourse on France, England, the Dutch, etc., and shows good knowledge of imperialism, exploitation of colonies, and so on, in the minorities aspect. He is less clear about the economics.) I believe in life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for all. We aren't unified and we don't know what we're fighting for, and the discrimination is at the root of it. Racial and economic questions are at the root of war. I don't believe in the suppression of anyone. I think the Japs are taken off the coast for undemocratic reasons. It's just that a lot of people wanted their farms and businesses. There was no real democratic reason for it. The segregation of one nationality just leads to more segregation, and it gets worse. The discrimination toward Negroes is because they aren't understood and because they are physically different. Towards Jews it's because of their business ability—the fear that they'll take over business control of the country. There should be education in Negro history, for instance, the part Negroes have played in the development of the country; and education in the history of other minorities, too. How the Jews came to be persecuted, and why some of them are successful."

Religion: "I'm Methodist, and my family is Methodist, except for one brother who is going to be a Catholic priest. He's fifteen. He just likes it—he got into it by himself. Well, my mother was Catholic as a girl, but she became a Methodist when she married, and she didn't try to make any of us Catholics. (Value of religion?) It teaches the morals of right and wrong; that's the main value. But I question lots of religious teachings, after studying science and philosophy—like Darwin's evolution theory and the fact that man's history goes back to before the Bible. I go to church, I try to believe in religion, but I sometimes question much of it. I enjoy church, a good sermon on morals and good living, and how to progress. That's what's most important about religion (Parents?) They were church attenders, fairly religious; they sent us to Sunday School; they still say blessing before each meal. But they don't discuss religion or think much about it outside of church."

D. ANALYSIS OF THE TWO CASES

Before we turn to the analysis of these two interviews, a few words concerning their significance for our major research problem may be injected. It will probably be granted that each of these protocols gives a total im-

pression. Though each contains some contradictions, each appears to be relatively organized and relatively self-consistent psychologically. What is the importance for prejudice or potential fascism of such overall patterns? It may be argued that overt behavior in specific situations forms the crux of social discrimination, and that the most pressing need is for information concerning how many people today will, under given conditions, engage in this or that discriminatory practice. This kind of information is important, but it is not the particular concern of the present research. The major concern here is with the potential for fascism in this country. Since we do not have fascism, and since overt antidemocratic actions are officially frowned upon, surveys of what people actually do at the present time are likely to underestimate the danger. The question asked here is what is the degree of *readiness* to behave antidemocratically should social conditions change in such a way as to remove or reduce the restraint upon this kind of behavior? This readiness, according to the present theory, is integral with the total mental organization here being considered.

Though each ideological pattern may be regarded as a whole, it is a complex whole, one that embraces numerous features with respect to which individuals may differ significantly. It is not enough to say that the one man is "prejudiced" and the other "unprejudiced," and on this basis to make value judgments and to plan for action. What are the distinguishing features? How is their presence within the individual to be accounted for? What is their role within his over-all adjustment? How do they interact with other features to form an organized totality?

In order to arrive at answers to these questions, the first task, it appears, is one of description. It is necessary to inquire, first, what are the trends or themes which run through an individual's discussion of each ideological area and through his discussion of ideology in general and, second, in what respect are these contents (variables) similar to and how do they differ from those found in another subject.

The following examination of the interview protocols just presented is designed to illustrate the kinds of descriptive concepts used in the present study, and to show the manner of their derivation. The analysis was guided by a theoretical approach, and it is to be recognized that another approach might draw attention to other aspects of the cases; there seems little reason to doubt, however, that the features here distinguished are among the most important ones.

As the descriptive concepts are brought forward, it will be possible to raise concrete questions for research. These questions concern (a) the determinants of consistent trends within the individual and of differences from one individual to another, and (b) the *generality* in larger populations of the variables and the explanatory relationships formulated on the basis of a few case studies.

The order of topics in the interview protocols was determined by consid-

erations of interviewing technique: one should start with what the subject finds it easiest to talk about and leave the more affect-laden questions, such as those concerning minorities, until the end. It is convenient here, however, to take up the topics in an order which is more in keeping with the development of the study and the general plan of the present volume: anti-Semitism, then ethnocentrism, and then ideology in general.

1. IDEOLOGY CONCERNING THE JEWS

Mack's accusations against the Jews may be grouped under three main headings: (a) violations of conventional values, (b) ingroup characteristics (clannish and power-seeking), and (c) burdens and misfits. The Jews are said to violate conventional values in that they are "not courteous or interested in humanity" but, instead, are materialistic and money-minded. As businessmen they have "second-class stuff" and are given to cheating; in social contacts the accent is on what is expensive but lacking in taste.

The Jews as a whole are conceived of as constituting a closely knit group, the members of which are blindly loyal and stick together for mutual comfort and help. They have their own organizations because they are unwilling to mix with Gentiles. By sticking together they accumulate wealth and power which will be used to benefit no one but themselves.

But if there is Jewish power there is also Jewish weakness, for among them are burdens and misfits, and as a group, they have always been downtrodden. Why this should be true, in view of their capacity to stick together and accumulate wealth, remains unexplained by the subject. He seems to feel that it is their own fault, for they "should not resent" what has befallen them. Weak Jews are left in a particularly hopeless position; it is not only that non-Jews cannot be expected to help them but strong Jews should use their wealth and power, not to support weak members of their group, but to help non-Jews. Strong Jews could thus escape the accusation of clannishness and lack of interest in humanity. In general, Jews should throw off their Jewishness and mix with the rest of the population; then the social distance between the subject and them may be diminished. (It may be suggested, however, that there is probably nothing the girl in the public speaking class could do to bring complete acceptance by the subject. Her Jewishness would probably remain as something to intrigue as well as to repel him.)

Whereas Mack spent most of his time talking about "what's wrong with the Jews" and "what the Jews should do about it," Larry spent most of his time talking about "what's wrong with non-Jews" and "what non-Jews should do about it." Larry opposes the idea that Jews want power and control; he wants to educate people about what Jews are really like. One of the most important differences between the two subjects is that Larry focuses on *why* these problems exist, while Mack does not seriously consider this question. Larry says he believes in completely open interaction with every-

body equal. Discrimination is at the root of war; it is a threat for all groups and a problem they must all attack.

These discussions afford suitable examples of what is meant by *ideology* concerning Jews. It seems plain that what one has to deal with here is not a single specific attitude but a *system* that has content, scope, and structure.

It may be noted at once that Mack expresses negative *opinions* concerning what the Jews are like (they are clannish, materialistic, etc.), hostile *attitudes* toward them (it is up to them to do the changing), and definite *values* (for courtesy, honesty, good taste, etc.) which shape the opinions and justify the attitudes. In contrast, Larry reveals no negative opinions about Jews, expresses attitudes that are favorable to them (nondiscrimination, understanding), and speaks of different values (freedom from prejudice, social equality, etc.).

Questions for research immediately come to mind. How common in larger populations are the kinds of accusations made by Mack? What other kinds of accusations may be found and with what frequency? What, within our society, are the most characteristic features of imagery concerning Jews? How general is the readiness to accept negative opinions, that is to say, to what extent would an individual who, like Mack, expresses spontaneously a set of negative opinions, agree with others that were proposed to him? In what sense, and to what extent, is anti-Semitic ideology irrational? (For example, are there other irrational features similar to those exhibited by our prejudiced subject: to speak of Jews as if they were all alike and then to ascribe to them traits which could not possibly coexist in the same person, to insist that the thing for them to do is to assimilate and then to make it clear that he cannot accept them if they do? Are these irrational trends typical of high scorers?) Are the attitudes toward Jews expressed by the present subjects typical of prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals? What are the main attitudes to be found in our society? Do people with negative opinions usually have hostile attitudes as well? Is there a general readiness to accept or oppose a broad pattern of anti-Semitic attitudes and opinions?

All of the above questions concern the *content* of anti-Semitic ideology; questions may likewise be directed to its intensity. If there is in each individual a general readiness to accept or oppose anti-Semitic opinions and attitudes, is it not possible roughly to rank individuals on a dimension ranging from extreme to mild anti-Semitism, to a middle point representing indifference, ignorance or mixed feelings, to mild and then to extreme *anti*-anti-Semitism? The belief that this was possible led to the construction of a scale for measuring anti-Semitism, a scale that was at the same time broad enough to include most of the main content of anti-Semitic ideology. And the success of this scale made it possible to investigate quantitative rela-

tions of anti-Semitism and numerous other variables, including factors conceived to have a determining role.

Various explanations for such talk against the Jews as that found in Mack's interview have been suggested: that this is largely a true appraisal of the Jews, that he has had specific unpleasant experiences from which he has overgeneralized, that he is merely repeating what is common talk among his associates, particularly those who have prestige for him, that he feels more or less frustrated in his economic, social, and professional aspirations and takes it out on the Jews, that he seeks to rationalize his own failures and weaknesses by placing responsibility on a suitable outgroup, and so on. While giving due attention to these hypotheses, the procedure in the present study was to postpone questions of determination and, instead of asking why he talks this way about Jews, to discover first how he talks about other people. The aim was to understand as fully as possible the nature of the readiness in the subject before inquiring into its sources. If the features found in his discussion of anti-Semitism are not found in his discussion of other groups, then his anti-Semitism has to be explained in and of itself. If, on the other hand, trends found in his thinking about Jews are found also in his thinking about other groups, then it is these trends which have to be accounted for, and any theory which explained only the anti-Semitism would be inadequate.

2. GENERAL ETHNOCENTRISM

It was noted in Mack's discussion of Jews that he tends to think in ingroup-outgroup terms: he seems to think of the Jews as constituting a relatively homogeneous group that is categorically different from the group to which he feels that he belongs. A logical next step was to explore further his conception of his own group, and to inquire into his opinions and attitudes concerning various other groups.

In the interview with this man the general topic of imagery and attitudes concerning minority groups was introduced by inviting him to discuss his own ingroup belongingness. Most striking in this discussion is the *stereotyped* way in which he speaks of the Irish and of the groups with which they are contrasted. Each ethnic group is regarded as a homogeneous entity, and little mention is made of exceptions. There is no attempt to explain how the groups came to be as they are, beyond the assumption of different "blood strains." What a person is like depends on how much "Irish" or other "strain" he has in him. The Irish have certain *approved traits*—quick temper, easy spending, ability to make people laugh and be happy—and certain traits which he regards as *faults*—lackadaisicalness and laziness.

It is interesting to compare this ingroup appraisal with his appraisal of the Jews, who are described in the same terms but who are conceived of as

lacking the good traits of the Irish. Also noteworthy is the contradiction in his attitude toward ambition and power: whereas he criticizes it in the outgroup, he regrets its lack in the ingroup. The problem for him is not how to eliminate an unequal distribution of power, but how to make sure that the bulk of power is in the right (ingroup) hands. Whereas a major fault of the Jews as noted above is their "clannishness" and their failure to assimilate, the existence of an unassimilated Irish strain is "enjoyable." Once again, something for which Jews are blamed is seen as a virtue in the ingroup. Both ingroups and outgroups are thought of in the same general terms; the same evaluative criteria are applied to groups generally, and a given characteristic, such as clannishness or power, is good or bad depending on what group has it.

Unfortunately, there was not time to explore the subject's ideas concerning the other groups which he mentions among his dislikes—Austrians, Japanese, Filipinos—nor to inquire how far this list might have been expanded. Even by itself, however, the fact that the subject rejects other groups just as he rejects the Jews is important.

Larry's first remark calls attention to the fact that views about people and groups may be distorted or at least influenced by personal factors. Mack, on the other hand, shows little such self-orientation or self-awareness; he does not suggest that his confident generalizations might have any of the possible inaccuracies of personal opinions, nor does he feel obliged to account for them on the basis of real experience. One might ask whether such differences in the degree of *intraception*, i.e., the inclination to adopt a subjective, psychological, human approach to personal and social problems, do not as a general rule distinguish nonethnocentric from ethnocentric individuals.

Characteristics notable in Mack's ideology concerning minorities but relatively lacking in that of Larry might be described as follows: (a) *Stereotypy*—the tendency mechanically to subsume things under rigid categories. (b) The idea that groups are *homogeneous units* which more or less totally determine the nature of their numbers. This places the responsibility for intergroup tensions entirely on outgroups as independent entities. The only question asked is how outgroups can change in order to make themselves acceptable to the ingroup; there is no suggestion that the ingroup might need to modify its behavior and attitudes. Larry, in contrast, places the responsibilities primarily on the ingroup and urges understanding and education within the ingroup as the basis for solving the problem. (c) The tendency to explain group differences in terms of "blood strain"—how quick a temper a man has depends on how much Irish he has in him. This is in contrast to Larry's attempt at explanation in social, psychological, and historical terms. (d) Mack favors total assimilation by outgroups, as well as total *segregation* of those outgroup members who refuse to assimilate. Larry, for his part, seems neither to threaten segregation nor demand assimilation.

He says he wants full "social equality" and interaction, rather than dominance by the ingroup and submission by outgroups. (e) Since he is relatively free of the stereotypes about ingroups and outgroups, and since groups are not his units of social description, Larry stands in opposition to Mack's tendency to think of groups in terms of their coherence and in terms of a *hierarchical arrangement* with powerful ingroups at the top and weak outgroups at the bottom.

The question, raised earlier, of whether an individual who is against Jews tends to be hostile to other minority groups as well is answered in the case of one man at least. Mack rejects a variety of ethnic groups. And Larry, for his part, is opposed to all such "prejudice." The first question for research, then, would be: Is it generally true that a person who rejects one minority group tends to reject all or most of them? Or, is it to be found more frequently that there is a tendency to have a special group against which most of the individual's hostility is directed? How broad is the ethnocentric rejection, that is to say, how many different groups are brought within the conception of outgroup? Are they extranational as well as intranational? What are the main objective characteristics of these groups? What traits are most commonly assigned to them by ethnocentric individuals? What imagery, if any, applies to all outgroups, and what is reserved for particular outgroups? Is the tendency, found in Mack but not in Larry, to make a rigid distinction between the ingroup and the outgroup, common in the population at large? Are Mack's ways of thinking about groups—rigid categories, always placing blame on the outgroup, and so forth—typical of ethnocentric individuals?

If ethnocentrism is conceived of as the tendency to express opinions and attitudes that are hostile toward a variety of ethnic groups and uncritically favorable to the group with which the individual is identified, then is it possible to rank individuals according to the degree of their ethnocentrism, as was proposed in the case of anti-Semitism? This would make it possible to determine the quantitative relations of ethnocentrism to numerous other factors—in the contemporary social situation of the individual, in his history, and in his personality. But, to pursue the general approach outlined above, it seems best first to explore further the outlook of the ethnocentric individual before raising fundamental questions of determination. What of his opinions and attitudes concerning other groups than ethnic or national ones? How does he approach social problems generally?

3. POLITICS

In his discussion of politics Mack deals at considerable length with the attributes of what for him is the outgroup. The structure and dynamics of the outgroup are conceived as follows. It is closely cohesive and power-seeking. Power is sought as an end in itself, and to attain it any means may

be employed, no matter how wasteful or harmful to others. Selfishness and money-mindedness are important aspects of this power drive. At the same time, however, he ascribes to the outgroup characteristics which are the opposite of powerful: it is inefficient (shows bungling and confusion), wasteful and poorly organized; this inadequacy is attributed to the "fact" that the power arrangements within it are inadequate, with no clear authority and with lieutenants who are both too few and too carelessly selected. In addition to organizational weakness there is also physical weakness. (The reference to Roosevelt's physical ability brings to mind the argument of his political opposition that he was physically too weak to carry the burdens of a wartime president.) A further attribution of weakness to the New Deal is the idea of Roosevelt's submissiveness toward more powerful leaders—"he would come out second-best in a contest with Winnie," his ideas came from Hoover, and it is implied that he would lose out with Stalin if the latter did not play fair with us.

Parenthetically, it may be noted that there is an apparent inconsistency between Mack's general ethnocentrism and his acceptance of Stalin. This apparent discrepancy may possibly be explained in terms of our subject's attitude toward power: his admiration for power is great enough so that he can accept and momentarily ally himself with a distant outgroup when that group is not seen as a direct threat to himself. It is probably a safe guess that like many who supported cooperation with Russia during the war, this man's attitude has now changed, and Russia is regarded as a threat to the ingroup.

Mack's conception of the relations between the outgroup and the ingroup is simple: the outgroup with its selfish, materialistic, power-seeking drives, on the one hand, and its inefficiency and weakness on the other, is out to control and exploit the ingroup—to take power from it, to take over its functions, to grab all the credit, to seduce people into its fold by skillful manipulation, in short, to weaken the ingroup and run everything itself, for its own narrow, selfish ends.

When he comes to the political ingroup, Mack speaks only of admired characteristics, and the only political agencies discussed are the man, Dewey, and the army. The ingroup characteristics fall in exactly the same dimensions as do those ascribed to the outgroup, sometimes being identical and sometimes the exact opposite. Whether there is identity or reversal seems to follow a simple rule: those outgroup characteristics which have an aspect of *power* are kept intact in the ingroup, only now they are regarded as good, whereas for each outgroup characteristic signifying *weakness* or *immorality* there is an ingroup characteristic signifying the opposite.

To consider the reversals first, the inefficiency of the New Deal is in direct contrast to Dewey's clear-cut, straightforward approach. Roosevelt's "skillful politics" is the opposite of Dewey's frankness and honesty-to-the-

death. Roosevelt's submission to stronger leaders is in contrast to Dewey's determined overcoming of obstacles and to General Marshall's indomitable firmness. The organizational confusion of the outgroup is to be corrected by the concentration of power in a small, closely knit organization having clearly defined levels of authority with a strong leader at the top and a cabinet of carefully chosen lieutenants.

It becomes clear, then, that the only real difference between the ingroup and the outgroup is the greater weakness of the latter. Leaving aside the weaknesses of the outgroup, we find that in all other respects the conceptions of outgroup and ingroup are identical: both seek to concentrate power in a small, cohesive organization the only purpose of which is to maintain itself. While the outgroup is accused of selfishness and materialism, the only virtues of the ingroup are the honesty and efficiency of its methods; there is no reference to its ends.

Whatever the ingroup aims might be, however, they will presumably benefit the ingroup, for Mack tells us that one of the reasons for supporting Dewey is that "he would think of the *average* people," with whom the subject seems to be identified. We know from Mack's discussion of ethnic groups that "average" is not an all-inclusive conception, but rather an ingroup from which he excludes a large proportion of the population. We see also that wealthy people are excluded from his concept of average. That this latter is not typical equalitarianism, however, is shown by his desire to become a corporation lawyer, and by his favoring a form of stratified social organization which in the economic sphere would—far from averaging things out—perpetuate the present distribution of wealth. This would seem to place the subject on the conservative side. Certainly, he quotes with approval many of the slogans of contemporary American conservatism, and he tells us that Dewey is to be supported because he is "interested in maintaining the old government traditions." Yet there is reason to believe that his conservatism is not of the traditional kind. The type of centralized control which he favors is certainly out of keeping with traditional conservative principles of free competition and restriction of government's functions. Indeed, there is a suggestion that his apparent conservatism is in reality a kind of anticonservatism. We may note his remark "if we maintain our present system of government, and I think we will for a time, some things will have to be altered." Why should he suggest that our system of government might *not* be maintained, and why does he think that at best it will be maintained only *for a time*? He seems to give us the answer himself, for the changes which he suggests as a means of maintaining the conservative tradition are actually changes which would overthrow it entirely.

The main points considered so far are Mack's attribution of both power and weakness to the outgroup and of only power to the ingroup. It must be noted, however, that weakness, too, is thought of as existing in the ingroup,

though in a different form. Thus, when Mack describes the OWI as a power-seeking behemoth, the War Department is pictured in a situation of distress: "And all the time our department was crying for personnel." Again, Dewey's campaign is seen as a sort of struggle between David and Goliath, in which the clean-cut, straightforward younger man loses only because of the overwhelming power and lack of scruple which opposes him: "It was skilful politics that enabled the old guard to win. Considering his obstacles, Dewey did very well. In ordinary times he would have had a landslide." This imagery of persecution is expressed not only in Mack's political thinking but also in his discussion of himself and his life in Washington. There is a clear note of self-pity in his remarks that he "worked many hours overtime for no pay," that when war was declared he "worked for thirty-seven hours straight," and that "living conditions were terrible."

It is important to note that weakness in Mack and his group is only implied in these statements. What he seems to be trying to tell us is that in so far as the ingroup might appear to be weak at any time, this is due only to persecution by an outgroup that is momentarily—and unfairly—stronger. It is important to note further that his feelings of being persecuted do not lead to sympathy for other persecuted people nor to any inclination to eliminate persecution generally, but only to the thought that justice would consist in his group becoming the powerful one. Here, as is typical of people with persecution fantasies, Mack believes that he (his group) is essentially strong but is at the same time in a weak position; he can solve this dilemma only by attributing evil (dishonesty, unfairness, and so on) and undeserved power to his opponent. His desire to be attached to the same kind of power which he decries in the outgroup is expressed in his wanting to be "close to the center of things," and "know about the background" of important daily events, to be in on "the secret committees."

Turning now to Larry, it may be noted that perhaps the most striking aspect of his remarks about politics is their lack of organization and of conviction. This is in contrast to his ideas in other ideological areas, such as minority questions, which show a relatively high degree of organization and firmness. However, even in his brief, casual utterances about politics we can see a different orientation from that found in Mack. True, there is here, as in their preferences for political labels, a certain amount of surface similarity—both men show general conservatism and the usual conservative accusations against the New Deal. But it is precisely this superficial similarity that makes the differences stand out.

The main over-all difference lies in the absence from Larry's thinking of those features which led us to question Mack's conservatism. Thus, Larry's thinking does not revolve around the ingroup-outgroup distinction: there is no conception of the ingroup as a static homogeneous entity which is

beyond any criticism; nor is the outgroup conceived of as an aggregation of weak and evil people who through plotting and conniving are able to use their undeserved power in persecuting the ingroup. Indeed, he can even identify himself with a man, Wallace, who not only belongs to the outgroup but is, according to the prevalent propaganda, "inefficient" to boot.

As the second main difference between the two men, there is more positive evidence that Larry's conservatism is genuine, in the sense that it is a means for furthering his admitted material motives. Since he intends to become a businessman, he supports the political party which seems to offer the most help to business. This is in contrast to Mack, who stresses the conventional ideal of unselfishness in order, we may suppose, to disavow his underlying interest in power.

Larry finds difficulty, to be sure, in reconciling this "realism" with the idealism which he expresses in other areas. But he is aware of this difficulty—and here again he differs from Mack. The latter speaks as if his utterances were sufficiently objective, so that there need be no reference to himself or to the possibility of personal determinants of opinion. Larry, on the other hand, is aware that his views reflect things within himself as well as external reality, and that consequently they are tentative, approximate, and possibly self-contradictory. He feels it necessary to explain the origins of his views, he can admit some inner conflict, and consider the possibility that he may not have acquired his views in the most intelligent way. While these features may prevent this subject from being very militant about anything, they would seem to insure him against reactionism.

If two men whose ideas about politics are as different as those of Mack and Larry nevertheless have the same political alignment (they both agree with the Willkie-type Republicans and the Anti-New Deal Democrats), and if they understand what these party labels mean, then it might be inquired whether political alignment bears any relationship to ethnocentrism. Or, if the two are related, what ideology concerning minority groups is more typical of the Willkie-type Republicans and the Anti-New Deal Democrats, that of Mack or that of Larry?

And what of those who favor the New Deal Democrats or the traditional Republicans? According to theory, we should expect political liberalism to go with relative freedom from prejudice, and political conservatism, at least the extreme form of it, i.e., reaction, to go with ethnocentrism. Indeed, considerable evidence that this is true already exists. A natural step in the present study, therefore, was to conceive of a continuum extending from extreme conservatism to extreme liberalism and to construct a scale which would place individuals along this continuum. This would permit the determination of the quantitative relations of conservatism to anti-Semitism and to general ethnocentrism. It is apparent from consideration of what Mack and Larry

have to say, however, that (a) conservatism is not a simple, unidimensional attitude but a complex ideological pattern, and (b) that the relations of conservatism to ethnocentrism are by no means one to one.

It cannot be supposed, of course, that all the aspects of conservatism-liberalism have been touched upon in the spontaneous remarks of these two subjects. It will be the task of research not only to determine whether the features expressed here—conservative values, pro-business attitudes, and the like—commonly go together, but to inquire what other opinions, attitudes, and values might belong to an over-all conservative or liberal pattern. What, in other words, is the composition of conservative (or liberal) politico-economic ideology? Is there a coherent pattern that is broad enough to include what Mack and Larry have in common and at the same time to permit a delineation of such differences as exist between them? And which is more important for the problem of potential fascism, conservatism in general, or the special kind of conservatism seen in Mack but not in Larry?

It could well be argued that Mack's position is not conservative at all but rather *pseudoconservative*. Although, as noted above, he professes belief in the tenets of traditional conservatism, it is clear that he considers it "time for a change," and there is a strong implication that the kind of change he desires is one which would abolish the very institutions with which he appears to identify himself. It has frequently been remarked that should fascism become a powerful force in this country, it would parade under the banners of traditional American democracy. Thus, the slogan "rugged individualism" which apparently expresses the liberal concept of free competition among independent and daring entrepreneurs, actually refers more often to the uncontrolled and arbitrary politics of the strongest powers in business—those huge combines which as a matter of historical necessity have lowered the number of independent entrepreneurs. It is clear that an investigation of antidemocratic trends must take this phenomenon into account. Is it possible to define pseudoconservatism in objective terms, to diagnose it in the individual and to estimate its strength within a population? Is it true that pseudoconservatism is generally to be found, as in the case of Mack, associated with ethnocentrism and other antidemocratic trends?

On any ordinary scale for measuring conservatism, the pseudoconservative would probably obtain a high score; he would agree with the usual statements of conservative opinions, attitudes, and values. How to frame scale items that will reflect the conservative façade and at the same time induce the subject to reveal his underlying readiness for radical change is a particularly challenging technical problem. We are confronted here with a clear instance of those different *levels* of expression which were discussed earlier. The only recourse, it would appear, is to employ clinical techniques that go more or less directly to the deeper tendencies, and give sufficient understanding of them, so that it becomes possible to formulate scale items

which permit the indirect expression, on the surface, of these deeper tendencies.

The Politico-Economic Conservatism (PEC) scale described in Chapter V is designed to give an estimate of the individual's general readiness to express conservative ideology and at the same time to distinguish the pseudo-conservative from the others. For a fuller description of the different patterns of conservative ideology, however, other scales and other techniques have in addition to be relied upon. With this approach it becomes possible to investigate the relations of pseudoconservatism to "genuine conservatism" —if, indeed, the distinction can be maintained. The question may be raised as to whether there is any deeply ingrained conservatism, within the individual, that does not derive its energy in large part from the personal need to curb one's own rebellious tendencies.

In any case, it is clear that Mack's political ideology is different from Larry's. The differences stand out with particular clarity when Mack's discussion of politics is considered in relation to what he has to say about Jews and other ethnic groups. Just as his anti-Semitism could not be understood or evaluated until his ideas about other groups had been examined, so did his politics come into focus when seen against the background of his ethnocentrism. It seems particularly significant that he talks about the New Deal, the Civil Service, and the OWI in the same way that he talks about Jews. This seems strongly to suggest that we are faced here not with a particular set of political convictions and a particular set of opinions about a specific ethnic group but with a *way of thinking* about groups and group relations generally. Is the manner of this thinking—in rigid categories of unalterable blacks and whites—usually to be found in people who are prejudiced against minority groups? Is there any group, save those with which the subject is identified, that is safe from the kind of total rejection and potential hostility that is found here? Is there a general relationship between the manner of thinking and the *content* of thinking about groups and group relations? In Mack the stereotyped thinking is accompanied by imagery of power versus weakness, moral purity versus moral lowness, and hierarchical organization. Are these trends commonly associated in the general population? If so, is the relationship a dynamic one, and what might be its nature?

It would appear that the more a person's thinking is dominated by such general tendencies as those found in Mack, the less will his attitude toward a particular group depend upon any objective characteristics of that group, or upon any real experience in which members of that group were involved. It is this observation that draws attention to the importance of personality as a determinant of ideology. And if personality has this crucial role in the broad areas of attitude and opinion that have been considered, might we not expect it to influence a subject's thinking in *all* areas that are important

to him? It would be impossible to know what Mack thinks about everything, but we may examine his ideas about religion, income, and vocation and see if something approaching a total view emerges.

4. RELIGION

The interviewer, in questioning Mack about religion, took into consideration the following statement which he had made on his questionnaire. In response to the question, "How important, in your opinion, are religion and the church?" Mack wrote, "Especially important for people who need sustenance or who are highly erratic. I have had to rely too much on my own ability for the necessities of life to devote a great deal of time to the spiritual." Larry, for his part, wrote, "Very important as the center of moral teachings."

The question may be raised at once whether rejection of religion is usually associated with an antidemocratic outlook as is the case with Mack, while acceptance of religion, as in Larry, usually goes with relative freedom from prejudice. There would appear to be some reason to expect that the general trend would be the other way around, that freedom from religious dogmas would go with political "liberalism" and hence with freedom from prejudice, while acceptance of religion would go with conservatism and authoritarianism and, hence, probably with ethnocentrism. In all likelihood the problem is not so simple. It may be that the mere acceptance or rejection of religion is not so important as *how* the individual accepts or rejects it, that is to say, the pattern of his ideas about religion. This is a matter upon which the interviews ought to throw some light.

It may be noted in the interviews of Mack and Larry that both men were subjected to a rather usual type of conventional pressure, that in both cases the application of this pressure was mainly a maternal function, and that in the background of both cases there is a mixture of Methodist and Catholic influences. Mack makes more of a distinction between father and mother roles than does Larry, and it seems important to Mack that his father was good without going to church. In the mind of the latter subject, church and mother seem to be rather closely identified and to stand for that which weak or dependent people turn to when they need sustenance. But it may be asked whether, in turning away from the church, Mack has not had to substitute something else in its stead; and that is authority, as represented first by the father and later by a "God who is strictly a man." It can be supposed that the kind of religious feeling which this "great man" arouses in the subject is like that he experienced when he sat next to General Marshall and heard him talk. Similar deference toward sufficiently high authority can be noted in Mack's respect for the sayings of Christ, which are contrasted with the "not first hand" words of the apostles.

But Mack's respect for authority comes into conflict with his explicit

value of independence. How to reconcile the two is the problem with which his religious ideology is mainly concerned. Apparently he can get some feeling of independence by asserting that he is stubborn and hard-headed, and by rejecting people who "need sustenance." And if the authority is sufficiently powerful, it becomes possible to submit without losing altogether the sense of independence. If dependence and passivity are to be accepted, it must be in circumstances that are beyond his control, e.g., when he is sick.

It is strongly suggested that as much as Mack would like to be independent he would also like to be dependent. He does admit to liking the music and singing in church; he seems to make a point of telling us how much sickness he has had, and when he emphasizes that he has had to rely upon himself since an early age, we may detect not only a note of pride but a note of self-pity. An underlying need for dependence (passivity, sympathy, comfort), in conflict with the desire to maintain masculine pride and self-respect, could give rise to an exaggerated value for independence; and it could at the same time receive a measure of gratification, in a somewhat disguised form, through submission to a powerful authority. This would seem to be a fairly clear instance in which a deeper-level need operates to affect manifest strivings, openly expressed values, and ideas about God and man.

Since Mack does not belong to any organized religious sect, he does not speak of his group versus various religious outgroups. It is to be noted, however, that he seems to regard all religious people as constituting an outgroup, ascribing to them some of the same features—weakness, dependence—which he sees in Jews and in the New Deal.

Larry, for his part, regards religion as a valued part of everyday living rather than something that is called for in a particular situation. For him it has the general function of promoting high ethical standards, good living, and progress rather than the limited function of offering relief in times of acute distress. Moreover, in contrast with Mack, who identifies morals with "the man," Larry conceives that the moral values of religion reside in the church as an institution. A further contrast between the two men lies in the fact that Larry accepts religion in general yet is able to criticize it, while Mack generally rejects it without offering specific criticisms. In criticizing the content of religion on intellectual grounds, Larry shows that he will not be likely to use it for reactionary aims. Mack exhibits his characteristic all-or-nothing approach to ideological matters, and without any analysis of content concentrates on people—Christ, the apostles, God the man—who are to be totally accepted or totally rejected.

Regardless of whether or not the general acceptance or the general rejection of religion should be found in a larger population to be associated with antidemocratic trends, it will be necessary to inquire whether the distinguishing features in the thought of Mack and Larry are generally significant.

No attempt was made in the present research to measure any variables in the area of religious ideology (although, as noted above, subjects did state in their questionnaires how important they considered religion and the Church); instead, effort was directed to the discovery of patterns of religious thought in the interview discussions of the subjects. How common in our society are the patterns found in Mack and Larry? Do these patterns generally bear the same kinds of relations to thought in other areas as they do in these two cases? What other patterns of religious thought may be discovered and what is their significance for democracy or its opposite? Do the different religious sects represent systems of belief that are related to prejudice? Do "racial" and "religious prejudice" go together and have the same significances, as has been so frequently supposed?

In the case of Mack, a deep-lying personality need, dependence, comes into prominence when religion is under discussion. Is it possible to demonstrate dynamic relationships between such needs and ideological systems? In other areas as well as in the area of religion? Also in the case of Mack, there appears to be a close connection between religious ideology and the pattern of family relations. Is this generally the case? It may be that the pattern of family relations is an important determinant not only of religious thought but of ideology in general.

5. VOCATION AND INCOME

The previous discussion has shown that Mack tends to think of the structure of any group as a hierarchy of power. It is not surprising therefore to find that he thinks of our total society as being organized along the same lines. In government he sees increasing centralization and regimentation, i.e., more and more control vested in fewer and fewer people, and in economics, important developments will continue to be in the hands of the big capitalists. However much objective truth there may be in this view, the significant point is that Mack considers the state of affairs he describes as, if not desirable, inevitable. Given this kind of social organization, then the thing to do is to "go up," "to open doors," to be "on the inside," and this is the main trend in his vocation-income ideology. He wants to belong to or be "in with" the ruling group. It is not so much that he himself wants to dominate, but rather that he wants to serve powerful interests and so *participate in their power*. It was seen in his discussion of politics that the power attributes of the ingroup and of the outgroup were, in his mind, the same; it is not too much to hypothesize now that the reason he accuses the Jews, the Civil Service, the OWI, the New Deal of wishing to establish a closely cohesive and selfishly exploitive ingroup is that he wishes to do the same thing himself. It is necessary to add, of course, that he cannot fully justify to himself such an antidemocratic wish and so, under its sway but unable to admit it, he sees it as existing not in himself but in the world around him.

Larry, it appears, is also identified with business and would like to go up in the world, but there the similarity between the two subjects ends. Whereas for Larry, going up means improving his lot in the ordinary sociological sense, for Mack it means changing his status in a hierarchy; in other words, Larry thinks of climbing primarily in its individual sense, while Mack thinks of it more in its class sense. Larry does not seem to mind competing, once he has been given support at the start, while Mack would get there by submitting to those who are going to win. Larry is frankly interested in money and a lot of it while Mack is moralistically temperate in this regard; Larry wants pleasure, Mack seems more interested in power; Larry feels that the main object of work and efficiency is that one might the sooner take a vacation and enjoy life; Mack appears to regard these things as ends in themselves. In general, both subjects express ideas that are closely in accord with their political ideologies.

Another difference between the two men, which may be of considerable importance, lies in Larry's greater awareness of his motivation: he is entirely open about his desire for money and pleasure, his willingness to accept support, his susceptibility to influence by his family, his interest in social prestige. There is little reason to doubt that these motives are just as strong, if not considerably stronger, in Mack, but it is plain that he does not fully accept them as parts of his self. It might be inquired whether this tendency to keep important personality needs out of consciousness, to allow them to remain *ego-alien*, is not a regular feature of the potential fascist.

In the present area of vocation-income, perhaps more than in any of the others, the subjects' discussion of what they *believe* is closely bound up with discussion of what, more or less explicitly, they *want*. Personality needs, in other words, have a central place in the whole picture. To climb socially, to be independent, to have pleasure and security, to attain a sense of power by submitting to those who have it—these are personality needs. The moralistic depreciation of money, the oversolicitous but unrealistic attitude toward poor people—these may be regarded as defense mechanisms, devices whereby needs which conflict with the stronger need to maintain self-respect are held in check. It is plain that with respect to a number of these variables Mack and Larry are widely different; and it was one of the main hypotheses of the present research that there are numerous such variables with respect to which prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals differ generally and which in individuals at either extreme go together to form a psychologically meaningful pattern. In proceeding to test this hypothesis the interview protocols of numerous ethnocentric and anti-ethnocentric subjects—as well as other sources—were combed for just such distinguishing features, and these were then put into the form of questionnaire scale-items for testing with groups of subjects. A liking for "nice equipment," a fondness for hunting and fishing, a preference for living in a small town—numerous such small but

suggestive items were given consideration. On the assumption that potential antidemocracy at the personality level is a general trend with respect to which individuals differ quantitatively, a scale for the measurement of this trend was constructed in the manner of those described above. This supplied the means for demonstrating on a mass basis some of the relationships which appear to exist in the two individuals under discussion.

Even if factors of personality did not come explicitly to the fore at particular points in the interviews with these two men, the conception of personality would be forced upon us by observation of the *consistency* with which the same ideas and the same modes of thought recur as the discussion turns from one ideological area to another. Since no such consistency could conceivably exist as a matter of sociological fact, we are bound to conceive of central tendencies *in the person* which express themselves in various areas. The concept of a dynamic factor of personality is made to order for explaining the common trend in diverse surface manifestations. For example, a need for power in the personality is ready to express itself in any area of social relations. It may be suggested, in this connection, that where social psychologists have not so far given a great deal of attention to personality it is because they have not studied total ideology. Specific social attitudes if adequately measured will undoubtedly be found to correlate with a variety of external and contemporary factors, and if one studies only specific attitudes he may easily be led to the belief that this is all there is to it. Consistent trends in the person can only be revealed by subjecting him to a variety of stimuli, or placing him in a number of different situations, or questioning him on a wide array of topics; but if this is done, then, according to the present hypothesis, consistent trends, i.e., personality, will always be revealed.

The varied stimuli to which subjects of the present study were subjected were not limited to questions of attitude, opinion, and value; there were the clinical techniques designed especially for bringing the factors of personality to light. The aim was to go as far as possible toward demonstrating the covariation of personality factors and the ideological trends discussed above, toward discovering as many as possible of the features which distinguished the potentially antidemocratic individual. Given a relationship between a personality variable and an ideological trend, it was usually assumed that the causal sequence was from the former to the latter—on the grounds that the formation of personality was genetically earlier, the most important structures going back to childhood. This led to an attempt to learn something about the determination of the potential fascist in childhood, through investigation of the early social environment. But this is a subject which cannot be considered until much later; not until the several areas of ideology have been analyzed in detail.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF ANTI-SEMITIC IDEOLOGY

Daniel J. Levinson

A. INTRODUCTION

One of the most clearly antidemocratic forms of social ideology is prejudice, and within this context anti-Semitism provides a fruitful starting point for a social psychological study. As a social movement, organized anti-Semitism presents a major threat to democracy: it is one of the most powerful psychological vehicles for antidemocratic political movements and it provides, for reasons which are largely politico-economic and beyond the scope of this discussion, perhaps the most effective spearhead for a frontal attack on our entire social structure.

From a psychological viewpoint as well, anti-Semitism is particularly important and revealing. Much that psychologically oriented writers have already said about anti-Semitism and about fascism suggests that the deeper psychological sources of these ideologies are very similar. The irrational quality in anti-Semitism stands out even in casual everyday discussions. The fact that people make general statements about "the Jew," when the Jews are actually so heterogeneous—belong to every socioeconomic class and represent every degree of assimilation—is vivid evidence of this irrationality. This striking contrast between the Jews' actual complexity and their supposed homogeneity has suggested the hypothesis that what people say against Jews depends more upon their own psychology than upon the actual characteristics of Jews. For example, when the belief that Jews possess financial power out of all proportion to their numbers persists in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, one is led to suspect not only that the individual holding this belief has an unusual preoccupation with power but also that he might himself wish to assume the kind of power which he supposes Jews to have. It is clear that research into the emotional sources of ideology is required for the understanding of such phenomena as these.

These considerations, which suggest the advantage of making anti-Semitism a point of departure for research, were also some of the hypotheses that guided the research as a whole. The study of anti-Semitism may well

be, then, the first step in a search for antidemocratic trends in ideology, in personality, and in social movements.

Anti-Semitism is conceived here as an ideology, that is, as a relatively organized, relatively stable system of opinions, values, and attitudes concerning Jews and Jewish-Gentile relations. More specifically, it involves *negative opinions* regarding Jews (that they are unscrupulous, clannish, power-seeking, and so on); *hostile attitudes* toward them (that they should be excluded, restricted, kept subordinate to Gentiles, and so on); and *moral values* which permeate the opinions and justify the attitudes.

Numerous questions concerning the structure and content of anti-Semitism were raised in Chapter II. These and other questions guided the construction of an opinion-attitude scale for the measurement of anti-Semitic ideology. The source material for the scale included: the writings of virulent anti-Semites; technical, literary, and reportorial writings on anti-Semitism and fascism; and, most important, everyday American anti-Semitism as revealed in parlor discussion, in the discriminatory practices of many businesses and institutions, and in the literature of various organizations which are trying, with small success, to counter numerous anti-Semitic accusations by means of rational argument.

This scale, like the others used in the present research, had several functions. It yielded a quantitative measure which could be correlated with measures of other, theoretically related, variables. It provided a basis for the selection of criterion groups of extreme high and low scorers, who could then be subjected to intensive clinical study. It permitted, as part of a larger questionnaire, a relatively detailed, quantifiable study of large groups of subjects. Finally, it was constructed in such a way that statistical analysis of its properties might reveal much of the structure, scope, and content of anti-Semitic ideology.

B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE ANTI-SEMITISM (A-S) SCALE

An opinion-attitude scale is a series of statements dealing with a given topic, in this case anti-Semitic ideology. The subject is asked to respond to each item by agreeing or disagreeing. His responses are converted into scores in such a way that a high score indicates a great amount of what is being measured—for this scale, anti-Semitism—a low score the opposite. The scoring procedure is discussed below (Section C).

The Likert method of scaling (73, 84) was used. It is easier to apply and requires fewer items than the Thurstone method (118), but yields equally high reliabilities and generally comparable results (22, 84). It was desired to avoid the assumptions and difficulties in the use of judges which the latter method entails. Also, since it was anticipated that in further stages of the research the items might be modified in wording, it was highly desirable to

avoid the repeated use of judges. A measure of intensity of opinion and attitudes is obtained, in the Likert method, by having the subject indicate the degree of his agreement or disagreement with each item; this makes possible a more adequate determination of subtle group and individual differences, and facilitates the qualitative analysis of individual response patterns. This method also permits the covering of a wider area of opinions and attitudes. Finally, the Likert technique of item analysis (see below) was particularly suited to the general theoretical approach of this research.

1. GENERAL RULES IN ITEM FORMULATION

The procedure used for selecting and formulating items, in contrast to a frequent practice, did not involve the testing of several hundred items as a basis for selection of a final short scale. Rather, fifty-two items were formulated and all of these were used throughout the statistical analysis of the preliminary form of the scale. (To anticipate a result presented below, only a few items were statistically inadequate, and this inadequacy is interesting in its own right.) In successive stages of the research there were, however, no qualms about modifying, deleting, or adding items.

The present scale differs from most opinion-attitude scales in that it contains only negative items, that is, they all state the anti-Semitic position regarding the issue in question. The reasons for the use of negative items only and an answer to some possible criticisms, presented in detail in a previous publication (71), may be summarized here. One advantage of negative items is that they tend to be more discriminating. Also, negative items can be so phrased that they express subtle hostility without seeming to offend the democratic values which most prejudiced people feel they must maintain. Since the scale attempts to measure receptivity to anti-Semitic ideology, it seemed reasonable to use only anti-Semitic statements in the scale. The main argument against the present procedure is that it might produce a "set" or mechanical tendency consistently to agree or to disagree. This argument is answered on the ground that (a) most individuals show variability of response, as indicated by item intercorrelations averaging .3–.4; (b) there is a tendency to vary in order to avoid an extreme position; (c) very similar results have been obtained in later stages of the present research when an all-negative scale is inserted randomly into a longer series containing positive items; and, most important, (d) since the "set" argument implies that high scorers are not necessarily anti-Semitic nor lows anti-anti-Semitic, the final test is the validity of the scale, that is, the demonstration that high scorers are significantly different from low scorers in a variety of meaningful characteristics. The scale does, as will be shown later, have considerable validity.

Since the A-S scale, like the others, was intended not only to provide a *quantitative* measure of an ideology but also to aid in the *qualitative* description of that ideology (and of individual ideological patterns), its construc-

tion followed certain general rules. These rules had to do with (a) the formulation of individual items, and (b) the division of the total scale into subscales.

Since the scale should not, for practical reasons, include more than about fifty items (preferably fewer in later forms), each item should be maximally rich in ideas and there should be a minimum of duplication in wording or essential content of items. While the items are therefore often more complex than those of many other scales, this is not considered a fault. At the same time, they should be clear and unambiguous in meaning, so that agreement is ordinarily an expression of anti-Semitism, disagreement an expression of its opposite. It is important to avoid "double-barreled" items, that is, items with two parts such that a subject might agree with one part and disagree with the other, and thus not know how to respond.

Extreme prejudice of a violent and openly antidemocratic sort does not seem to be widespread in this country, especially in the middle class.[1] Since the present scale is intended to measure everyday, "garden variety" anti-Semitism, the items were formulated in such a way as to reflect the prevalent forms in which anti-Semitism now appears.

Most prejudice as one finds it in business, housing, and general social interaction is *pseudodemocratic* rather than *openly antidemocratic;* this distinction plays an important role in the analysis of anti-Semitic ideology which guided the construction of the scale and the formulation of items. An idea may be considered openly antidemocratic when it refers to active hatred, or to violence which has the direct aim of wiping out a minority group or of putting it in a permanently subordinate position. A pseudodemocratic idea, on the other hand, is one in which hostility toward a group is somewhat tempered and disguised by means of a compromise with democratic ideals. Pseudodemocratic statements about Jews are often introduced by qualifying phrases which deny hostility or which attempt to demonstrate the democratic attitude of the speaker, e.g., "It's not that I'm prejudiced, but. . . ."; "Jews have their rights, but. . . ."

This pseudodemocratic façade is probably relatively untouched by most of the current literature attacking prejudice as "race hatred," "un-American," "un-Christian intolerance," and the like. There is no hatred in the surface content of these attitudes and they have been squared with certain democratic values in such a way that the individual holding them apparently feels little if any sense of antidemocracy. And, of course, merely to label this way of thinking as un-American will not change it, first, because labeling is not enough, and second, because such thinking falls within one of the main streams of American social history and can be found to some extent in most sections of American life. It is necessary, rather, to understand its

[1] This is shown by various public opinion polls and reportorial studies although comprehensive and rigorously obtained data are lacking. It is also indicated by results from the present study.

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external sources in American culture and tradition as well as the inner sources which make certain individuals particularly receptive to these cultural pressures.

It is probably an error to regard the pseudodemocratic compromise as a mere surface disguise used deliberately and skillfully by prejudiced people to camouflage their actual, conscious antidemocracy. The person whose approach to social problems is pseudodemocratic is actually different *now* from one whose approach is now openly antidemocratic. For various reasons —perhaps because he has internalized democratic values, perhaps out of conformity to present social standards—the pseudodemocrat does not now accept ideas of overt violence and active suppression. The concern with democratic values, and the resistance to antidemocratic ones, must be considered as psychologically and socially important facts in any attempt to understand prejudice, American variety. Undoubtedly very many people who are now pseudodemocratic are potentially antidemocratic, that is, are capable in a social crisis of supporting or committing acts of violence against minority groups. Nevertheless, it is important to understand the attempted compromise with democratic values: because it may reveal a democratic potential which might, if supported and strengthened, ultimately gain the upper hand; because it colors the whole fabric of pseudodemocratic social thinking; and, since this compromise reflects the prevalent forms of overt discrimination in this country—quotas, segregation, exclusion, denial of opportunities—to understand the former may help to combat the latter.

If patterns of ideology are conceived as falling on a dimension ranging from democratic to antidemocratic, then the pseudodemocratic ones probably stand somewhere between the center and the antidemocratic extreme. This is, of course, not a simple dimension: there are diverse approaches falling into each of these broad categories, and the dimension is not a simple quantitative one like length or weight. A change of certain trends in an individual may produce a qualitative reorganization and ideological change from one extreme of this dimension to the other. The task is to understand the total individual and, especially in the case of the pseudodemocrat, to gauge the psychological potential for both democracy and open antidemocracy.

Most of the items of the A-S scale have been formulated as pseudodemocratically as possible. This consideration was, in fact, one of the main reasons for the use of negative items only. The following rules have been followed in general: Each item should be made appealing and "easy to fall for" by avoiding or soft-pedaling or morally justifying ideas of violence and obvious antidemocracy. Much use is made of qualifying phrases such as "One trouble with Jewish . . ."; "There are a few exceptions, but . . ."; "It would be to the best interests of all if . . . ," in order to avoid a categorical, aggressive condemnation. Items are worded so that the person can add at the end: "but I am not anti-Semitic." Seeming tentativeness is introduced by qualifications such as "it seems that," "probably," "in most cases." Finally, an attempt is made to

give each statement a familiar ring, to formulate it as it has been heard many times in everyday discussions.

To the extent that the above rules have been followed, pseudodemocratic subjects are likely to make scores on this scale as high, or nearly as high, as those of the antidemocratic ones. It will be the task of later techniques, both questionnaire-style and clinical, to provide further information concerning the distinctions between these two groups of subjects.

2. MAJOR SUBDIVISIONS OR AREAS: THE SUBSCALES

The general rules of item formulation just described refer primarily to the formal structure of items and can be applied to each item irrespective of the *content* of the ideas expressed in it. The content of the items was largely determined by the general conception of anti-Semitic ideology and the specific hypotheses discussed above. Several subscales were formed in order to insure systematic coverage of the various aspects conceived and in order to test certain hypotheses. The subscales cannot be thought of as dealing with *components* of anti-Semitism in any statistical sense; they are not based on statistical treatment of prior results, nor was any intensive correlational analysis of the present items made. The subscales are, rather, convenient ways of conceiving and grouping items.

The anti-Semitism scale contains five subscales dealing respectively with imagery (opinions) of Jews as personally *offensive* and as socially *threatening*; with *attitudes* concerning what should be done to or against Jews; and with the opposing views that Jews are *too seclusive* or *too intrusive* (assimilative). These subscales are probably not entirely independent either in a statistical sense or with respect to the actual content of the items; indeed, there is some question as to whether certain items may not equally well have been placed in a different subscale than the one to which they were assigned. Nevertheless, each subscale as a whole seems to deal with a fairly definite and definable phase of anti-Semitism. The subscales will now be discussed in order.

a. SUBSCALE "OFFENSIVE" (S_O). This subscale is presented in Table 1(III). (The items are numbered as they appeared in the total scale, which was given in two parts, I and II, with twenty-six items in each part; thus, I–4 is Item 4, part I.) The items describe various "Jewish traits" which are offensive, unpleasant, and disturbing. Stereotypy is implicit in items ascribing faults to "Jews"—implicitly, "all" or "most" Jews—without recognition of individual differences. It is explicit in item I–13, which specifically states that "Jews are pretty much alike" and which indicates an image of "the Jews" as a stereotyped model of the entire group.

What are the characteristics of this stereotyped image? If the other items offer an adequate description, "the Jew" is extravagant, sensual, conceited, and overaggressive; but he is also "smelly," shabby, and unconcerned with his personal appearance. Jews are accused of being excessively Jewish, so to

TABLE 1 (III)
ANTI-SEMITISM SUBSCALE "OFFENSIVE"

I-1. Jews seem to prefer the most luxurious, extravagant, and sensual way of living.
I-4. A major fault of the Jews is their conceit, overbearing pride, and their idea that they are a chosen race.
I-7. No matter how Americanized a Jew may seem to be, there is always something basically Jewish underneath, a loyalty to Jewry and a manner that is never totally changed.
I-10. Districts containing many Jews always seem to be smelly, dirty, shabby, and unattractive.
I-13. There are a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.
I-16. The Jews shoud not pry so much into Christian activities and organizations nor seek so much recognition and prestige from Christians.
II-1. The Jews should make sincere efforts to rid themselves of their conspicuous and irritating faults if they really want to stop being persecuted.
II-4. There is something different and strange about Jews; one never knows what they are thinking or planning, nor what makes them tick.
II-7. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
II-10. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
II-13. One general fault of Jews is their overaggressiveness, a strong tendency always to display their Jewish looks, manners, and breeding.
II-16. Jews should be more concerned with their personal appearance, and not be so dirty and smelly and unkempt.

speak, but their attempts to assimilate into "Christian" activities are regarded as prying. Jewish faults are considered the main cause of anti-Semitism (Item II–1), which would be eliminated if the Jews made sincere efforts to improve. However, there is some doubt that Jews can ever quite manage to be fully Americanized (Item I–7). Item II–10, "I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew," is included here because it seems to refer more to an unpleasant image than to a clear-cut, hostile attitude. It represents a pseudodemocratic equivalent to Item I-15 in the "Attitude" subscale (see below). Are people consistent in their general agreement (or disagreement) with these items? This will be seen in the results presented below.

b. SUBSCALE "THREATENING" (S_T). These items, presented in Table 2 (III), describe the Jews as a dangerous, dominating, corrupting social group. They are asserted to have great power economically and politically, and to be unscrupulous and conniving in their dealings with Gentiles. They do not like hard work (Item II-11) but at the same time they lower the general standard of living by doing menial work and by living under low standards (Item I–14). In addition to being simultaneously rich and poor, powerful and parasitic, they are also at once capitalists and revolutionaries. In their lack of patriotism they are a threat to the nation, and in general they are a threat to civilization.

Apart from the enormous complexity of "the Jew" so described, there is something fantastic in the idea that a group so small numerically can be so

TABLE 2 (III)
ANTI-SEMITISM SUBSCALE "THREATENING"

I-2. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.
I-5. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.
I-8. Jewish power and control in money matters is far out of proportion to the number of Jews in the total population.
I-11. There are too many Jews in the various federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.
I-14. Jews tend to lower the general standard of living by their willingness to do the most menial work and to live under standards that are far below average.
II-2. War shows up the fact that the Jews are not patriotic or willing to make sacrifices for their country.
II-5. Jews may have moral standards that they apply in their dealings with each other, but with Christians they are unscrupulous, ruthless, and undependable.
II-8. The Jew's first loyalty is to Jewry rather than to his country.
II-11. Jews seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they tend to be a parasitic element in society by finding easy, nonproductive jobs.
II-14. There seems to be some revolutionary streak in the Jewish make-up as shown by the fact that there are so many Jewish Communists and agitators.

powerful and so basic a social threat. This imagery in extreme cases seems to be an ideological expression of underlying paranoid trends; in *Mein Kampf*, for example, the Jews are regarded not only as "base and inferior" but also as having "germicidal potency" and "devilish cunning." However, most American anti-Semites are undoubtedly not psychotic or paranoid in the usual psychiatric sense. The personality trends related to this kind of imagery in Americans will be dealt with in later chapters.

c. SUBSCALE "ATTITUDES" (S_A). All the attitudes contained in this subscale (see Table 3(III)) are regarded as negative or hostile to the Jews as a group, and this hypothesis is generally borne out by the statistical results. These attitudes were intended to represent varying degrees of discrimination ranging from simple avoidance to suppression and attack, with intermediate actions of exclusion, quotas (partial exclusion), and segregation. In order to cover many forms of discrimination, a list of the major social areas in which it occurs was used in the formulation of items. These areas are: employment, residence (neighborhoods, apartment houses, hotels), education and professions, marriage, social organizations, politics, the nation. Item II–21 is a good example of pseudodemocracy: it assumes that the Jews are actually a threat (imagery: powerful, offensive, etc.) and suggests that the Jews solve "their own problem"—implicitly, that if they do not limit themselves voluntarily, the Gentiles may be forced to more drastic action. A person can agree to this, and many have, in the name of tolerance and democracy. It is, nevertheless, essentially an anti-Semitic idea: first, because as a matter of fact, it correlates well with the scale as a whole, and second, because it is based on hostile imagery, suppressive attitudes, and the assumption that anti-

TABLE 3 (III)
ANTI-SEMITISM SUBSCALE "ATTITUDES"

I-3. In order to maintain a nice residential neighborhood it is best to prevent Jews from living in it.
I-6. Colleges should adopt a quota system by which they limit the number of Jews in fields which have too many Jews now.
I-9. A step toward solving the Jewish problem would be to prevent Jews from getting into superior, profitable positions in society, for a while at least.
I-12. The Jewish problem is so general and deep that one often doubts that democratic methods can ever solve it.
I-15. It is wrong for Jews and Gentiles to intermarry.
I-18. It is best that Jews should have their own fraternities and sororities, since they have their own particular interests and activities which they can best engage in together, just as Christians get along best in all-Christian fraternities.
I-21. It is sometimes all right to ban Jews from certain apartment houses.
I-24. Anyone who employs many people should be careful not to hire a large percentage of Jews.
II-3. It would hurt the business of a large concern if it had too many Jewish employees.
II-6. The best way to eliminate the Communist menace in this country is to control the Jewish element which guides it.
II-9. In order to handle the Jewish problem, Gentiles must meet fire with fire and use the same ruthless tactics with the Jews that the Jews use with the Gentiles.
II-12. It is not wise for a Christian to be seen too much with Jews, as he might be taken for a Jew, or be looked down upon by his Christian friends.
II-15. One of the first steps to be taken in cleaning up the movies and generally improving the situation in Hollywood is to put an end to Jewish domination there.
II-18. Most hotels should deny admittance to Jews, as a general rule.
II-21. Jewish leaders should encourage Jews to be more inconspicuous, to keep out of professions and activities already overcrowded with Jews, and to keep out of the public notice.
II-24. It would be to the best interests of all if the Jews would form their own nation and keep more to themselves.

Semitism is merely a rational reaction of Gentiles to the intrinsic badness of Jews.

d and e. SUBSCALES "SECLUSIVE" (S_S) AND "INTRUSIVE" (S_I). It is often stated that the cause of anti-Semitism lies in the fact that "Jews are different," and it has often been suggested that assimilation is the only solution to "the Jewish problem." Indeed, many Jews have taken the same point of view, attempting in every way possible to take over the prevalent culture of their local American community, and becoming anxious over all signs of "foreign Jewishness" in their family and friends. This is not the place to discuss the problem of the adjustment of Jews and other minorities to American culture. The question raised here concerns instead the psychology of anti-Semites: Is Jewish assimilation what they really want? If Jews behaved in a thoroughly conforming manner, would this satisfy the anti-Semites? One

indication that these questions will receive negative answers lies in the fact that highly assimilated Jews usually meet the same sort of discrimination that others do. Another sign in the same direction is the stereotypy so common in anti-Semitism. To the extent that a person is reacting to his self-created label or image of "the Jew" rather than to the *particular Jewish individual* with whom he is dealing, it matters but little what the Jew in question is like. The sign "no Jews wanted" is entirely insensitive to the virtues or faults of the specific individual applying for a job.

TABLE 4 (III)

ANTI-SEMITISM SUBSCALES "SECLUSIVE *vs.* INTRUSIVE"

A. "*Seclusive*"

I-5. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.

I-17. Much resentment against Jews stems from their tending to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life.

I-20. The Jews should give up their un-Christian religion with all its strange customs (kosher diet, special holidays, etc.) and participate actively and sincerely in the Christian religion.

I-23. Jews tend to remain a foreign element in American society, to preserve their old social standards and to resist the American way of life.

II-13. One general fault of Jews is their overaggressiveness, a strong tendency always to display their Jewish looks, manners, and breeding.

II-17. The Jewish districts in most cities are results of the clannishness and stick-togetherness of Jews.

II-20. Jewish millionaires may do a certain amount to help their own people, but little of their money goes into worthwhile American causes.

II-23. The Jews keep too much to themselves, instead of taking the proper interest in community problems and good government.

B. "*Intrusive*"

I-11. There are too many Jews in the various federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.

I-16. The Jews should not pry so much into Christian activities and organizations nor seek so much recognition and prestige from Christians.

I-19. One thing that has hindered the Jews in establishing their own nation is the fact that they really have no culture of their own; instead, they tend to copy the things that are important to the native citizens of whatever country they are in.

I-25. Jews go too far in hiding their Jewishness, especially such extremes as changing their names, straightening noses, and imitating Christian manners and customs.

II-3. It would hurt the business of a large concern if it had too many Jewish employees.

II-7. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.

II-19. The true Christian can never forgive the Jews for their crucifixion of Christ.

II-25. When Jews create large funds for educational or scientific research (Rosenwald, Heller, etc.), it is mainly due to a desire for fame and public notice rather than a really sincere scientific interest.

In an attempt to quantify attitudes regarding assimilation, two subscales representing opposing sides on this issue were included in the A-S scale (Table 4(III)). Subscale "Seclusive" (S_S) takes the stand that Jews are too foreign and unassimilated; it accuses them of being clannish, of keeping apart, and of not being sufficiently concerned with other groups and other ways. The implication of these items is that Jews ought to assimilate more, that they could solve the problem of anti-Semitism themselves by entering more actively into American life and by conforming more closely with American conventions and standards. (Two of these items were also included in other subscales, Item I–5 being also in S_T, and II–13 in S_O).

Subscale "Intrusive" (S_I), on the other hand, accuses the Jews of over-assimilation and overparticipation. When Jews seem to be conforming in social behavior they are actually just "imitating" and "hiding their Jewishness" (Item I–25). Their attempts to join organizations are based on prestige-seeking and the desire to pry (Item I–16). Their admission into the government or into neighborhoods only leads to attempts by them at control and domination of non-Jews (Items I–11, II–7). Their seeming philanthropy is based on selfish motives (Item II–25). And finally, they lack a culture of their own and must therefore copy or "sponge on" the culture of the country in which they live (Item I–19). The implication of these items, in direct contrast to those in the "Seclusive" subscale, is that Jews ought to keep more to themselves and to develop a culture, preferably even a nation, of their own. (Four of these items were also included in other subscales, Item I–11 being also in S_T, I–16 and II–7 in S_O, and II–3 in S_A.)

f. "Neutral" Items Not in a Subscale (Table 5(III)). Four items in the A-S scale were not included in any of the five subscales. This illustrates

TABLE 5 (III)

"Neutral" Items in the Anti-semitism Scale

I-22. One big trouble with Jews is that they are never contented, but always try for the best jobs and the most money.

I-26. There is little doubt that Jewish pressure is largely responsible for the U. S. getting into the war with Germany.

II-22. There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Jews, since these defects are simply in their blood.

II-26. On the whole, the Jews have probably contributed less to American life than any other group.

the fact that the subscales represent "components" of anti-Semitism only in a general prestatistical sense. A correlational analysis of the scale would very probably indicate components containing these four items, since they deal with significant aspects of anti-Semitic ideology and since they correlate well with the total scale.

Item II–22 is worth noting in particular; it takes a hereditarian-racist stand concerning the "defects" of the Jews and, like all hereditarian approaches, is pessimistic regarding improvement of group relations along democratic

lines. To the person who feels that Jews have special and basic faults which cannot be changed, all talk about ending discrimination, about improving Jewish-Gentile relations, and about "what Jews can do to help themselves" is meaningless and irrelevant. The fact that many people who take this "Jewish immutability" viewpoint also tend to tell the Jews how they must change is another sign of the illogicality of anti-Semitism. This idea of the insolubility of the problem is also expressed in Items I–7 and I–12.

3. THE TOTAL ANTI-SEMITISM (A-S) SCALE

The total anti-Semitism scale consists of fifty-two items and comprises all the items in the five subscales as well as the four neutral items discussed above. Both parts of the scale are present in Table 6(III), with instructions to subjects, just as it was administered.

TABLE 6 (III)
THE TOTAL ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE
Public Opinion Questionnaire A

This is an investigation of general public opinion concerning Jewish people. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale:

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, "
+3: strong support, "
−1: slight opposition, disagreement
−2: moderate opposition, "
−3: strong opposition, "

——— 1. Jews seem to prefer the most luxurious, extravagant, and sensual way of living.
——— 2. The Jews must be considered a bad influence on Christian culture and civilization.
——— 3. In order to maintain a nice residential neighborhood it is best to prevent Jews from living in it.
——— 4. A major fault of the Jews is their conceit, overbearing pride, and their idea that they are a chosen race.
——— 5. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.
——— 6. Colleges should adopt a quota system by which they limit the number of Jews in fields which have too many Jews now.
——— 7. No matter how Americanized a Jew may seem to be, there is always something basically Jewish underneath, a loyalty to Jewry and a manner that is never totally changed.
——— 8. Jewish power and control in money matters is far out of proportion to the number of Jews in the total population.
——— 9. A step toward solving the Jewish problem would be to prevent Jews from getting into superior, profitable positions in society, for a while at least.
——— 10. Districts containing many Jews always seem to be smelly, dirty, shabby, and unattractive.
——— 11. There are too many Jews in the various federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.

_____12. The Jewish problem is so general and deep that one often doubts that democratic methods can ever solve it.
_____13. There are a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.
_____14. Jews tend to lower the general standard of living by their willingness to do the most menial work and to live under standards that are far below average.
_____15. It is wrong for Jews and Gentiles to intermarry.
_____16. The Jews should not pry so much into Christian activities and organizations nor seek so much recognition and prestige from Christians.
_____17. Much resentment against Jews stems from their tending to keep apart and to exclude Gentiles from Jewish social life.
_____18. It is best that Jews should have their own fraternities and sororities, since they have their own particular interests and activities which they can best engage in together, just as Christians get along best in all-Christian fraternities.
_____19. One thing that has hindered the Jews from establishing their own nation is the fact that they really have no culture of their own; instead, they tend to copy the things that are important to the native citizens of whatever country they are in.
_____20. The Jews should give up their un-Christian religion with all its strange customs (kosher diet, special holidays, etc.) and participate actively and sincerely in the Christian religion.
_____21. It is sometimes all right to ban Jews from certain apartment houses.
_____22. One big trouble with Jews is that they are never contented, but always try for the best jobs and the most money.
_____23. Jews tend to remain a foreign element in American society, to preserve their old social standards and to resist the American way of life.
_____24. Anyone who employs many people should be careful not to hire a large percentage of Jews.
_____25. Jews go too far in hiding their Jewishness, especially such extremes as changing their names, straightening noses, and imitating Christian manners and customs.
_____26. There is little doubt that Jewish pressure is largely responsible for the U. S. getting into the war with Germany.

The Total Anti-semitism Scale
Public Opinion Questionnaire S

This is an investigation of general public opinion concerning Jewish people. The following are statements with which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each one in the left margin, according to the amount of your agreement or disagreement, by using the following scale:

+1: slight support, agreement — −1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, " — −2: moderate opposition, "
+3: strong support, " — −3. strong opposition, "

_____ 1. The Jews should make sincere efforts to rid themselves of their conspicuous and irritating faults, if they really want to stop being persecuted.
_____ 2. War shows up the fact that the Jews are not patriotic or willing to make sacrifices for their country.
_____ 3. It would hurt the business of a large concern if it had too many Jewish employees.

——— 4. There is something different and strange about Jews; one never knows what they are thinking or planning, nor what makes them tick.
——— 5. Jews may have moral standards that they apply in their dealings with each other, but with Christians they are unscrupulous, ruthless, and undependable.
——— 6. The best way to eliminate the Communist menace in this country is to control the Jewish element which guides it.
——— 7. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
——— 8. The Jew's first loyalty is to Jewry rather than to his country.
——— 9. In order to handle the Jewish problem, Gentiles must meet fire with fire and use the same ruthless tactics with the Jews that the Jews use with the Gentiles.
———10. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
———11. Jews seem to have an aversion to plain hard work; they tend to be a parasitic element in society by finding easy, nonproductive jobs.
———12. It is not wise for a Christian to be seen too much with Jews, as he might be taken for a Jew, or be looked down upon by his Christian friends.
———13. One general fault of Jews is their overaggressiveness, a strong tendency always to display their Jewish looks, manners, and breeding.
———14. There seems to be some revolutionary streak in the Jewish make-up as shown by the fact that there are so many Jewish Communists and agitators.
———15. One of the first steps to be taken in cleaning up the movies and generally improving the situation in Hollywood is to put an end to Jewish domination there.
———16. Jews should be more concerned with their personal appearance, and not be so dirty and smelly and unkempt.
———17. The Jewish districts in most cities are results of the clannishness and stick-togetherness of Jews.
———18. Most hotels should deny admittance to Jews, as a general rule.
———19. The true Christian can never forgive the Jews for their crucifixion of Christ.
———20. Jewish millionaires may do a certain amount to help their own people, but little of their money goes into worthwhile American causes.
———21. Jewish leaders should encourage Jews to be more inconspicuous, to keep out of professions and activities already overcrowded with Jews, and to keep out of the public notice.
———22. There is little hope of correcting the racial defects of the Jews, since these defects are simply in their blood.
———23. The Jews keep too much to themselves, instead of taking the proper interest in community problems and good government.
———24. It would be to the best interests of all if the Jews would form their own nation and keep more to themselves.
———25. When Jews create large funds for educational or scientific research (Rosenwald, Heller, etc.) it is mainly due to a desire for fame and public notice rather than a really sincere scientific interest.
———26. On the whole, the Jews have probably contributed less to American life than any other group.

The scale is intended to measure the individual's readiness to support or oppose anti-Semitic ideology as a whole. This ideology consists, according to the conception on which the scale was based, of *stereotyped negative opinions describing the Jews as threatening, immoral, and categorically different from non-Jews, and of hostile attitudes urging various forms of restriction, exclusion, and suppression as a means of solving "the Jewish problem."* Anti-Semitism is conceived, then, as a general way of thinking about Jews and Jewish-Gentile relations.

Can one legitimately speak of a readiness in the individual to accept anti-Semitic ideology *as a whole?* More concretely, can it be expected that people will respond relatively consistently to such varied scale items? These are questions which must be answered empirically. The content and generality of anti-Semitic ideology, and the adequacy with which it is measured by the present scale are indicated below by a statistical analysis of scale results. The validity of the scale will be indicated by correlations of the scale with measures of other, theoretically related, variables, and by analysis of the responses of the two subjects discussed in Chapter II.

C. RESULTS: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SCALE

The procedure used for all scales in the present research was to allow six choices of response for each item: slight, moderate, or strong agreement, and the same degrees of disagreement, with no middle or neutral category. Each subject indicated the degree of his agreement by marking +1, +2, or +3, disagreement by −1, −2, or −3.

It seemed likely that three degrees of agreement or disagreement could easily be distinguished by the subjects, and that three degrees gave them the best chance to record clearly felt differences in strength of agreement or disagreement. Certainly the data indicate that all six response categories were used. The "don't know" category has been a source of difficulty and controversy in many fields of psychological research (121). In techniques which permit its use, it tends to be the most frequent choice. Without it, the subject must take a stand one way or the other, although the categories of slight agreement and slight disagreement permit him to be nearly neutral. If a subject is unable to decide, he can, of course, omit the item; but there were never more than 2 to 3 per cent omissions among subjects taking the questionnaire, and never more than 1 per cent of the group to which it was administered failed to fill it out adequately. Furthermore, the frequency with which the "moderate" and "strong" categories were used indicates that the items were relatively unambiguous.

The *responses* were converted into *scores* by a uniform scoring system. Since higher scores were intended to express increasing anti-Semitism, all responses were scored as follows:

−3 = 1 point	+1 = 5 points
−2 = 2 points	+2 = 6 points
−1 = 3 points	+3 = 7 points

It will be noted that the scoring skips from 3 to 5 points between −1 and +1. Four points represented the hypothetical neutral response, and was assigned when the item was omitted. It probably makes little difference statistically that this scheme was used rather than a six-point one in which +1 would receive 4 points. This scheme was used mainly because there seemed to be a greater psychological gap between −1 and +1 responses than between any other two adjacent responses. It was also convenient in marking the omissions.

A person's scale score is simply the sum of his scores on the single items. For the 52 items the scores can range between 52 points (1 point on each item, indicating strong opposition to anti-Semitism) and 364 points (7 points on each item, strong anti-Semitism). When the scale score is divided by 52 we obtain the mean score per item; thus, a total score of 78 can also be stated as a score per item of 1.5.

The initial results obtained with the A-S scale have been published elsewhere (71). The present discussion will deal with the second administration of the scale; on this occasion the questionnaire administered contained, in addition to the A-S scale, most of the other techniques which were used in subsequent stages of the research. The questionnaire was administered in April, 1944, to a class in Introductory Psychology at the University of California. It was given as a routine class activity in two parts, separated by an interval of one week; Part I (Questionnaire A) of the A-S scale was given in the first session, Part II (Questionnaire S) in the second. The class was designed for nonmajors in psychology and was rather heterogeneous with respect to major subject and year in school.

In view of a possible sex difference, the questionnaires of men and women were separated for statistical purposes. Due to wartime conditions, however, there were fewer than thirty men in the group, so that no statistics on men were computed. The data presented here are based on the questionnaires of the 144 women subjects, including nineteen members of major minorities: Jews, Negroes, Chinese, and foreign-born. In all subsequent groups the statistical analysis was limited to the questionnaires of native-born, white, non-Jewish Americans.

1. RELIABILITY

The reliability and related statistical properties of the A-S scale and its subscales are presented in Table 7(III). The total-scale reliability of .92 meets rigorous statistical standards, especially in view of the fact that Part II was administered a week after Part I. (The reliability of the scale on the

TABLE 7 (III)

RELIABILITY OF THE ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE AND ITS SUBSCALES

Property	Total Scale	Part I	Part II	Subscale[a] S_O	S_T	S_A	S_S	S_I
Reliability[b]	.92	.94	.91	.84	.89	.89	.71	.84
Number of items	52	26	26	12	10	16	8	8
Mean (total)[c]	2.70	2.74	2.66	3.08	2.59	2.47	3.28	2.55
Mean (odd half)	2.74	2.94	2.86	3.52	2.84	2.48	3.00	2.60
Mean (even half)	2.66	2.54	2.46	2.65	2.34	2.46	3.55	2.50
S.D. (total)[c]	1.11	1.21	1.12	1.33	1.23	1.18	1.26	1.24
S.D. (odd half)	1.21	1.31	1.19	1.55	1.34	1.21	1.35	1.30
S.D. (even half)	1.12	1.15	1.15	1.30	1.32	1.25	1.45	1.35
Range[c]	1.0-5.5	1.0-5.7	1.0-5.8	1.0-6.5	1.0-5.7	1.0-5.8	1.0-6.3	1.0-5.9

[a]The subscales are abbreviated as follows: subscale "Offensive" (S_O), "Threatening" (S_T), "Attitudes" (S_A), "Seclusive" (S_S), "Intrusive" (S_I)

[b]The reliability of the total scale was obtained by correlating scores on Part I (the half administered first) with scores on Part II (in second half of questionnaire). All other reliabilities are based on correlations between the odd items and the even items. The correlations were corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula to give the reliability values in the table.

[c]The values of the means, S.D.'s and ranges are given in terms of mean score per item. If multiplied by the number of items in the scale or subscale in question, they are converted into values representing mean per total scale or subscale.

first group studied, as previously published, was .98.) The two parts were equated in terms of the subscales, so that an equal number of items from each subscale appeared in each part. Parts I and II are also roughly equivalent in terms of mean and standard deviation. In view of the high correlation between Parts I and II, as well as their equivalence and their high reliabilities (.94 and .91), it would appear that either of them alone provides as good a quantitative measure as does the total scale.

It will be noted that the over-all mean is relatively low (140.2 as compared with a theoretical neutral point of 208) and that the obtained range includes extremely low scores but does not include the highest possible scores. The item analysis, as will be seen below, suggests the reason for this: despite our attempt to limit the scale to pseudodemocratic statements numerous items were still too openly or crudely prejudiced and had extremely low means (below 3.0). The present group of students was, however, less anti-Semitic on the average than the one studied earlier, the latter having a mean of 158 and a range of 52–303. The distribution of scores in both cases was fairly symmetrical but platykurtic, with very little clustering of scores around the mean.

The reliabilities of the total scale and of the two parts are almost matched by the high reliabilities of the subscales. Reliabilities of .8 to .9 are very satisfactory even for scales three or four times their length.

With regard to reliability, equivalence of halves, and form of distribution, then, it seems safe to conclude that the A-S scale (as well as the subscales) provides an adequate measuring instrument. It ranks the subjects with a relatively small error of measurement along a continuum or dimension. That this dimension may be called general anti-Semitism must still be demonstrated by the data on item analysis and validity which follow. No claim is made that the dimension is "pure" or homogeneous. To the extent that the scale is valid, it provides a measure of anti-Semitism in most of its generality and complexity. More specifically, it may be claimed that the higher an individual's score, the greater his acceptance of anti-Semitic propaganda and the greater his disposition to engage in anti-Semitic accusations and programs of one form or another.

2. INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE SUBSCALES

The above reliability data indicate that people are relatively consistent in their responses to the A-S scale and to the individual subscales dealing with relatively specific kinds of imagery and attitudes. Correlations among the subscales are shown in Table 8(III).

Intercorrelations of .74 to .85 are of considerable significance. The fact that they involve subscales dealing with so great a variety of opinions and attitudes is an important source of support for the hypothesis that anti-

TABLE 8 (III)

INTERCORRELATIONS[a] OF THE A–S SUBSCALES

Subscale	"Threatening"	"Attitudes"	"Seclusive"	Total A–S
"Offensive"	.85	.83	.75	92
"Threatening"		.84		.93
"Attitudes"			.74	.94
"Intrusive"			.74	

[a]These are the raw correlation coefficients. If they were corrected for attenuation to give the maximal value theoretically obtainable (with perfectly reliable instruments), they would all be well over .90.

Semitism is a general frame of mind, a way of viewing Jews and Jewish-Gentile interaction. Imagery of Jews as personally offensive and as socially threatening, attitudes of restriction, exclusion and the like, the view that Jews are too assimilative and yet too clannish—these seem to be various facets of a broad ideological pattern. An individual's stand with regard to one of these issues tends to be very similar in direction and degree to his stand with regard to the others.

The correlations of .92 to .94 between each of the three major subscales and the total anti-Semitism scale are high enough so that knowing an individual's score on any one subscale permits one to predict with considerable accuracy his score on the total A-S scale. In short, while almost every subject varies somewhat in his responses to the individual items (as will be shown below), almost every subject demonstrates a general degree of support or rejection of anti-Semitism which is relatively consistent from one type of accusation or attitude to another. This is not to say that all the ideas contained in the scale are of equal importance emotionally to each anti-Semite. It is more probable—and this view is supported by the interviews—that for each high scorer there are a few central opinions (imagery of Jews as cunning, power-seeking, sensual, etc.) and attitudes of primary importance; but these "pet" ideas seem to provide a basis or general readiness for the acceptance of almost any anti-Semitic idea. The fact that this generality is not complete suggests that various patterns of anti-Semitic ideology may exist and might profitably be studied (as variations within the general framework described here).

The correlation of .74 between subscales "Seclusive" and "Intrusive" reveals a deep contradiction in anti-Semitic ideology. As a matter of simple logic, it is impossible for most Jews to be both extremely seclusive and aloof and at the same time too intrusive and prying. This categorical, self-contradictory rejection of an entire group is, however, more than a matter of

faulty logic. Viewed psychologically, these results suggest a deep-lying irrational hostility directed against a stereotyped image to which individual Jews correspond only partially if at all.

The illogical manner in which the hostility operates is illustrated by a comparison of related items from these two subscales. Thus, "Seclusive" Item II–20 states that rich Jews help "their own people" but not "American causes." However, "Intrusive" Item II–25 takes care of any exceptions: Jews donate money not out of generosity but rather out of desire for prestige and fame. Similarly, either Jews do not take enough interest in community and government (Seclusive), or when they do, they have too much control over national politics (Intrusive). Anti-Semitic hostility leads, then, either to a denial of demonstrable facts (Jewish philanthropy, smallness of number, etc.) or to an interpretation of them which finds the Jews at fault.

The same self-contradictions and the same implications are evident in the high correlation (.74) between subscales "Seclusive" and "Attitudes." It is indeed paradoxical to accuse the Jews of being clannish and aloof, and at the same time to urge that they be segregated and restricted. It would seem, then, that a general hostility and readiness to accept negative imagery are an essential part of the psychological functioning of anti-Semitic individuals, who can regard a great variety of specific accusations, often mutually contradictory, as valid.

The reliabilities and subscale intercorrelations, taken together, permit several conclusions regarding the nature and inner sources of anti-Semitism. It is a general way of thinking in which hostile attitudes and negative opinions toward Jews predominate. Several patterns of imagery brought out by the subscales seem to be partial facets of a single broad ideological framework. While these ideas are relatively common today, it would appear that those individuals (the high scorers) who take them over most easily are different in their psychological functioning from those who do not. One major characteristic of anti-Semites is a relatively blind hostility which is reflected in the stereotypy, self-contradiction, and destructiveness of their thinking about Jews.

3. INTERNAL CONSISTENCY: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS

A critical reader of the A-S scale may feel that certain items are unsatisfactory in one way or another: that they do not measure what the others measure, that everyone agrees with the ideas expressed, that certain items are too ridiculous to be supported by anyone, and so on. He may like a few items particularly and wonder how successful they were. Or he may be concerned with shortening and improving the scale and want a statistical basis for item selection and improvement. For these and other reasons a statistical analysis of the items has considerable value.

The problem can be posed in statistical terms as follows. If an item is good, in terms of the total scale, then item scores ought to correlate well with total scale scores. Since few high scorers agree with all items, and since some low scorers agree with several items, a statistical technique is necessary to determine the closeness of the relationship between item score and scale score. The most extensive technique for item analysis is the computing of *correlations* between item scores and scale scores, especially if some sort of factor analysis is planned. The Likert "Discriminatory Power" technique, although statistically more limited, has a great time-saving advantage. Furthermore, Murphy and Likert (84), obtaining both Discriminatory Powers and item-total scale correlations for a single scale, found a correlation of .91 between these two measures of item value. In other words, the order of goodness of the items, as determined by the Discriminatory Power technique, is practically the same as the order determined by the correlation technique. The Likert technique was therefore used in the present study.

The Discriminatory Power (D. P.) of each item is obtained by the following procedure. Subjects whose total scores fall in the highest 25 per cent of the distribution are considered high scorers, while those whose scores fall in the lowest 25 per cent of the distribution are considered the low scorers.

The mean of the high scorers is obtained for each item and found to vary from item to item. Similarly for the low scorers. If an item measures anti-Semitism well, then anti-Semites (high scorers), as determined by the total scale score, will make higher scores on it than will those who are opposed to anti-Semitism (low scorers). The greater the difference between the item mean for the high scorers and that for the low scorers, the greater the Discriminatory Power of that item, and the better the measure of anti-Semitism it gives. A positive D. P. indicates that the item is anti-Semitic, in the sense that anti-Semites as determined by the total scale agree with the item to a greater degree than do unprejudiced subjects. If an item has a negative D. P., it has apparently been scored in reverse, since low scorers agree with it more than high scorers do. All items in the present scale have positive D. P.'s.

The data on the item analysis of the A-S scale are presented in Table 9 (III). Each item is identified by a key phrase, and the letters O, T, A, S, and I refer to the subscales Offensive, Threatening, Attitudes, Seclusive, and Intrusive respectively.

The most important data on each item are the group mean and the D. P. The group mean reflects the general group tendency toward agreement or disagreement. A mean near 4.0 indicates that the group was pretty evenly divided pro and con on the issue. Group means between 3.0 and 5.0 are likely to involve scores covering well the entire range from 1 to 7. Means below 3.0 indicate a strong group tendency toward disagreement,

TABLE 9 (III)

ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE: ITEM MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA WOMEN

Part I

No.	Item	Mean H.Q.	Mean L.Q.	D.P.	Mean for Total Group
1.	(O: luxurious)	4.44	2.03	2.41	3.11
2.	(T: bad influence)	2.75	1.11	1.64	1.85
3.	(A: keep Jews out)	4.25	1.03	3.22	2.30
4.	(O: conceit)	4.50	1.30	3.20	2.71
5.	(S,T: businessmen)	5.86	1.38	4.48	3.45
6.	(A: quota)	2.89	1.00	1.89	1.67
7.	(O: basically Jewish)	5.78	1.99	3.79	3.59
8.	(T: power and control)	5.33	2.30	3.03	3.80
9.	(A: suppress Jews)	3.61	1.05	2.56	1.84
10.	(O: dirty districts)	2.94	1.24	1.70	1.98
11.	(I,T: Washington)	4.55	1.24	3.31	2.56
12.	(A: democratic methods)	4.75	1.13	3.62	2.76
13.	(O: all alike)	5.50	1.67	3.83	3.64
14.	(T: low living standards)	3.00	1.24	1.76	2.05
15.	(A: wrong to intermarry)	4.19	1.19	3.00	2.57
16.	(I,O: prying)	3.89	1.03	2.86	2.24
17.	(S: Jews exclude Gentiles)	4.22	2.11	2.11	3.53
18.	(A: fraternities)	5.89	2.13	3.76	3.84
19.	(I: no culture)	4.86	1.73	3.13	3.19
20.	(S: give up religion)	3.03	1.30	1.73	2.66
21.	(A: apartment houses)	4.47	1.30	3.17	2.52
22.	(N: never contented)	5.42	1.22	4.20	3.17
23.	(S: foreign element)	4.28	1.38	2.90	2.88
24.	(A: don't hire Jews)	5.30	1.19	4.11	2.84
25.	(I: hide Jewishness)	4.33	1.62	2.71	2.87
26.	(N: war with Germany)	2.86	1.05	1.81	1.69
	Mean:	4.34	1.42	2.92	2.74

ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE: ITEM MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA WOMEN

Part II

No.	Item	Mean H.Q.	Mean L.Q.	D.P.	Mean for Total Group
1.	(O: own fault)	5.89	2.51	3.38	4.31
2.	(T: unpatriotic)	2.97	1.05	1.92	1.75
3.	(I,A: too many employees)	4.89	1.30	3.59	2.95
4.	(O: different and strange)	4.17	1.19	2.98	2.23
5.	(T: unscrupulous)	4.47	1.16	3.31	2.45
6.	(A: Communists)	3.39	1.05	2.34	2.08
7.	(I,O: typical atmosphere)	5.28	1.32	3.96	3.23
8.	(T: first loyalty)	5.05	1.81	3.24	3.10
9.	(A: Gentiles ruthless)	3.22	1.00	2.22	1.84
10.	(O: marry a Jew)	6.58	2.30	4.28	4.22
11.	(T: parasitic)	4.36	1.27	3.09	2.19
12.	(A: avoid Jews)	3.89	1.13	2.76	2.09
13.	(S,O: overaggression)	4.97	1.73	3.24	3.44
14.	(T: revolutionary)	4.28	1.35	2.93	2.69
15.	(A: Hollywood)	3.94	1.13	2.81	2.47
16.	(O: dirty)	3.78	1.24	2.54	2.30
17.	(S: clannish)	5.78	2.32	3.46	4.57
18.	(A: hotels)	2.22	1.05	1.17	1.46
19.	(I: crucifixion)	2.69	1.08	1.61	1.66
20.	(S: millionnaires)	3.97	1.32	2.65	2.44
21.	(A: Jewish leaders)	4.64	1.62	3.02	3.07
22.	(N: racial defects)	3.86	1.08	2.78	2.40
23.	(S: Jews keep apart)	4.03	1.94	2.09	3.21
24.	(A: form own nation)	4.78	1.70	3.08	3.23
25.	(I: Rosenwald)	2.89	1.16	1.73	1.74
26.	(N: contributed least)	2.89	1.19	1.70	1.97
	Mean:	4.19	1.42	2.77	2.66
	Means for total scale:	4.27	1.42	2.85	2.70

Number: Total group = 144; H.Q. = 36; L.Q. = 37.
Range of total scores: Total group: 52-286; H.Q.: 183-286; L.Q.: 52-89.

with few scores of 6 or 7 (+2 and +3 responses). And group means of over 5.0, conversely, indicate relatively uniform agreement.

The Discriminatory Power, on the other hand, is a measure of the variability of the high and low scorers around the group mean, and of their average difference in response. How large must a D. P. be in order to indicate almost no overlap between highs and lows? This depends on the form of the distribution and the size of the group mean. An item with a group mean of 2.0, a low quartile mean of 1.0, a high quartile mean of 3.0, and a D. P. of 2.0, is undoubtedly very discriminating; the low scorers responded unanimously with −3, and the high scorers probably varied but little around the −1 response. In general, the more extreme the group mean (especially below 3.0 or above 5.0) the lower the D. P. can be and still adequately separate the low from the high scorers. From a broader point of view, however, the best items should have means nearer to 4.0; when the item mean is above 5.0 or below 3.0, the item should be reworded so that fewer people or more people, respectively, will agree.[2]

For items with group means in the approximate range 3.0 to 5.0, Discriminatory Powers may be evaluated according to the following general standards: a D. P. of over 4.0 is very high and indicates almost uniform agreement by the high scorers, disagreement by the low scorers, with almost no overlap. D. P.'s of 3.0–4.0 are very satisfactory and indicate a clear-cut difference between high and low scorers. D. P.'s of 2.0–3.0, while statistically significant, indicate greater variability in the responses of low and high scorers and a fair amount of overlap. A D. P. between 1.0 and 2.0 involves considerable agreement by the low scorers and disagreement by the high scorers, but it still indicates a statistically significant difference between the low mean and the high mean.[3] As the D. P. decreases below 1.0, the possibility of significance decreases rapidly.

With these considerations in mind we can examine the data in Table 9. In general the Discriminatory Powers are quite satisfactory, averaging 2.85 for the entire group.[4] For the 52 items, 5 D. P.'s are over 4.0, 21 are between

[2] A minimum item mean of 2.5 ought probably to be set for this group, since various studies have shown college students to be less prejudiced than the general population. For other groups studied in the present research, many item means were as much as a point higher.

[3] While standard deviations have not been obtained for all items, it can be shown that (with group N = 100 to 150) the standard error of the difference between the means for low and high scorers is almost never above .50, seldom below .25. In terms of the critical ratio, then, a D.P. of over 1.0 is statistically significant, that is, the means are different though the distributions are partially overlapping.

[4] While correlations between items or between each item and the total scale have not been computed for this group, later data on similar scales suggest that the average inter-item correlation is about .4, while between each item and the sum of the remaining items the average correlation is about .6. (See Chapter IV.)

3.0 and 3.9, and 15 are between 2.0 and 2.9. Only 11 D. P.'s are between 1.0 and 1.9, the lowest being 1.2.

All of the D. P.'s are therefore above a minimum standard of acceptability. The 26 items with D. P.'s of over 3.0 are statistically very satisfactory. Why were the other items less adequate? The answer is indicated by the group means on these items. Of the 11 items with D. P.'s of less than 2.0, 10 have means below 2.1. Conversely, almost all of the items with means of over 3.0 have D. P.'s of over 3.0. The mean for the low quartile is very low (below 2.0) on almost every item. The mean of the high quartile, on the other hand, varies greatly from item to item. *The items with low D. P.'s were, in almost every case, statements with which the high quartile tended predominantly to disagree.* This result seems to be due partly to a lack of pseudodemocratic coloring in these items, partly to their obvious illogicality or lack of truth, and partly to a lack of extreme anti-Semites among these subjects. Thus, the mean of the high quartile on all 52 items averages 4.3 and varies from 2.2 to 6.6. For the 10 items with the highest D. P.'s, however, the high quartile means average well over 5.0.

The dependability of the item means and D. P.'s is indicated by a comparison of the present group with the group of college students previously tested and reported on. The latter group responded to the entire scale (and other questionnaire material) at one sitting; the reliability was .98 and the subscale intercorrelations were also slightly higher than in the present group. The group mean per item was 3.0 as compared with 2.7 for the present group, and the average D. P. was 3.4 as compared with 2.85 here. The main difference between the two groups seems to lie in the greater number of high scorers in the first group tested. The over-all mean of the low quartile was almost identical for the two groups: 1.39 then, 1.42 now. But the high quartile averaged 4.80 then as compared to 4.27 now. In noncollege groups a larger number of high scorers, and larger D. P.'s, have been found (see pp. 76, 140). Despite the over-all scale differences between the two groups, however, the adequacy of the individual items was very similar. Thus, the rank-order correlation between the D. P.'s was .78, while the item means correlated .92. In short, the most discriminating items for one group were also the best for the other group, and similarly for the poor items. The general conclusions about item means and discriminabilities to be drawn from the present group, then, are generally true for the previous group as well.

Table 9(III) reveals that the best items pertain to a variety of topics. *Stereotypy* in anti-Semitic imagery is shown in the tendency to overgeneralize Jewish faults, and in the fact that Item I–13 ("Jews are all alike") is one of the most discriminating, with a D. P. of 3.83. The idea of Jews as a *political threat* (radicalism: Items II–6, –14) was much less prevalent than the idea of Jews as an *economic threat* (wealth and power: Items I–5, –8, –22,

II–5, –11) or as a *moral threat* (immorality: Items I–1, II–1, –7, –13). Accusations on *religious* grounds were seldom supported,[5] as shown by the low group means and D. P.'s on Items I–20 and II–19. A variety of *discriminatory attitudes* (exclusion, restriction, suppression: most items in the "Attitude" subscale) found considerable support and were very discriminating.

The importance of careful formulation of items is shown by a comparison of good with poor items. The most discriminating items are usually the most pseudodemocratic ones according to criteria discussed above (Section B, 1). Consider, for example, the two items dealing with intermarriage. Item II–10 ("I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew") has a group mean of 4.2 and a D. P. of 4.3, with a high quartile mean of 6.6 (almost all +2 and +3 responses). On the other hand, Item I–15 ("It is wrong for Jews and Gentiles to intermarry") has a group mean of only 2.6, a D. P. of 3.0, and a high quartile mean of 4.2. The higher mean and discriminability of the former item are probably due to its greater indirectness and distance from crude anti-Semitism. By what criterion is this item anti-Semitic? The criterion is the fact that it correlates well with the total scale, that is, it differentiates very well between subjects who score high and subjects who score low on the total scale. (The fact that the correlation is not perfect indicates that response to any single item is not a clear-cut sign of anti-Semitism nor of its opposite; the criterion must be the total scale score).

Similar reasoning applies to items dealing with housing restrictions. The following items had very low group means (1.5 to 2.5): Item II–18 (consistent exclusion from hotels), I–3 (exclusion from neighborhoods), I–21 (occasional exclusion from apartment houses). Item II–7 (Jews give a neighborhood a "typical Jewish atmosphere"), which is more indirect and pseudodemocratic, had a higher mean (3.2) and D. P. (4.0). It would appear that many individuals who are not now willing actively to support anti-Semitic programs have nevertheless a negative imagery and an underlying hostility that constitute a definite potentiality for such action. Even the more open and crude items on housing had significant D. P.'s, and the high quartile means of 4.3 and over (except on II–18), seem to indicate only weak resistance to these ideas.

The same considerations hold for the items dealing with occupations. Items which urge explicit policies of suppression and restriction of Jews (I–6, –9, II–9, –15) tend to have low means. But items which emphasize gen-

[5] It is frequently held that Sunday School training is a major cause of anti-Semitism, which is then regarded as a form of "religious prejudice." In this group, at least, rejection on religious grounds was infrequent. From the generality and irrationality of anti-Semitic ideology, it is clear that many diverse accusations are almost always involved, and that there are many sources for the underlying hostility which makes a given individual receptive to anti-Semitism. For a discussion of the role of religion in prejudice see Chapters VI and XVIII.

eralized Jewish faults and which introduce subtly discriminatory practices tend to have higher means; thus, Jewish businessmen are regarded as unfair and conniving (Item I–5), and they have too much financial power (I–8). While active suppression is not so desirable (low mean on I–9), it is unwise for an employer to hire many Jews (higher mean on I–24, II–3). The simplest solution—one that eliminates the need for suppression—would be for Jews to form their own nation (II–24).

The pessimism of the high scorers regarding the solution to this problem is brought out by a number of items. On the one hand, they take the view that anti-Semitism has been entirely or primarily brought by the Jews on themselves and that any solution of the problem is a matter of Jewish responsibility (Items II–1, II–21). Non-Jews are simply the victims of Jewish faults; if Jews would improve, become as good as "other people," anti-Semitism would be eliminated. On the other hand, the Jews seem to be incorrigible, and any apparent change only masks the Jewishness beneath (Items I–7, –13, II–4, –8, –22). The contradiction is therefore complete: anti-Semitism is due to Jewish faults, but the Jews are unable to improve; the Jews should make sincere efforts to change, but their "basic Jewishness" is unchangeable. For the antidemocratic anti-Semite the only answer is open and direct suppression; for the pseudodemocrat it is subtle exclusion and "resigned tolerance" toward a bad state of affairs. The pseudodemocrats seem to betray a sense of threat and some antidemocratic potential by their doubts that democratic methods can solve the problem (Item I–12).

D. THE SHORT FORM OF THE A-S SCALE

It was a regular policy of the present research to contract the proven techniques in order to introduce new ones measuring additional trends of theoretical importance. In line with this policy, and in view of the high reliability and internal consistency of the original 52-item A-S scale, a short form of ten items was used in the first revision of the questionnaire.

The short form is presented in Table 10(III). The ten items were selected from the original fifty-two on the basis of both statistical and theoretical considerations. Since statistical adequacy (Discriminatory Power) was a necessary—but not sufficient—condition for inclusion, the new items were selected from the fifteen or twenty which had been most discriminating on the two administrations of the long form. Among these, selection was determined by the following qualitative considerations. Each item should be as rich in meaning as possible. There should be a minimum of duplication of meaning or content among items. They should cover most of the subscales and most of the areas of accusation and discrimination. These desiderata have not been realized entirely; there were other items that seemed to merit inclusion, and for certain

TABLE 10 (III)
THE TEN-ITEM A-S SCALE (Form 78)

Old No.	*New No.*[a]	
I-24	11.	Anyone who employs many people should be careful not to hire a large percentage of Jews.
I-5	16.	One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and connive, so that a Gentile doesn't have a fair chance in competition.
II-17	21.	The Jewish districts in most cities are results of the clannishness and stick-togetherness of Jews.
II-1	26.	Persecution of the Jews would be largely eliminated if the Jews would make really sincere efforts to rid themselves of their harmful and offensive faults.
II-21	33.	Jewish leaders should encourage Jews to be more inconspicuous, to keep out of professions and activities already overcrowded with Jews and to keep out of the public notice.
II-10	40.	I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
II-7	49.	The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
I-7	62.	No matter how Americanized a Jew may seem to be, there is always something different and strange, something basically Jewish underneath.
I-13	69.	There may be a few exceptions, but, in general, Jews are pretty much alike.
I-11	72.	There are too many Jews in the various federal agencies and bureaus in Washington, and they have too much control over our national policies.

[a] "New number" refers to the numbering of the items in Form 78.
"Old number" refers to numbering in the long form discussed previously. Slight revisions will be noted in the wording of several items.

purposes they would probably be superior. The high internal consistency of the long form indicates that several statistically adequate short forms might be constructed. Nevertheless, the present form was expected to provide an adequate tool for most purposes of measurement. The slight revisions in the wording of some items were intended to make them simpler and clearer in meaning. The manner of presentation of this form was different from that previously used. Whereas previously each scale had been presented "all of a piece," on a page or pages of its own, in this and all successive forms of the questionnaire the various scales were presented interspersed with each other, so that no single scale was particularly prominent or focal, and adjacent items dealt with widely varying topics.[6]

The new questionnaire, identified as Form 78 (on the basis of its having

[6] The other scales in this form, to be discussed in the chapters that follow, deal with general prejudice (Negroes, other minorities, patriotism), with politico-economic liberalism and conservatism, and with potentially antidemocratic personality trends. There were 78 items in all. This form of the questionnaire, like all the other forms, contained in addition other questions dealing with group memberships, personality, and so on.

78 scale items), was administered in the spring of 1945 to the following groups. Two of the groups comprise undergraduate students at the University of California: the full membership, save for absentees, of the introductory Public Speaking class. Here, as in all groups, men and women were separated in the statistical treatment and analysis was limited to native-born, white, non-Jewish Americans. The first two groups, then, are the Public Speaking Women (N = 140) and the Public Speaking Men (N = 52). The third group comprised forty women, the entire feminine membership of an Extension Division class in Psychology at the University of California. Most subjects of this group were in their thirties and late twenties, and hence were somewhat older on the average than those of our college sample. The fourth group, Professional Women (N = 63), is actually a combination of three smaller groups: (a) Twenty-four public health nurses, the entire nursing staff of a nearby health department (the director of this department was generally liberal in his outlook and had tried to select younger nurses with more advanced ideas about public health); (b) public school teachers; and (c) social workers, who were reached through the mails. In the latter two cases, only about 20 per cent of those appealed to sent in their questionnaires, and this sampling technique was not tried again.

The reliability data for the short A-S scale are presented in Table 11(III). Reliabilities of .89–.94 are extremely satisfactory, especially for a 10-item scale, and they are similar to those obtained on the long form.[7] The means of 3.3 to 3.4 for University and Extension Class students are substantially the same as the mean of 3.55 on these ten items for the previous class taking the long form of the scale. However, the mean of 2.6 for the Professional Women is significantly lower than the others (above the 1 per cent level statistically). This difference may be due partly to sampling errors; the teachers and social workers responded voluntarily by mail, and the tendency to cooperate in filling out a questionnaire dealing with prejudice and with personal feelings is probably correlated with lack of prejudice.[8] The slightly greater reliability (.94) of the scale for this group may reflect a greater ideological consistency in older age groups.

The Discriminatory Power method of item analysis was again carried out, and the results are presented in Table 12(III). The average D. P. of 3.68 is very satisfactory and indicates that on most items there were very few low-quartile members who agreed, few high-quartile members who disagreed.

[7] The fact that these reliabilities are similar to those obtained on the long form argues against the hypothesis that the high reliability of the latter was due to a "set" for all-negative items.

[8] This hypothesis is supported by questionnaire and clinical material on personality trends (opposition to "prying" and to "being analyzed" in the prejudiced subjects). Also, fewer high-scoring than low-scoring subjects in the groups tested were willing to be interviewed.

TABLE 11 (III)

RELIABILITY OF THE A–S SCALE (FORM 78)

Property[c]	Gr. A[a]	Gr. B[a]	Gr. C[a]	Gr. D[a]	Over-all[b]
Reliability	.89	.93	.90	.94	.92
Mean (total)	3.33	3.36	3.40	2.57	3.16
Mean (odd half)	2.98	3.30	3.20	2.34	2.96
Mean (even half)	3.66	3.42	3.63	2.83	3.38
S.D. (total)	1.43	1.48	1.36	1.37	1.41
S.D. (odd half)	1.42	1.51	1.38	1.27	1.40
S.D. (even half)	1.62	1.56	1.48	1.58	1.56
Range	1.0–7.0	1.1–6.3	1.2–6.1	1.0–6.2	1.0–7.0

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are: *Group A*, U. C. Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140); *Group B*, U. C. Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52); *Group C*, U. C. Adult Extension Class Women (N = 40); *Group D*, Professional Women (nurses, teachers, social workers, N = 63).

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[c]The values of the means, Standard Deviations, and ranges are given in terms of mean/person/item. If multiplied by 10 (the number of items), they are translated into values representing total scale score per person.

The best items deal with such varied topics as conniving businessmen, Jews being all alike, intermarriage, exclusion from neighborhoods.

How much influence did the form of presentation of the items have on their individual means and D. P.'s? Does it matter whether the items are presented in a solid block, as in the first form, or randomly dispersed through a longer series of extremely varied items, as in Form 78? Evidence bearing on this question was obtained by comparing the results on these ten items for the two types of presentation. The mean for the Psychology Class women on these ten items (first form, excluding the remaining forty-two items) was 3.55, as compared with 3.32 for the Public Speaking Class women, the most comparable group taking Form 78, and the average D. P.'s were 3.76 and 3.68 respectively. The differences are not statistically significant. Furthermore, the rank-order correlations between the individual item means for these two groups was .62, while the D. P.'s correlated .90. These correlations seem even more significant when one considers that the wording of some items was changed, and that the two groups were not systematically equated. The results on the first form were also compared with the over-all averages for all four groups taking Form 78. The individual item means correlated .88,

TABLE 12 (III)

ITEM MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS[a]

A-S SCALE - FORM 78

No.	Item	Group A Mean	Group A D.P.	Group B Mean	Group B D.P.	Group C Mean	Group C D.P.	Group D Mean	Group D D.P.	Over-all[b] Mean	Over-all[b] D.P.	Rank D.P.
11.	(Hire Jews)	2.76	4.25	3.10	3.69	3.40	4.13	1.71	2.36	2.74	3.61	(6)
16.	(Businessmen)	3.79	4.58	3.62	4.10	3.58	4.35	2.63	4.35	3.40	4.34	(1)
21.	(Jewish districts)	3.46	2.97	3.81	3.17	3.92	3.35	2.86	2.00	3.51	2.87	(9)
26.	(Get rid of faults)	3.41	3.20	3.42	3.96	3.92	3.83	3.16	4.58	3.48	3.89	(5)
33.	(Jewish leaders)	2.29	2.28	2.96	3.09	2.12	1.25	2.10	2.86	2.37	2.37	(10)
40.	(Marry a Jew)	4.44	4.60	3.92	4.67	4.42	4.09	3.04	3.77	3.96	4.28	(3)
49.	(Nice neighborhood)	3.03	3.57	3.31	4.35	3.15	3.88	2.29	4.70	2.94	4.12	(4)
62.	(Basically Jewish)	3.54	3.85	3.31	3.29	3.60	2.76	2.94	4.12	3.35	3.50	(7)
69.	(All alike)	3.44	4.02	3.19	4.20	3.22	4.24	2.73	4.76	3.14	4.30	(2)
72.	(Federal agencies)	3.07	3.49	2.81	3.50	2.60	2.63	2.27	4.30	2.69	3.48	(8)
Mean/person/item		3.32	3.68	3.35	3.80	3.39	3.45	2.57	3.78	3.16	3.68	

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are: *Group A*, U.C. Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140); *Group B*, U.C. Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52); *Group C*, U.C. Adult Extension Class Women (N = 40); *Group D*, Professional Women (nurses, teachers, social workers, (N = 63).

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

and the D. P.'s correlated .80. It would therefore appear that the relative discriminability (D. P.) and level of acceptability (mean) of the items is due mainly to the nature of the items themselves rather than to their form of presentation in the questionnaire.

Although no correlations were computed among the four groups taking Form 78, the great variability of the over-all means and D. P.'s indicates considerable consistency of item mean and D. P. from group to group. The best items for one group tend to be the best for other groups, and similarly for the worst items. This consistency in rank order of means and D. P.'s holds even for the Professional Women, despite the fact that the absolute values of the item means were considerably lower for this group than for the others.

Further evidence on these issues is given by results obtained in September, 1945, from a group of 153 students, preponderantly women, at George Washington University, Washington, D. C.[9] The ten A-S items were presented in a solid block, on a sheet containing no other scales, the instructions duplicating those given for the long form of the scale. The obtained reliability was .91, a value almost identical with those for the other groups. The group mean per item was 4.52 and the average D. P. was 4.02. The mean is significantly different (above the 1 per cent level) from the University of California means, and suggests, as have other independent studies, that significant sectional differences in anti-Semitism exist (the Far West being, apparently, less prejudiced than the East). While the Washington students obtain consistently higher scores, the item means show a rank-order correlation of .84 between the Washington group and the average of the four California groups, indicating a marked similarity in the relative acceptability of the items. This group also gives evidence that extremely high scorers do exist, and that the restricted range of the groups taking Form 78 is due mainly to a lack of extremely anti-Semitic members. The individual scores in the Washington group covered the entire range of possible scores, 10–70, with a mean per item of 6.27 for the high quartile, 2.25 for the low quartile.

The Discriminatory Powers for the Washington group correlated .54 with the average D. P.'s for the four California groups. The smallness of this value, in contrast to that for the item means, is due primarily to a change in the rank of item 72, which asserts that "there are too many Jews in Washington agencies." The D. P. for this item had a rank of 8 in the California groups, but a rank of 2 for the Washington group (the D. P. being 4.5). While the rank of the mean on this item was identical in the two groups (9 in both cases), the difference between low and high scorers was relatively much greater in Washington than in California. Living in Washington should provide, one might expect, a reality basis on which to respond to this

[9] We wish to thank Dr. G. H. Smith, then teaching at George Washington University, for his cooperation. These results were not incorporated in the main body of data because this group was not given the remaining sections of the questionnaire.

item and thus minimize the differences between otherwise low and high scorers. This does not seem to be the case. It would seem, rather, that how an individual assimilates and interprets social reality is to a large extent determined by his pre-existing ideology. Living in Washington appears to have mainly a polarizing rather than a homogenizing effect, especially on the "Jews in government" issue.

From the above discussion the following conclusions may tentatively be drawn.

a. The item means and D. P.'s are not appreciably changed by changes in the form of presentation (from 52 consecutive anti-Semitic items to 10 consecutive anti-Semitic items to ten items randomly interspersed among a series totalling 78 in all).

b. While over-all mean and average D. P. vary considerably from group to group, relative discriminability and level of acceptability of each item (rank D. P. and mean) tend to remain fairly constant, with the exception of certain sectional differences (as in Item 72, regarding Washington agencies). That is, certain items tend consistently to have relatively high D. P.'s, others to have low D. P.'s, and similarly for the item means.

c. The item means and particularly the D. P.'s were statistically very satisfactory. For eight of the ten items the D. P.'s averaged 3.5 to 4.3 (these values would be even higher were the Washington group included), and even the lowest average D. P.'s of 2.4 and 2.9 are adequate.

d. The most discriminating items deal with Jewish businessmen, stereotyped imagery, marriage, exclusion from neighborhoods, and Jewish responsibility for anti-Semitism. It is interesting that items stating the most frequently heard accusations and the more openly antagonistic attitudes usually had lower means and D. P.'s.

e. In view of its high reliability and internal consistency, the short form of the A-S scale can be used for most research purposes in place of the original, longer form.

E. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE A-S SCALE

One meaning of the concept of validity as applied to a psychological test is that the test, which involves only a small sample of the individual's responses, tells us something that is generally true of that individual as judged by an intensive study of him. The A-S scale may be said to have validity of this kind to the degree that the subjects, in their responses to the scale, reveal the same tendencies which come out in their interviews. It will be worth while, therefore, to compare the responses of Mack and Larry to the A-S scale with what they have to say about Jews when they are invited to speak spontaneously.

In Table 13(III) are shown the scores of Mack and Larry, the group mean and the D. P. for each of the ten items in the short form of the A-S

TABLE 13 (III)

RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE A-S SCALE

	Item	Mack	Larry	Group[a] Mean	Group[a] D.P.
11.	(Hire Jews)	3	1	2.74	3.61
16.	(Businessmen)	6	1	3.40	4.34
21.	(Jewish districts)	5	1	3.51	2.87
26.	(Get rid of faults)	6	1	3.48	3.89
33.	(Jewish leaders)	3	1	2.37	2.37
40.	(Marry a Jew)	7	3	3.96	4.28
49.	(Nice neighborhood)	5	1	2.94	4.12
62.	(Basically Jewish)	5	1	3.35	3.50
69.	(All alike)	3	1	3.14	4.30
72.	(Federal agencies)	3	1	2.69	3.48
	Over-all mean	4.6	1.2	3.16	3.68

[a]The group means and D.P.'s are based on all four groups taking Form 78.

scale (Form 78). Mack's mean score, 4.6, is definitely, but not extremely far, above the over-all group mean of 3.16. He was just barely inside the high quartile for the group of Public Speaking Men of which he was a member. This is in keeping with the moderation which characterized the whole ideological section of his interview, and it forms part of the basis for the statement, in Chapter II, that he is a relatively mild case. His anti-Semitism is fairly general, in that he agrees with six of the ten statements and scores above the group mean on all but one of them; but a study of the responses to individual items reveals a clear pattern, one that can be distinguished from other patterns of anti-Semitism. In disagreeing slightly, and thereby scoring close to the group mean, in the case of Items 11 (Hire Jews), 33 (Jewish leaders), and 72 (Federal agencies), he is saying that he would have no serious objection if Jews should participate more fully in American life, that this indeed is what they ought to do. The main trouble, as seen in the positive responses to Items 16 (Businessmen) and 21 (Jewish districts), is that they would rather stick together and accumulate wealth and power for their own group. Although persecution would be largely eliminated if they should rid themselves of their faults (Item 26), they cannot really become "Americanized" (Item 62) and would still have to be kept at some distance personally and socially (Items 40 and 49).

This is almost exactly what Mack tells us in his interview. It is the main

point that he tries to make. "They accent the clannish and the material. . . . If a Jew fails in business, he's helped to get started again. . . . They would be liked and accepted if they would be willing to mix. . . . The Jews won't intermingle. . . . I certainly wouldn't (marry a Jew). . . . I would date that girl in Public Speaking, but she doesn't emphasize her Jewishness. She was accepted by the whole class. I would marry her if she had thrown off her Jewishness, but I wouldn't be able to associate with her class."

It is interesting that Item 40 (Marry a Jew) is the one about which Mack feels most strongly and on which he deviates most markedly from the group mean. It would appear that he feels safe in saying, in the interview, that he would marry the Jewish girl "if she had thrown off her Jewishness," because he does not really believe that she ever can do this; there would always be "something basically Jewish underneath" (Item 62).

The item on which Mack obtains a score that is slightly below the group mean is 69 (All alike). Here there is a real discrepancy between scale and interview. The analysis of the interview seemed to show that stereotypy was an outstanding characteristic of this subject's thinking, and yet when it comes to the item which pertains most directly to this characteristic, he fails to agree. This is not because the item is a poor one, for its D. P. was next to the highest obtained with this short form of the A-S scale; nor do there appear to be any special features of Mack's stereotypy that would render Item 69 inapplicable. Perhaps it is too much to expect that scale and interview will agree in every particular; these instruments are not that precise, or perhaps most subjects are not that consistent.

It may be noted that Mack, in the interview, where he is allowed free scope, brings into his discussion of the Jews certain ideas, e.g., Jewish "weakness," that are not touched upon in any of the ten statements which comprise the A-S scale. This outcome would have been considerably less likely, it seems, if he had responded to the 52 items of the original A-S scale. It is claimed for the short form of the scale that for most research purposes it can be substituted for the long form. In Mack's case there appears to be no reason for dissatisfaction with the measure of the degree of his anti-Semitism which the short form yields; concerning the content of his anti-Semitic ideology it is noteworthy that the pattern which appears in his responses to the scale corresponds to what is central and seemingly most important in his spontaneous discussion. That the ten-item scale should at the same time reveal the more incidental and individualistic features of a subject's ideology concerning Jews would be too much to ask.

Larry's responses to the A-S scale are true to form. He obtains the lowest possible score on every item except 40 (Marry a Jew), and even here he disagrees slightly. When it was stated in Chapter II that Larry was not an extreme example of low-scoring men, the reference was to what was known of him from all the diagnostic devices employed in the research. He made it

clear enough in his interview that he was strongly opposed to prejudice against minority groups, and had he not come out with an extremely low score on the A-S scale we would have had cause for serious doubt of its validity. That he did not obtain the lowest possible score on Item 40 is evidence that he did not respond to the A-S items in an automatic way. It seems that at this point his impulse toward complete social interaction with Jews collided with his conventionalism, a trait which we have seen to be well developed in him, and he could not in honesty go beyond slight disagreement with the item.

In general, the responses of these two subjects on the A-S scale are consistent with what they say about Jews in their interviews. This consistency appears not only in the degree of anti-Semitism expressed but in the content of the subjects' thinking about Jews. To the extent that these results may be generalized, the A-S scale is a valid index of ideology concerning Jews.

F. DISCUSSION: THE STRUCTURE OF ANTI-SEMITIC IDEOLOGY

Perhaps the first conclusion to be drawn from the results presented above is that anti-Semitism is best conceived psychologically not as a specific aversion but as an ideology, a general way of thinking about Jews and Jewish-Gentile interaction. This is demonstrated by the high reliability of a scale dealing with so varied a set of ideas, by the reliabilities and intercorrelations of the subscales, and by the high internal consistency of the scale as revealed by the item Discriminatory Powers. The statistical results indicate that a quantitative measure of total anti-Semitic ideology has been obtained. Any individual can be assigned, with a relatively small margin of error, a rank along a dimension ranging from strong support of anti-Semitic ideology at one (high) extreme, to strong opposition at the other (low) extreme. The meaning of middle scores on this dimension is ambiguous, since they may represent indifference, ignorance, or an ambivalent combination of partial support and partial rejection of anti-Semitism. It is noteworthy, however, that individuals making middle scores on one subscale tend to make middle scores on the other subscales as well. Despite item-by-item variability, individuals tend to be highly consistent in their responses to the several subscales.

The fact that an individual's stand on one set of items is similar to his stand on all others does not necessarily imply that all anti-Semitic ideas are of equal psychological importance to each individual. The spontaneous discussions of anti-Semites, whether in an interview or in everyday social life, suggest that for each individual there are certain "nuclear ideas"—imagery of Jews as conniving, or sexual, or radical, and the like, and corresponding primary attitudes—which have primary emotional significance. However,

these central ideas apparently make the individual receptive to a great variety of other ideas. That is, once the central or nuclear ideas are formed, they tend to "pull in" numerous other opinions and attitudes and thus to form a broad ideological system. This system provides a rationale for any specific idea within it and a basis for meeting and assimilating new social conditions.

This conception of anti-Semitism aids in the understanding of the present results. It also offers an explanation of why an anti-Semitic rumor that is entirely new in its specific details (for example, the wartime accusations that only Jews could get tires or draft exemptions or officer status) is easily believed by anti-Semites: because of a receptivity to negative imagery generally and by means of an ideological system within which the new idea is easily assimilated.

This conception of the *inclusiveness* of anti-Semitic ideology stands in sharp contrast to numerous theories which conceive of anti-Semitism in terms of certain specific accusations or motives. The notion of anti-Semitism as a form of "racial" prejudice, for example, seems to be based on the idea that the main accusations against Jews involve their "racially inherited" traits (faults). Another common view, that anti-Semitism is a form of "religious" prejudice, is based on the explicit or implicit assumption that religious differences, and thus accusations on religious grounds, are the central issues in anti-Semitism. A third "specifistic" view is that anti-Semitism is based primarily on distortions of facts which some individuals have mistakenly accepted as true; for example, that Jews are unusually rich, dishonest, radical, and so on. This last theory has led to numerous attempts to fight anti-Semitism by giving the "true facts"—attempts which are distinguished for their lack of success. What this theory has overlooked is the *receptivity* of many individuals to any hostile imagery of Jews, and the emotional *resistance* of these individuals to a less hostile and less stereotyped way of thinking. Finally, anti-Semitism is sometimes explained in terms of financial motives and accusations: many people, it is asserted, oppose the Jews on the simple grounds of economic competition and financial self-interest. This theory ignores the other accusations (of power seeking, immorality, and the like) which are made with equal or greater emotional intensity. It also fails to explain why anti-Semites so often violate their own material self-interest in maintaining their prejudices. None of these conceptions of anti-Semitism has adequately grasped its generality, its psychological complexity, and its function in the emotional life of the individual. Nor can they suggest why many individuals oppose anti-Semitism despite their having economic situations, religious backgrounds, sources of information, and so on, which are similar to those of anti-Semites. What is required, in our opinion, is a psychological approach which seeks to grasp both anti-Semitic ideology and *anti*-anti-Semitic ideology in their full complexity and scope, and which then attempts to discover

the various sources of each viewpoint in the psychological development and social background of the individuals holding it.[10]

Before discussing the major ideas comprising anti-Semitic ideology, a few words regarding the scale and the scale data are necessary. It is believed that most of the major facets of everyday American anti-Semitism have been represented in the scale, though no claim is made that it contains all the anti-Semitic ideas currently in vogue. The scale data provide an empirical basis for the following discussion in the sense: (a) that each of the ideas to be discussed is supported by most anti-Semites (subjects who fall within the highest 25 per cent of scorers on the scale), opposed by most *anti*-anti-Semites, the differences being statistically significant; and (b) that each anti-Semite supports most of these ideas, while each low scorer opposes most of them. Thus, one can speak of a broad framework of anti-Semitic ideology which is held in its entirety by relatively few individuals but which is supported in varying degrees by many more.

What, then, are the major opinions, values, and attitudes comprising anti-Semitic ideology, how are they organized or systematized, and how is this system different from other, non-anti-Semitic points of view?

One striking characteristic of the imagery in anti-Semitic ideology is its *stereotypy*, which takes several forms. There is, first, a tendency to overgeneralize single traits, to subscribe to statements beginning "Jews are . . ." or "The Jews do not . . ." Second, there is a stereotyped negative image of the group as a whole, as if "to know one is to know all," since they are all alike. Third, examination of the specific characteristics comprising the imagery reveals a basic contradiction in that no single individual or group as a whole could have all these characteristics.

Another aspect of stereotypy which is implied by the scale items and brought out more directly in the interviews may be termed "stereotypy of interpersonal relationships and experiences." It involves an inability to experience Jews as individuals. Rather, each Jew is seen and reacted to as a sort of sample specimen of the stereotyped, reified image of the group. This form of stereotypy is expressed very clearly in Mack's discussion of Jews (see Chapter II); while no statistics are available, the other interviews as well as everyday conversations indicate that his approach is not uncommon.

This limitation in the experience of individuals has certain implications

[10] It may again be emphasized that the present approach is a psychological one. The sociologist, at least during this stage in the development of social science, tends to proceed along other, perhaps parallel, lines. Thus, a psychological approach in terms of purely religious or purely economic *motives* is inadequate. However, a sociological approach in terms of religious or politico-economic *structures* and their relation to anti-Semitism as a sociocultural trend is, in our opinion, both valid and of great significance. What must be opposed, as we see it, is the tendency mechanically to subsume psychology under sociology and to confuse basic economic or religious social forces with superficial economic or religious motives in the individual. Sociological forces are considered in Chapters XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX.

for the theory that contact with "good Jews" lessens anti-Semitism. The effectiveness of social contact would seem to depend in large part on the individual's *capacity for individuated experience*. This capacity is certainly not hereditarily determined, but it may often be difficult to change in adults. When it is lacking, new social experiences are likely to lead, not to new learning and development, but merely to the mechanical reinforcement of established imagery.

Further analysis of stereotypy and other characteristics of anti-Semitic thinking, as well as concrete examples from the interview material, are presented in Chapter XVI.

These considerations raise several questions which are dealt with in later sections of this research. Do anti-Semites express the same stereotypy of thought and experience in relation to other groups and issues, that is, are stereotypy and rigidity aspects of their general psychological functioning? Why is it so important for anti-Semites to reject Jews on any and all grounds? Are the contradictions and oversimplifications primarily surface signs of a deeper-lying anxiety and hostility? If so, what are the personality trends involved, and how are they different from those found in non-anti-Semites?

Let us consider the deeper psychological meaning of the stereotyped negative imagery of Jews. While the specific surface opinions cover a great variety of topics, there seem nevertheless to be certain unifying ideas or themes underlying the opinions and giving them coherence and structure. Perhaps most central is the idea that Jews are *threatening*. Certainly this idea is present, explicitly or implicitly, in almost all the scale items. It is expressed in the subscale "Offensive," where Jews are described as a *moral threat*, that is, as violators of important standards and values. These values include: cleanliness, neatness, and conformity; also opposition to sensuality, extravagance, prying, social aggressiveness, exhibitionism. The imagery of Jews as value-violators makes them not only offensive but also very disturbing. The anxiety becomes almost explicit in item II–4: "There is something different and strange about Jews . . ."

These values are, of course, not limited to anti-Semites. Indeed, many of them are among the currently prevailing conventional middle-class values—and most Americans are *psychologically* middle class. It may be that anti-Semites and non-anti-Semites differ regarding certain values such as sensuality or conformity. However, it is likely that many unprejudiced individuals have substantially the same values as the anti-Semites do. Why, then, do these values become the basis for anti-Semitic accusations in one group but no in the other? One hypothesis would be that the non-anti-Semites are mo flexible in their support of these values, less disturbed by value-violators a less inclined to stereotypy and overgeneralization.

Moreover, these values tend, as will be shown later, to be held very by the high-scoring subjects, and they appear frequently in these i

thinking about themselves, other people, and social issues generally. In view of the emotional support given these values, and the intensity with which supposed value-violators are rejected, it is reasonable to ask whether the surface opinions and attitudes are motivated by deeper emotional dispositions. It is possible, for example, that anti-Semites are unconsciously struggling to inhibit in themselves the same tendencies that they find so unbearable in Jews. Jews may be a convenient object on which they can project their unconscious desires and fears. It is difficult otherwise to explain why anti-Semites feel so threatened by violations of their moral values, and why they develop exaggerated, stereotyped imagery of the "morally impure" Jews as a threat to the "morally pure" Gentiles. It will be significant in this connection whether the categorical distinction between *value-violators* (ego-alien, morally threatening groups) and *value-supporters* (ego-syntonic, morally pure groups) appears generally in the thinking of these individuals regarding the various other ideological areas to be considered in the following chapters. To the extent that this and other themes underly and unify the entire social thinking of anti-Semites, their specific opinions and attitudes must be regarded in part as expressions of deeper-lying personality needs, anxieties, and conflicts.

The idea of Jews as a *social threat* is expressed directly in the subscale "Threatening," where they are described as having harmful effects in various areas of social life. This concern with supposed Jewish *power* is a recurrent theme in the sources from which our scale items were taken and in the later interviews of our subjects as well as in the A-S scale itself. In the case of the moral values mentioned above, it is implied that non-Jews are the opposite of Jews: clean, conforming, modest, and the like. It would seem that power, however, while threatening in Jews, is justified and even valued in non-Jews.[11] For example, the attitudes of segregation and exclusion are based on the assumption that Gentiles should be more powerful than Jews in order to enforce these policies. Why does the concern with power recur so often and in so many forms? Why is the Jewish group, which is actually small and relatively weak, regarded as so threatening, while the really powerful and dominating groups in the *status quo* are supported rather than feared? Is it actually the weakness of the Jews which is most disturbing to the anti-Semite? If the concern with power and the fear of weakness in the high scorers represent deeper personality trends, these trends should be revealed by the clinical techniques and they should be expressed in the other ideological areas.

The issues of Jewish group loyalty and Jewish assimilation, viewed psychologically, reveal several central themes in anti-Semitic ideology. At first glance the criticisms of Jews and the demands on them seem both simple and reasonable. The Jews are, it is asserted, too clannish: they either keep apart in a kind of snobbish seclusion, or, if they do enter community affairs

[11] Cf. the "usurper complex" described in Chapter XVII.

they stick together and take advantage of other people. Therefore, the Jews must overcome their pride and clannishness, and their attempts to control other groups. When they have thoroughly assimilated, when they have lost their foreign ways and their clannish, conniving methods of gaining money and power at the expense of others, they can be liked and accepted. Until they change, they can hardly be surprised to find themselves excluded or limited in certain ways. The essential demand is that the Jews liquidate themselves, that they lose entirely their cultural identity and adhere instead to the prevailing cultural ways. Related to this narrowness is a punitive rather than an understanding approach to value-violators; the Jews deserve whatever hardships they may sometimes undergo since they have brought it on themselves. In this vindictive approach there is no room for more complex explanation, no way of considering discrimination as primarily a cause rather than an effect of Jewish traits. There is an aversion to the idea that the basis for resolution of Jewish-Gentile conflict lies primarily in the total social organization—and therefore in the dominant groups in the society—and only secondarily in Jews themselves.

But this demand for assimilation is not as simple as it seems at first glance. Jews who attempt to assimilate are apparently even more suspect than the others. Accusations of "prying," "power-seeking," and "imitation" are made, and seemingly generous acts by Jews are attributed to hidden selfish motives (subscale "Intrusive"). There is no logical basis for urging on the one hand that Jews become like everyone else, and on the other hand, that Jews be limited and excluded in the most important areas of social life.

It need not be denied by non-anti-Semites that there are extremely clannish and power-seeking individuals in the Jewish as well as in the Gentile group. But why do the high scorers not oppose *all* individuals who seek power for themselves or their narrow groups and who would take advantage of others? It is a remarkable fact that most individuals who see clannishness, prying, and power-seeking as "Jewish traits" value the same things, under other names, in Gentiles. It is accepted as "human nature" that each individual will stand by his group, that "blood is thicker than water," and that each group is therefore unified in its material interests. As long as there is any trace of a Jewish group, therefore, it is expected that each Jew will have primary loyalty to it. While this "clannishness" is deplored, the anti-Semites tend to hold in contempt anyone who lacks "loyalty and pride" in his group, and to put great value on these traits in their own groups.

The imagery described above seems to characterize the thinking of most anti-Semites. Individual differences in the pattern of *attitudes* (programs of action) supported depend primarily on the strength of adherence to democratic values. Openly antidemocratic individuals have a direct and clear-cut program: violent attack on the Jews leading to total liquidation or to permanent suppression and restriction. What to do is, however, a greater psycho-

logical problem for those who have the same imagery, but who at the same time want to support democratic values of equality, nonviolence, and the like.

The negative imagery of Jews, and the accompanying sense of threat, involve two main fears which form the basis for attitudes. There is, first, the fear of *contamination*: the fear that Jews may, if permitted intimate or intensive contact with Gentiles, have a corrupting or degenerating influence. Various forms of corruption may occur: moral, political, intellectual, sensual, and so on. Among the many ideas which have been attributed to "Jewish contamination" are free love, radicalism, atheism, moral relativism, modern trends in art and literature. Gentiles who support ideas such as these tend to be regarded as unwitting victims who have been psychologically contaminated in the same way that one may be organically infected by a disease. The notion that one Jew can "infect" many Gentiles is very useful in rationalizing many apparent contradictions. It permits one to attribute great influence to the Jews and thus to blame most social problems on them, despite their relatively very small number. It justifies one's hostile feelings and discriminatory actions. Furthermore, an idea or social movement can be called "Jewish" even when most of its supporters are Gentile, since the latter are regarded as merely dupes or victims of Jewish contamination. An individual who accepts this reasoning feels compelled, no matter how great his value for tolerance, to protect the Gentile group by restricting the activities of the Jewish group.

Viewed psychologically, this way of thinking raises several questions. Why is it necessary for anti-Semites to regard Jews as the source of all these ideas, that is, why do they regard these ideas as *imposed* on Gentile but *originating* in Jews? One hypothesis is that this represents an attempt on the part of the prejudiced individual to resolve an inner moral conflict by externalizing or projecting his own immoral tendencies; the inner conflict is replaced by a new conflict between groups: the sterotypically moral "we" and the stereotypically immoral "they." That the inner conflict persists unconsciously in full force is shown by emphasis on external immorality and by the fear that this immorality will corrupt all who are exposed to it. The investigation of this and other hypotheses is reported in later chapters.

In addition to the fear of contamination there is the *fear of being overwhelmed.* This anxiety is related to the imagery of Jews as prying and power-seeking. If Jews are given the opportunity of free participation in community affairs then, granted that they have these tendencies, they will form a small sectarian clique interested only in their own power and material interests. To gain these aims they will shrewdly use even the most ruthless and dishonest methods. There is thus great danger that the Gentile group will be persecuted, victimized, exploited—in short, overwhelmed.

It is difficult indeed, for a person with such hostile imagery and such anxiety, to have entirely democratic attitudes regarding Jewish-Gentile

interaction. Most pseudodemocratic attitudes represent attempts, conscious or unconscious, at compromise between the tendency to express the underlying hostility directly (aggressive attack) and the tendency to conform to democratic values (tolerance, equality). The demand for total Jewish assimilation represents one such compromise, since total assimilation is, so to speak, a nonviolent way of liquidating the Jews. If there were *no* Jews then at least one source of anxiety and one object of hostility would be removed. Unfortunately, partial assimilation (the phase in which some Jews attempt to assimilate while others do not) seems to be more disturbing to anti-Semites than none at all. As long as the anti-Semites have some sense of the presence of a Jewish group—and thus an image of "the Jew" which can be applied stereotypically to all individual Jews—those Jews who seem to be assimilating will be suspected of evil motives. It is an oft-repeated historical paradox that those who demand total assimilation do the most to prevent it, since their hostility and discrimination tend on the one hand to increase Jewish nationalism and pride, and on the other hand to provide external barriers repelling those Jews who attempt assimilation into the dominant group. Conversely, Jewish assimilation has proceeded most rapidly in those communities which have accepted them without totalitarian demands for submission and all-out assimilation.

A second way of nonviolently eliminating the Jews, and thus of solving the problem of interaction by simply not having any, is for them to "stay on their side of the fence and we stay on ours." If they cannot be entirely absorbed—and, despite their demand for total assimilation, most anti-Semites seem to feel that the "basic Jewishness" is permanent—then they should be totally separate. The separation could be made complete if the Jews would "form a nation of their own and keep more to themselves" (Item II–24).[12]

Some individuals, including Jews, have supported the idea of separation (fraternal organizations, neighborhoods, and the like) on grounds of differences in interests and culture. There can be no objection, from a democratic point of view, to an organization devoted primarily to Jewish culture and conducted in the Yiddish language, nor to one concerned mainly with Chris-

[12] The idea of a Jewish nation, particularly the important issue of Jewish settlement in Palestine, has been supported by various ideological camps. Much support in America has come from open or pseudodemocratic anti-Semites who wish that all Jews would settle there and who are afraid that, if the doors of Palestine are closed, America would have to open its doors to the refugees.

Many non-anti-Semites have also supported the idea of a Jewish homeland, but not for reasons of separation and exclusion. The main democratic reasoning, in general, is that there should be a geographical-political unit in which Jewish culture can be the primary one, that this nation should be a part of the family of nations, and that all individuals should be free to settle in whatever nation they choose, without the demand for total assimilation or the threat of exclusion. Since the Jewish group contains the same diversity of ideologies and personalities as any other major grouping, it is not surprising that there is much disagreement on this issue among Jews. In the present discussion, however, the main concern is with non-Jews.

tian religion or any other cultural form. But consistency with democratic values does require that, once the primary aims and functions of the organization are laid down, membership be open to *any* individual who accepts its principles and meets its requirements. It is undemocratic to exclude any group as a whole, that is, to be unwilling to consider any applicant on the basis of his *individual* merits and faults. The exclusionism of some Jewish groups, while understandable as a defensive "pride" reaction, is no more justified than the equivalent policy in other groups. The total exclusion of one group by another, whether on ethnic, religious, social class, skin color, or other grounds, is necessarily based on stereotypy, hostility and anxiety, conscious or not. It is sometimes said that "a Jew (or Negro or Catholic) would not be comfortable here." This usually means that he would be exposed to some degree of prejudice, subtle or crude, and it is the others who would be uncomfortable.

Discrimination takes a variety of other forms, all designed to limit Jewish-Gentile interaction by restricting the full participation of Jews in community and national affairs. All forms of discrimination (exclusion, segregation, suppression, and so forth) against all groups have the double function of restricting intergroup contact and of maintaining the dominant social position of the group doing the discriminating.

There are many economic, political, religious, and other institutional forces involved in the subordination of various American groups. These broader social forces were, however, beyond the scope of this research. We were concerned, as stated in Chapter I, with the problem of the *consumption* of ideology by the individual: granted that various ideologies are present in the social environment, why is it that some individuals consume (assimilate, accept) the more undemocratic forms while others consume the more democratic forms? The general assumption made was that, granted the possibility of choice, an individual will be most receptive to that ideology which has most psychological meaning for him and the most significant function within his over-all adjustment. Accordingly, there was much concern with the psychological content of anti-Semitic ideology in an attempt to form hypotheses regarding the deeper psychological trends, if any, which underlie and motivate the surface opinions and attitudes.

Numerous trends underlying anti-Semitic ideology are suggested by the present scale results: stereotypy; rigid adherence to middle-class values; the tendency to regard one's own group as morally pure in contrast to the immoral outgroup; opposition to and exaggeration of prying and sensuality; extreme concern with dominance and power (fear of Jewish power and desire for Gentile power); fear of moral contamination; fear of being overwhelmed and victimized; the desire to erect social barriers in order to separate one group from another and to maintain the morality and the dominance of one's own group.

Can it be demonstrated that these personality trends are actually present in anti-Semitic individuals? In the chapters which follow, there are several lines of evidence bearing on this question: (a) If these trends are present, then they should also be found in various other ideological areas. (b) These trends should be expressed in nonideological forms as well, that is, in ways of thinking about people and life generally. (c) Intensive clinical study should reveal these and other trends directly, as well as their organization and function in the total personality, and their course of development.

CHAPTER IV

THE STUDY OF ETHNOCENTRIC IDEOLOGY

Daniel J. Levinson

A. INTRODUCTION

Our attention turns now to the problem of prejudice, broadly conceived. The term "prejudice" is not entirely adequate, since it has numerous meanings and connotations which might obscure or distort the ideas guiding this research. The term "ethnocentrism" is preferable because its traditional meaning comes much closer to that used here. First introduced and used descriptively by Sumner (115) in 1906, the term had the general meaning of provincialism or cultural narrowness; it meant a tendency in the individual to be "ethnically centered," to be rigid in his acceptance of the culturally "alike" and in his rejection of the "unlike."

The traditional conception of ethnocentrism, from which the present one is derived, differs in several important respects from the usual notion of prejudice. Prejudice is commonly regarded as a feeling of dislike against a specific group; ethnocentrism, on the other hand, refers to a relatively consistent frame of mind concerning "aliens" generally. Usually, in discussions of prejudice against groups there is specific reference to "race prejudice" or "prejudice against racial and religious minorities." This terminology is used even by people who know that "race" is a socially harmful idea as ordinarily understood, and who know that many groups (zootsuiters, "Okies," and so forth) are discriminated against on neither racial nor religious grounds. Ethnocentrism refers to group relations generally; it has to do not only with numerous groups toward which the individual has hostile opinions and attitudes but, equally important, with groups toward which he is positively disposed.

A theory of ethnocentrism offers a starting point for the understanding of the psychological aspect of group relations—why individuals are inclined toward competition, or conflict, or harmonious interaction, and so on. It is concerned with such questions as: What kinds of general attitudes do individuals have about their own and other groups? What underlying ideas or themes run through an individual's thinking about groups and group rela-

tions? How do these ideas develop? How are they related to trends in the individual's thinking about other social processes? What personality trends, if any, are they related to, and in what way? How are they related to membership in class, church, political party, and so forth?

The term "ethnocentrism" shifts the emphasis from "race" to "ethnic group." The everyday use of the term "race" has been criticized from many sides and on many grounds. It was originally suggested as one type of broad classification of human beings on the basis of skin color. Other anthropometric measures such as head shape and blood type were also suggested. Each of these organic bases of classification divides human beings (also known as the human "race") into groups which are mixed with respect to the other organic characteristics. Thus, the Negroes, a "race" according to the skin color criterion, are mixed with respect to head shape and blood type. But, apart from the arbitrariness of the organic basis of classification, the greatest dangers of the race concept lie in its hereditarian psychological implications and in its misapplication to cultures. Psychologically, the race theory implies, whether or not this is always made explicit, that people of a given race (e.g., skin color) are also very similar psychologically because they have a common hereditary family tree. This notion has been controverted in the past few decades by work in psychology on the problem of "heredity vs. environment" and by work in cultural anthropology on the tremendous psychological variations within any given culture. Furthermore, the term "race" is often applied to groups which are not races at all in the technical sense. Sometimes this term is applied to nations, e.g., "the German race" or even "the American race." Sometimes it is misused in connection with American ethnic minorities, such as Italians or Greeks. There is no adequate term, other than "ethnic," by which to describe cultures (that is, systems of social ways, institutions, traditions, language, and so forth) which are not nations, that is, which do not form politico-geographical entities. This confusion, which is more than merely terminological and which permeates much thinking on social problems, has plagued the Jews particularly; they are a good example of an ethnic group which is neither a formal nation nor a race. From the point of view of sociology, cultural anthropology, and social psychology, the important concepts are not race and heredity but social organization (national, regional, subcultural, communal) and the interaction of social forms and individual personalities. To the extent that relative uniformities in psychological characteristics are found within any cultural grouping, these uniformities must be explained primarily in terms of social organization rather than "racial heredity." The use and development of the concept of "ethnic group," as part of a broad educational program dealing with individual development and social change, can do much to clarify everyday thinking about social processes and problems.

The conception of ideology presented in earlier chapters has been utilized

here. Ethnocentrism is conceived as an ideological system pertaining to groups and group relations. A distinction is made between *ingroups* (those groups with which the individual identifies himself) and *outgroups* (with which he does not have a sense of belonging and which are regarded as antithetical to the ingroups). Outgroups are the objects of negative opinions and hostile attitudes; ingroups are the objects of positive opinions and uncritically supportive attitudes; and it is considered that outgroups should be socially subordinate to ingroups.

The basic questions for research were raised in Chapter II. They concern the inclusiveness of ideas regarding a given group, the *generality* of outgroup rejection, the *content* of ideas about ingroups and outgroups, and the amount of *stereotypy* in thinking about groups generally.

There were numerous indications that some generality of ingroup and outgroup ideology within the individual would be found (13, 25, 85, 90). Sumner found such consistency in his anthropological studies. Fascistic social movements have shown consistent tendencies to oppose a variety of minority groups. Many historians, literary men, and political analysts have, in a nontechnical, nonquantitative way, had this conception of ideology (21, 69, 72, 92, 93, 95, 101). One meets consistent outgroup rejection in everyday parlor and street-corner discussions.

A quantitative indication of consistency was found in a previous study of anti-Semitism (71). Increasing degrees of anti-Semitism were shown to be closely related to increasing opposition to labor unions and racial equality, and to increasing support of Father Coughlin. Members of college sororities —which tend to have a strong ingroup ideology—were significantly more anti-Semitic on the average than nonmembers. And subjects reporting some ideological friction with parents—indicating ability to criticize the family, a major ingroup—were significantly less anti-Semitic than those reporting no such friction.

To obtain a more conclusive answer to the questions raised in Chapter II, it seemed that the best method—in terms of rigor and quantification—was an opinion-attitude scale for the measurement of ethnocentrism. The construction of this scale was, therefore, the first step taken. It was constructed in such a way that an analysis of its statistical properties and internal relationships might help to answer the major questions concerning the structure of ethnocentric ideology.

B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE ETHNOCENTRISM (E) SCALE

The procedure followed in the construction of the E scale was the same as that for the anti-Semitism scale (Chapter III). Once again, and by the same reasoning, the Likert method of scaling was used. Again, all items were nega-

tive, that is, hostile to the group in question, and finally, the same general rules of item formulation were followed.

1. MAJOR SUBDIVISIONS OR AREAS: THE SUBSCALES

Subscales were used in order to insure broad coverage of the total field and to permit statistical analysis of certain relationships with ethnocentric ideology. Since one of the primary research questions concerned the generality of ethnocentrism, each subscale dealt with a different set of ingroup-outgroup relations. Within each subscale an attempt was made to cover a variety of common pseudodemocratic—and a few openly antidemocratic—opinions and attitudes.

The E scale in its initial forms did not include items about Jews; rather, the initial anti-Semitism scale was included separately in the questionnaire

TABLE 1 (IV)
ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE
Negro Subscale (*N*)

2. If there are enough Negroes who want to attend dances at a local dance hall featuring a colored band, a good way to arrange this would be to have one all-Negro night, and then the whites could dance in peace the rest of the time.
5. The Negroes would solve many of their social problems by not being so irresponsible, lazy, and ignorant.
8. Negro musicians are sometimes as good as white musicians at swing music and jazz, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands.
11. It would be a mistake to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
14. Negroes may have a part to play in white civilization, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much intermixing with whites.
16. Manual labor and menial jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
19. In a community of 1,000 whites and 50 Negroes, a drunken Negro shoots and kills an officer who is trying to arrest him. The white population should immediately drive all the Negroes out of town.
22. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.
25. An occasional lynching in the South is a good thing because there is a large percentage of Negroes in many communities and they need a scare once in a while to prevent them from starting riots and disturbances.
28. It would be best to limit Negroes to grammar and trade school education since more schooling just gives them ambition and desires which they are unable to fulfill in white competition.
31. There is something inherently primitive and uncivilized in the Negro, as shown in his music and his extreme aggressiveness.
34. Most Negroes would become officious, overbearing, and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

so that correlations between the two scales might be obtained. The development of a more complete E scale, including items about Jews, will be reported later in this chapter.

The initial E scale consists of thirty-four items arranged in three subscales dealing respectively with Negroes, various other minorities, and patriotism (extranational outgroups). These will now be discussed.

a. NEGROES. Since Negroes are a large and severely oppressed group and since imagery of "the Negro" has become so elaborated in American cultural mythology, they merited a subscale of their own. The twelve items presented in Table 1(IV) constitute the Negro subscale. (The items are numbered as they appear in the total scale.)

These items attempt to cover most of the current ideology regarding Negroes and Negro-white relations. Negroes are described as lazy and ignorant (Item 5) and as not really wanting equality with whites (Item 22: it is "radical agitators" who stir them up). Do individuals with the opinion that

TABLE 2 (IV)
ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE
Minority Subscale (M)

1. The many political parties tend to confuse national issues, add to the expense of elections, and raise unnecessary agitation. For this and other reasons, it would be best if all political parties except the two major ones were abolished.
4. Certain religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.
6. Any group or social movement which contains many foreigners should be watched with suspicion and, whenever possible, be investigated by the FBI.
9. Although women are necessary in the armed forces and in industry, they should be returned to their proper place in the home as soon as the war ends.
15. One main difficulty with allowing the entire population to participate fully in government affairs (voting, jobs, etc.) is that such a large percentage is innately deficient and incapable.
17. It is a mistake to allow any Japanese to leave internment camps and enter the army where they would be free to commit sabotage.
21. The many faults, and the general inability to get along, of the Oklahomans ("Okies") who have recently flooded California, prove that we ought to send them back where they came from as soon as conditions permit.
24. A large-scale system of sterilization would be one good way of breeding out criminals and other undesirable elements in our society and so raise its general standards and living conditions.
27. Filipinos are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly, buy good cars, and go around with white girls.
29. Zootsuiters demonstrate that inferior groups, when they are given too much freedom and money, just misuse their privileges and create disturbances.
30. The most vicious, irresponsible, and racketeering unions are, in most cases, those having largely foreigners for leaders.
32. We are spending too much money for the pampering of criminals and the insane, and for the education of inherently incapable people.

Negroes are "naturally" lazy or unambitious also have the attitude that when Negroes do strive for higher status they should be "kept in their place" (Item 34) and prevented from having positions of leadership (Item 11)? Is the attitude that Negroes should be segregated (Items 2, 8, 14) held by the same persons who regard Negroes as threatening and inferior and who favor more active subordination of Negroes? These are some of the questions underlying this subscale, and the statistical results should offer at least a partial answer to them.

b. MINORITIES. The second subscale (see Table 2(IV)) contains twelve items dealing with various American minority groups (other than Jews and Negroes) about which negative opinions and imagery often exist and toward which attitudes of subordination, restriction of social functioning, segregation, and the like are often directed. Included are *organized groups* such as minority political parties and religious sects as well as social movements and labor unions "containing many foreigners"; also *ethnic* minorities such as Japanese-Americans, Oklahomans (in California), and Filipinos.[1] Zootsuiters, criminals, the insane, "inherently incapable people" and "undesirable elements," which constitute *moral* minorities or outgroups, are also objects of hostile opinions and attitudes.

Although prejudice is usually thought of as directed against minorities—in the sense of small numbers, and as opposed to a vague "majority"—one may ask if prejudice is not sometimes directed against a group containing more than half of the population. The phenomena of "contempt for the masses" and the subordination of women were considered examples of ethnocentrism of this type; Items 9 and 15 were included to determine how closely such attitudes are correlated with the others. Can the attitude that "women's place is in the home" be considered a prejudice? It would appear that it is, to the extent that people with this attitude have others which are more obviously ethnocentric. A more conclusive proof would require a detailed study of ideology regarding women, oriented within a general theory of ethnocentric vs. nonethnocentric approaches.

c. PATRIOTISM. This subscale (see Table 3(IV)) contains ten items dealing with international relations and viewing America as an ingroup in relation to other nations as outgroups. The term "patriotism" as used here does not mean "love of country." Rather, the present concept involves blind attachment to certain national cultural values, uncritical conformity with the prevailing group ways, and rejection of other nations as outgroups. It might better be termed *pseudopatriotism* and distinguished from *genuine* patriotism, in which love of country and attachment to national values is based on critical understanding. The genuine patriot, it would appear, can appreciate the values and ways of other nations, and can be permissive

[1] During the war at least, the status of the last-named groups was a focal issue in California—more so than in most other states.

TABLE 3 (IV)
ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE
Patriotism Subscale (P)

3. Patriotism and loyalty are the first and most important requirements of a good citizen.
7. There will always be superior and inferior nations in the world and, in the interests of all concerned, it is best that the superior ones be in control of world affairs.
10. Minor forms of military training, obedience, and discipline, such as drill, marching and simple commands, should be made a part of the elementary school educational program.
12. The main threat to basic American institutions during this century has come from the infiltration of foreign ideas, doctrines, and agitators.
13. Present treatment of conscientious objectors, draft evaders, and enemy aliens is too lenient and mollycoddling. If a person won't fight for his country, he deserves a lot worse than just prison or a work camp.
18. In view of the present national emergency, it is highly important to limit responsible government jobs to native, white, Christian Americans.
20. European refugees may be in need, but it would be a big mistake to lower our immigration quotas and allow them to flood the country.
23. It has become clear that the Germans and Japanese are racially war-minded and power-seeking, and the only guarantee of future peace is to wipe out most of them and to keep the rest under careful control.
26. Mexico can never advance to the standards of living and civilization of the U. S., due mainly to the innate dirtiness, laziness, and general backwardness of Mexicans.
33. There will always be wars because, for one thing, there will always be races who ruthlessly try to grab more than their share.

toward much that he cannot personally accept for himself. He is free of rigid conformism, outgroup rejection, and imperialistic striving for power.

Ingroup opinions and attitudes are expressed in Items 3, 7, and 10. They are intended to express a general value for obedience and discipline, the opinion that nations are arranged hierarchically from superior to inferior, and the attitude that the superior ones should be dominant—with the assumption that we are one of the superior nations. The rigidity of the value for obedience is shown by the punitive attitude toward those who disobey (Item 13: Punishment of conscientious objectors and draft evaders).

The glorification of the national ingroup is shown further in the tendency to regard other nations as inferior when they are distant (Item 26), and threatening when they come too close (Items 12, 20, and 23). We are therefore morally justified in excluding refugees, in "wiping out" the Germans and Japanese,[2] in excluding foreigners and others from government jobs,

[2] This item (23), so relevant during the war, can of course no longer be used. (It should be pointed out that one could actively support the war without such a destructive attitude toward the enemy or such national smugness.) If these attitudes are correlated with rejection of most other nations, then the people who made high (ethnocentric) scores on this scale may be the ones who now show similar attitudes toward our wartime allies and support militaristic, imperialistic, "tough-minded policies guaranteeing American sovereignty and interests."

and in maintaining our dominant position as a nation. The cynicism about peace and the moralistic attribution of war to "ruthless, grabbing races" also indicate the sense of threat from outgroups and the moral righteousness of the ingroup. The fact that this theory of the cause of war is held by many college students who have been exposed to sociological explanations in terms of socioeconomic organization and conflicts raises the question: What are the inner barriers in some individuals which make them unreceptive to non-moralistic explanations? This problem, to be taken up in later chapters, concerns the personality dynamics underlying ethnocentric ideology.

If people who make high scores on this subscale are also high on the others, then it would appear that although they hold America to be superior and inviolable, they actually reject the great majority of the people in this country. Item 18 brings this out directly: it is only the native, white, Christian Americans who can be trusted. And various items from the "Minorities" subscale indicate that large sections of this population are also in the outgroup category.

2. THE TOTAL ETHNOCENTRISM (E) SCALE

The total E scale is intended to measure the individual's readiness to accept or oppose ethnocentric ideology as a whole. The scale consists of 34 items[3] and comprises the three subscales N, M, and P. It is presented in Table 4 (IV), with instructions to subjects, just as it was administered.

C. RESULTS: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SCALE

The subjects were allowed the same six choices of response for each item (+3 to −3, with no neutral response), and the responses were converted into scores in the same way (−3 = 1 point, −2 = 2 points, etc.) as was the case with the A-S scale. All the items were regarded as pro-ethnocentric. For the 34 items, then, the total scores can range between 34 points (1 point on each item, indicating strong anti-ethnocentrism) and 238 points (7 points on each item, strong ethnocentrism). When the total score is divided by 34 we obtain the mean score per item; thus, a total score of 51 can also be stated as a mean per item of 1.5.

This scale was administered as part of the questionnaire which also contained the initial (52 item) A-S scale. As reported in Chapter III, this questionnaire was given in April, 1944, to a class in Introductory Psychology at the University of California. The data presented here are based on the questionnaires of the 144 women subjects, including nineteen members of major minorities.

[3] Items 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10 of the present scale were taken, in some cases with slight modifications, from the "Unlabelled Fascist Attitudes" Scale of Edwards (24). Both Edwards' study and the present one have profitted from previous studies by Gundlach (46), Katz and Cantril (17), and Stagner (112, 113). Several of the "Negro" items have been taken from Murphy and Likert (84).

TABLE 4 (IV)
The Total Ethnocentrism Scale
Public Opinion Questionnaire E

The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. Please mark each statement in the left-hand margin according to your agreement or disagreement, as follows:

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, "
+3: strong support, "

−1: slight opposition, disagreement
−2: moderate opposition, "
−3: strong opposition, "

——— 1. The many political parties tend to confuse national issues, add to the expense of elections, and raise unnecessary agitation. For this and other reasons, it would be best if all political parties except the two major ones were abolished.

——— 2. If there are enough Negroes who want to attend dances at a local dance hall featuring a colored band, a good way to arrange this would be to have one all-Negro night, and then the whites could dance in peace the rest of the time.

——— 3. Patriotism and loyalty are the first and most important requirements of a good citizen.

——— 4. Certain religious sects whose beliefs do not permit them to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.

——— 5. The Negroes would solve many of their social problems by not being so irresponsible, lazy, and ignorant.

——— 6. Any group or social movement which contains many foreigners should be watched with suspicion and, whenever possible, be investigated by the FBI.

——— 7. There will always be superior and inferior nations in the world and, in the interests of all concerned, it is best that the superior ones be in control of world affairs.

——— 8. Negro musicians are sometimes as good as white musicians at swing music and jazz, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands.

——— 9. Although women are necessary now in the armed forces and in industry, they should be returned to their proper place in the home as soon as the war ends.

———10. Minor forms of military training, obedience, and discipline, such as drill, marching and simple commands, should be made a part of the elementary school educational program.

———11. It would be a mistake to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

———12. The main threat to basic American institutions during this century has come from the infiltration of foreign ideas, doctrines, and agitators.

———13. Present treatment of conscientious objectors, draft-evaders, and enemy aliens is too lenient and mollycoddling. If a person won't fight for his country, he deserves a lot worse than just a prison or a work camp.

———14. Negroes may have a part to play in white civilization, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much intermixing with whites.

———15. One main difficulty with allowing the entire population to participate

fully in government affairs (voting; jobs, etc.) is that such a large percentage is innately deficient and incapable.

_____16. Manual labor and menial jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.

_____17. It is a mistake to allow any Japanese to leave internment camps and enter the army where they would be free to commit sabotage.

_____18. In view of the present national emergency, it is highly important to limit responsible government jobs to native, white, Christian Americans.

_____19. In a community of 1,000 whites and 50 Negroes, a drunken Negro shoots and kills an officer who is trying to arrest him. The white population should immediately drive all the Negroes out of town.

_____20. European refugees may be in need, but it would be a big mistake to lower our immigration quotas and allow them to flood the country.

_____21. The many faults, and the general inability to get along, of the Oklahomans ("Okies"), who have recently flooded California, prove that we ought to send them back where they came from as soon as conditions permit.

_____22. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites and giving them the same privileges are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

_____23. It has become clear that the Germans and Japanese are racially warminded and power-seeking, and the only guarantee of future peace is to wipe out most of them and to keep the rest under careful control.

_____24. A large-scale system of sterilization would be one good way of breeding out criminals and other undesirable elements in our society and so raise its general standards and living conditions.

_____25. An occasional lynching in the South is a good thing because there is a large percentage of Negroes in many communities and they need a scare once in a while to prevent them from starting riots and disturbances.

_____26. Mexico can never advance to the standards of living and civilization of the U. S., due mainly to the innate dirtiness, laziness, and general backwardness of Mexicans.

_____27. Filipinos are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly, buy good cars, and go around with white girls.

_____28. It would be best to limit Negroes to grammar and trade school education since more schooling just gives them ambitions and desires which they are unable to fulfill in white competition.

_____29. Zootsuiters demonstrate that inferior groups, when they are given too much freedom and money, just misuse their privileges and create disturbances.

_____30. The most vicious, irresponsible, and racketeering unions are, in most cases, those having largely foreigners for leaders.

_____31. There is something inherently primitive and uncivilized in the Negro, as shown in his music and his extreme aggressiveness.

_____32. We are spending too much money for the pampering of criminals and the insane, and for the education of inherently incapable people.

_____33. There will always be wars because, for one thing, there will always be races who ruthlessly try to grab more than their share.

_____34. Most Negroes would become officious, overbearing, and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

1. RELIABILITY

Data indicating the reliability and related statistical properties of the E scale and its subscales are given in Table 5(IV).

TABLE 5 (IV)

RELIABILITY OF THE ETHNOCENTRISM (E) SCALE AND ITS SUBSCALES

Property	Total E Scale	Subscales Negroes	Minorities	Patriotism
Reliability[a]	.91	.91	.82	.80
Number of items	34	12	12	10
Mean (total)[b]	3.17	2.72	3.32	3.53
Mean (odd half)	3.02	2.65	3.23	3.88
Mean (even half)	3.32	2.78	3.40	3.18
S.D. (total)[b]	1.15	1.25	1.21	1.26
S.D. (odd half)	1.17	1.25	1.37	1.26
S.D. (even half)	1.21	1.42	1.28	1.46
Range[b]	1.2–5.6	1.0–5.6	1.0–6.0	1.0–6.1

[a]The split-half reliability of each scale was obtained by correlating the sum of the scores on the odd items with the sum of the even items. and correcting this value by the Spearman-Brown formula.

[b]The means, S.D.'s, and ranges are given in terms of mean score per item on the scale or subscale in question. If this value is multiplied by the number of items in the scale or subscale, it is converted into mean total score.

The split-half reliability of the total E scale is .91, a value which meets accepted statistical standards.[4] The odd and even halves were roughly equivalent in the sense that they contained about equal numbers of items from the three subscales. The lower mean of the odd half seems due to the slight overweighting with low-mean Negro items. The obtained range covered most of the possible range, with the exception of the extremely high end. The absence of very high scores (averages of over 6 points per item) is also reflected in the relatively low group mean of 3.17, as compared with the neutral point of 4.0 per item. The distribution of scores is very symmetrical—the mean divides the range in half, and the median is 3.2—but platykurtic, with very little clustering of scores around the mean.

The high reliabilities of the subscales are noteworthy, especially in view of the small number of items in each.

In terms of reliability, equivalence of halves, and form of distribution,

[4] On the chance that the 19 minority group members might be atypical in some way, a separate reliability was computed for the 125 remaining subjects. The obtained value was .91, identical with that for the total group.

then, it seems safe to conclude that the E scale and its subscales provide adequate measuring instruments. To the extent that the scale is valid, it provides a measure of ethnocentrism, in most of its generality and complexity. It may be claimed that the higher an individual's score, the greater his acceptance of ethnocentric propaganda and the greater his disposition to engage in ethnocentric accusations and programs of one form or another.

2. INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG THE SUBSCALES

The reliability data support the hypothesis that there is such a thing as general ethnocentric ideology and that people can be roughly ranked according to the strength of their acceptance or rejection of it. Support for this hypothesis is also given by the high intercorrelations among the subscales, as shown in Table 6(IV).

TABLE 6 (IV)

CORRELATIONS OF THE E SUBSCALES WITH EACH OTHER AND WITH THE TOTAL E SCALE[a]

	Negroes	Minorities	Patriotism	Total E
Negroes	---	.74	.76	.90
Minorities	.74	---	.83	.91
Patriotism	.76	.83	---	.92

[a]These are the raw correlation coefficients. If they were corrected for attenuation to give the maximal value theoretically obtainable (with perfectly reliable instruments), they would all be .9 or over.

The subscale intercorrelations, which range from .74 to .83, are of considerable significance. The fact that they involve items dealing with so great a variety of groups and ideas suggests again that ethnocentrism is a general frame of mind, that an individual's stand with regard to one group such as Negroes tends to be similar in direction and degree to his stand with regard to most issues of group relations.

The intercorrelations of .90 to .92 between each subscale and the total E scale make the same point; an individual's score on any one subscale permits one to predict very closely his score on the entire E scale. Or, to put it in another way: While almost every subject shows some variability in his responses to the individual items (as will be shown below), almost every one demonstrates a general degree of pro- or anti-ethnocentrism which is relatively consistent from one group or type of group to another. And ethnocentric hostility toward outgroups is highly correlated with ethnocentric idealization of ingroups.

3. INTERNAL CONSISTENCY: STATISTICAL ANALYSIS OF THE INDIVIDUAL ITEMS

The functions of item analysis, and the procedures involved, have been discussed in the previous chapter. The data on the item analysis of the E scale are presented in Table 7(IV). Each item is identified by a key word or phrase, and the letters N, M, and P refer to the subscales Negroes, Minorities, and Patriotism respectively. It will be recalled that the Discriminatory Power (D. P.) equals the mean for the high quartile minus the mean for the low quartile. The total group mean is, of course, based on all four quartiles.

In general the D. P.'s in Table 7(IV) are very satisfactory,[5] averaging 2.97. For the 34 items, 5 D. P.'s are over 4.0, 13 are between 3.0 and 3.9, and 10 are between 2.0 and 2.9; only 3 are between 1.0 and 1.9, and 3 less than 1.0. Furthermore, all 6 items with D. P.'s of less than 2.0 have group means of less than 3.0, so the D. P. is more significant than it appears.[6]

The three least discriminating items are 19, 25, and 28, all in subscale N. They are also the only three items with group means of less than 2.0. Their low means indicate almost unanimous disagreement by all subjects. This is to be expected, since the items are particularly violent and repressive: Negroes should be driven out of town, lynched, kept ignorant and uneducated. But these data show the advantage of permitting three degrees of agreement and of disagreement, and they also reveal a subtle receptiveness in the high-scoring subjects to openly antidemocratic programs. Of the 36 low scorers only one responded with —2 (on Item 28), all other responses on all three items being a firm —3 (and thus a low mean of 1.00). The high quartile, on the other hand, had a mean of 1.8 on each of the three items; nearly half of them responded with —2 or above. One might ask if this is an indication of potential response during a period in which fascism had become a real power. Not all those who score high on E, certainly, are receptive to violent antidemocracy; the task of determining the deeper psychological forces which make for potential receptiveness or opposition to fascism—the ultimate in ethnocentrism—is one which follows the first task of measuring ethnocentrism in its presently existing form.

The item analysis indicates that the N, M, and P subscales contributed about equally to the total differentiation between the high and low quartiles on the total scale, the average D. P. being 3.0, 2.9, and 3.1 respectively. Apart from items 19, 25, and 28, discussed above, the Negro items were highly discriminating. Ethnocentrists and anti-ethnocentrists, as measured by the total scale, are clearly differentiated with respect to most of the ideas contained

[5] The D. P.'s would be even higher if the "range of talent" in this group included more extreme ethnocentrists. This is shown by results on subsequently tested groups.

[6] While correlations between items or between each item and the total scale have not been computed for this group, later data on similar scales suggest that the average correlation between single items is about .4, while between each item and the sum of the remaining items the average correlation is about .6.

TABLE 7 (IV)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE E-SCALE ITEMS

No.	Item	Mean: High Quartile	Mean: Low Quartile	D.P.	Mean for Total Group
1.	(M: political parties)	3.72	2.17	1.55	2.85
2.	(N: dance)	6.17	1.97	4.20	4.04
3.	(P: patriotism)	6.48	3.86	2.62	5.21
4.	(M: religious sects)	5.08	1.61	3.47	3.26
5.	(N: lazy)	3.10	1.53	3.19	3.19
6.	(M: foreign groups)	4.50	1.69	2.81	3.02
7.	(P: superior nations)	3.67	1.25	2.42	2.54
8.	(N: bands)	5.08	1.25	3.83	2.77
9.	(M: women)	5.86	3.75	2.11	4.76
10.	(P: military training)	5.06	2.47	2.59	3.83
11.	(N: foremen)	6.05	1.69	4.36	3.99
12.	(P: foreign ideas)	4.86	1.22	3.64	3.13
13.	(P: conscientious objectors)	4.64	1.44	3.20	2.90
14.	(N: districts)	6.33	1.72	4.61	4.08
15.	(M: voting)	5.06	2.33	2.73	3.71
16.	(N: menial jobs)	5.22	1.58	3.64	3.17
17.	(M: Japs in army)	5.86	1.92	3.94	3.87
18.	(P: native white Americans)	4.75	1.08	3.67	2.80
19.	(N: drive out)	1.86	1.00	.86	1.26
20.	(P: refugees)	6.39	3.50	2.89	5.28
21.	(M: Okies)	5.39	1.81	3.58	5.70
22.	(N: agitators)	4.53	1.08	3.45	2.51
23.	(P: Germans and Japs)	5.28	1.50	3.78	3.07
24.	(M: sterilize)	3.11	2.03	1.08	2.71
25.	(N: lynch)	1.81	1.00	.81	1.32
26.	(P: Mexico)	3.69	1.06	2.63	2.15
27.	(M: Filipinos)	5.64	1.22	4.42	3.68
28.	(N: grammar schools)	1.86	1.03	.83	1.30
29.	(M: zootsuiters)	5.58	1.39	4.19	3.62
30.	(M: foreigners, unions)	4.08	1.17	2.91	2.42
31.	(N: primitive)	3.72	1.17	2.56	2.42
32.	(M: pamper criminals)	3.22	1.53	1.69	2.20
33.	(P: always war)	5.89	2.64	3.25	4.37
34.	(N: overbearing)	4.75	1.06	3.69	2.67
	Means: Total scale	4.70	1.73	2.97	3.17
	Subscale N	4.34	1.34	3.00	2.72
	Subscale M	4.76	1.89	2.87	3.32
	Subscale P	5.07	2.00	3.07	3.53

Number: Total group = 144
H. Q. = 36
L. Q. = 36

Range of scores: Total group = 1.2–5.6
H. Q. = 4.2–5.6
L. Q. = 1.2–2.2

in the Negro items. The mean for the low quartile is invariably below 2.0, indicating that the low scorers seldom agree with these items and usually disagree strongly. The high scorers are not so outspoken in their stand; their most frequent responses are in the range of −1 to +2; but the frequency of the agreements overshadows the slight disagreements.

The means are somewhat higher on the Minorities subscale but once again, despite the great variety of groups represented, the highs and lows are clearly differentiated on most items. Three Minorities items (1, 24, 32) had group means below 3.0 and Discriminatory Powers between 1.1 and 1.7. These D. P.'s indicate statistically significant trends but do not establish clear-cut differentiations. The high scorers apparently did not fall for the suggestions in these items that minority political parties be suppressed—perhaps because these parties were not described as immoral or threatening (suppression of religious sects was accepted in Item 4)—that undesirables be sterilized, and that less money be spent on criminals, the insane and the "inherently incapable." The idea that "woman's place is in the home" is apparently accepted by most women (Item 9; mean = 4.76). While the low quartile is almost equally divided on this issue, the high scorers are definitely in favor of it; the D. P. of 2.1 is clearly significant. One wonders whether this item would be better correlated with ethnocentrism in men. The most discriminating items in this subscale deal with a variety of groups: religious sects (Item 4), foreign ideas (Item 12), Japanese (Item 17), Oklahomans in California (Item 21), Filipinos (Item 27), and zootsuiters (Item 29).

The Patriotism subscale differentiates high and low scorers as well as do the other subscales and on as great a variety of groups. The Discriminatory Powers range from 2.42 to 3.78, with an average D. P. of 3.07. Again the major hypotheses underlying the items are substantiated. Other nations (Japanese, Mexicans, refugees, and "inferior nations" generally) are regarded as backward, immoral, and threatening. The superiority of the American nation justifies a policy of destruction and subordination of others. Submissiveness and obedience to the ingroup are regarded as primary virtues, and a punitive attitude—so characteristically taken toward extranational and intranational outgroups—is taken toward conscientious objectors. It is also interesting that Item 33, concerning the inevitability of war, is highly differentiating (D. P. = 3.25). It is as if the ingroup-outgroup distinction, and the intergroup hostility underlying it, are woven into the fabric of ethnocentric thinking; given a conflict with no conceivable possibility of resolution, there is nothing to do but make sure that the ingroup is on top and prepared to maintain itself.

4. SECOND FORM OF THE E SCALE (FORM 78)

In line with the general policy of contracting proven techniques in order to include new ones which might broaden the framework of the research,

the original 34-item E scale was shortened to 14 items in the next version of the questionnaire, Form 78. This questionnaire, described more fully in Chapter III, included four separate scales whose items, 78 in all, were interspersed randomly in a single series. The revised E scale is presented in Table 8(IV).

TABLE 8 (IV)
THE SECOND FORM OF THE E SCALE (FORM 78)

Old No.	*New No.*[a]	
—	4.	All forms of racial and religious discrimination should be made illegal and punishable.
29.	7.	Zootsuiters demonstrate that inferior groups, when they are given too much freedom and money, just misuse their privileges and create disturbances.
12.	18.	The main threat to basic American institutions during this century has come from foreign ideas, doctrines, and agitators.
—	25.	If and when a new world organization is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and full sovereignty as a separate nation.
14.	29.	Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.
9.	34.	Women, if they work at all, should take the most feminine positions, such as nursing, secretarial work, or child care.
5.	37.	If Negroes live poorly, it's because they are just naturally lazy, ignorant, and without self-control.
—	41.	America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
11.	45.	It would be a mistake to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
23.	48.	The only full guarantee of future peace is to wipe out as many as possible of the Germans and Japs, and to keep the rest under strict control.
—	51.	Most of our social problems would be solved if the immoral, corrupt, and defective people could somehow be removed from the scene.
15.	54.	One main difficulty with allowing the entire population to participate fully in government affairs is that such a large percentage is innately deficient and incapable.
22.	57.	The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.
17.	64.	Citizen or not, no Jap should be allowed to return to California.

[a] "New number" refers to the numbering of the items in Form 78. "Old number" refers to numbering in the initial form discussed previously. Slight revisions will be noted in the wording of several items.

The general rules guiding contraction of the longer form were the same as those described previously in connection with the A-S scale. Statistical adequacy was again a necessary but not sufficient condition for retention of an item. It was deemed necessary to maintain broadness of coverage and to ensure nonduplication as well as significance of ideas. Revisions in the word-

ing of some items were made, especially in the direction of brevity and simplification. Item 9 of the initial form, suggesting that "woman's place is in the home," was entirely revised (present Item 34) in an attempt to improve its discriminability. In view of changing issues, former Item 17, which opposed the entrance of Japanese-Americans into the army, was changed in the new form to Item 64, which opposes their return to California.

There are four new items in the short form. Item 4 proposes legislation against discrimination; it is the first and only positive E item, that is, one in case of which agreement is given a low score. Number 25, a "patriotism" item, was intended to appeal both to the open isolationist and to the kind of pseudointernationalist who, while more or less accepting the idea of a world organization, wanted nevertheless to maintain complete American sovereignty and control. Item 41, which replaces several previous items, was intended to express an uncritically idealizing relation to America as a national ingroup. Finally, Item 51 refers to moral outgroups; it suggests that immorality is a cause of our social problems (rather than a concurrent symptom), and it contains implicitly a punitive attitude against such people, although punitive action is not explicitly proposed. Also worth noting is this item's stereotypic distinction between "good" people and "bad" people—the latter being the cause of the misfortunes of the former. This way of thinking often includes the "contempt for the masses" expressed in Item 54.

The three subscales of the initial E scale are represented proportionately in the new form. There are four Negro items (29, 37, 45, 57), four Patriotism items (18, 25, 41, 48), and six Minority items (4, 7, 34, 51, 54, 64).

It will be recalled from the preceding chapter that Form 78 was administered in the spring of 1945 to four groups: Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140), Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52), Extension Psychology Class Women (N = 40), all from the University of California; and the Professional Women (nurses, social workers, teachers; N = 63).

The reliability data for the E scale (Form 78) are presented in Table 9(IV). The average reliability of .80 is at the lower level of significance in terms of precise measurement of the individual, but it is quite satisfactory for the group comparisons and correlations for which it was used.[7] This is perhaps all that could be expected of so short and diversified a scale. Hope of improvement is held out, however, by the possibility of eliminating or revising poorly discriminating items, and by the fact that the absence of

[7] There are no absolute standards concerning what is an adequate reliability, as this varies with the variables measured, the uses to which the instrument will be put, and so forth. In the present study the following approximate standards of reliability have been used. (a) Above .85: permits relatively precise measurement of the individual. (b) From .75 to .85: permits rough ordering of individuals into, say, a quartile series of "low," "low middle," "high middle," and "high." Quite satisfactory for statistical analysis of group data. (c) From .60 to .75: lower level of adequacy, but sufficient for determining general relationships and for comparing extreme scorers.

TABLE 9 (IV)

RELIABILITY OF THE E-SCALE (FORM 78)

Property[a]	Group[b]				Over-all[c]
	A	B	C	D	
Reliability	.80	.74	.80	.88	.80
Mean (total)	3.44	3.33	3.68	2.72	3.29
Mean (odd half)	3.36	3.11	3.68	2.56	3.18
Mean (even half)	3.55	3.52	3.68	2.87	3.40
S.D. (total)	1.07	1.04	1.13	1.21	1.11
S.D. (odd half)	1.16	1.12	1.29	1.22	1.20
S.D. (even half)	1.15	1.18	1.25	1.37	1.24
N	140	52	40	63	295
Range	1.4–5.9	1.2–5.9	1.2–6.1	1.0–5.9	1.0–6.1

[a]The values of the means, S.D.'s, and ranges are given in terms of mean per item. If multiplied by 14 (the number of items), they are converted into values representing total scale score per person.

[b]The four groups on which these data are based are:
Group A: U.C. Public Speaking Class Women
Group B: U.C. Public Speaking Class Men
Group C: U.C. Extension Psychology Class Women
Group D: Professional Women

[c]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

extremely high scorers (restriction of "range of talent") in these groups tends to depress the reliabilities somewhat. As in the case of the A-S scale, the Professional Women obtained the lowest mean and the highest reliability, being thus the least prejudiced and the most consistent group on both scales. The E scale means and ranges of all four groups indicate, on the average, slight disagreement with ethnocentric ideology, a sizable minority being strongly opposed and relatively few expressing strong support.

The item analysis of the scale is presented in Table 10(IV). The average D. P. of 2.90 is quite satisfactory for a scale of this length. Only one D. P. is below 2.1, and even this one (Item 4) is well above the minimum level of statistical significance. As in the initial, longer E scale, the items dealing with segregation and suppression of Negroes, opposition to "foreign infiltration" and zootsuiters, desire to "wipe out the Germans and Japs," and so on, were highly discriminating. Two of the four new items also worked very well: Item 25, placing American sovereignty above world organization, had an over-all rank D. P. of 4; and Item 41, an expression of ethnocentric conservatism in idealizing the "American Way," ranked 7 in terms of over-all D. P.

Among the poorest items are several which, only fairly successful in the initial form, were revised for Form 78 in an attempt at improvement. Thus,

TABLE 10 (IV)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE E-SCALE ITEMS (FORM 78)[a]

No.	Item	Group A Mean	Group A D.P.	Group B Mean	Group B D.P.	Group C Mean	Group C D.P.	Group D Mean	Group D D.P.	Over-all[b] Mean	Over-all[b] D.P.	Rank D.P.
4.	(Discrimination illegal)	3.99	0.17	3.44	2.29	4.30	1.45	4.06	2.12	3.95	1.51	(14)
7.	(Zootsuiters)	3.73	3.94	3.29	2.93	3.58	4.07	2.90	5.12	3.38	4.02	(1)
18.	(Foreign ideas)	3.36	3.01	3.69	2.15	3.32	3.95	2.30	3.92	3.17	3.26	(5)
25.	(World organization)	4.89	2.76	3.90	3.35	5.60	2.29	4.02	4.74	4.60	3.28	(4)
29.	(Negroes have rights)	3.69	4.54	3.12	3.29	4.52	4.04	2.30	4.12	3.41	4.00	(2)
34.	(Feminine positions)	2.66	1.89	4.42	2.36	2.00	1.91	1.89	2.57	2.74	2.18	(12)
37.	(Negroes lazy)	2.06	2.85	1.75	1.86	2.35	2.34	1.50	1.60	1.92	2.16	(13)
41.	(American Way)	4.11	2.38	3.69	3.14	5.22	2.69	4.33	3.98	4.34	3.05	(7)
45.	(Negro foremen)	4.26	3.76	3.60	3.58	5.28	3.54	3.21	3.06	4.09	3.48	(3)
48.	(Germans - Japs)	2.49	2.27	2.56	2.00	2.90	4.72	2.03	3.33	2.50	3.08	(6)
51.	(Remove corrupt people)	3.59	2.70	3.37	1.50	3.22	1.95	2.43	3.21	3.15	2.34	(11)
54.	(Population incapable)	4.44	2.44	4.33	1.86	3.95	3.11	3.17	3.22	3.97	2.66	(10)
57.	(Radicals pro-Negro)	2.51	2.52	2.75	2.21	2.98	3.65	2.14	3.05	2.60	2.86	(8)
64.	(No Japs in California)	2.52	2.96	2.46	2.93	2.25	1.87	1.75	3.00	2.24	2.69	(9)
	Mean per item	3.45	2.73	3.31	2.53	3.68	2.97	2.72	3.36	3.29	2.90	

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are: *Group A*, U.C. Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140). *Group B*, U.C. Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52). *Group C*, U.C. Extension Psychology Class Women (N = 40). *Group D*, Professional Women (N = 63).

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

Item 34, stating that women should be restricted to "feminine positions" such as nursing, ranked 12 out of 14. It is interesting that the women's groups (A, C, D in Table 10(IV)) tended predominantly to disagree with this item, obtaining means of only 1.9 to 2.7, while the group of college men showed a slight tendency to agree, having a mean of 4.4. Despite the similar Discriminatory Powers for men and women, the D. P. for women is probably more significant statistically, since their mean is so much lower. It would appear that the ethnocentric women are more bound, at least on the surface, to the traditional imagery of femininity, while the nonethnocentrists wish to emancipate women, occupationally and otherwise, from their traditionally imposed limitations. While the relationship is far from perfect, it suggests that different patterns of ideology regarding masculinity and femininity may exist in the two groups. This general problem is investigated more fully in later chapters.

The attempted improvements in Items 37 and 54 were also relatively unsuccessful. Item 37, which makes the Negroes entirely responsible for their own poverty, was apparently too strongly worded to receive much agreement (mean = 1.92). The low mean indicates that the D. P. of 2.16 is very significant; there is very little overlapping between low and high scorers, the former tending almost uniformly to disagree strongly (—3), while the latter disagree on the average only slightly (—1). Similarly, the relatively low D. P. of 2.7 and mean of 2.2 on Item 64 (No Japs in California) might have been higher had the item been given a pseudodemocratic coloring, thus allowing the ethnocentrists more moral justification for agreeing with it. Item 54, rejecting the bulk of the people as "innately deficient and incapable," has a more ambiguous relation to ethnocentrism. The subjects were evenly divided on this issue, and the D. P. of 2.7, while indicating a significant difference between the high and low quartiles, nevertheless permits considerable agreement by low scorers, disagreement by high scorers.

Of the four entirely new items, two were among the least discriminating. Item 51, which suggests that our social problems could be solved by eliminating "bad" people (rather than by changing the underlying social forces and institutions), had a D. P. of 2.3, rank 11, indicating a clear-cut difference between the high and the low quartiles, but numerous exceptions as well.

The poorest item, with a D. P. of 1.5, was number 4 (urging that discrimination be made illegal). The subjects were apparently evenly divided on this issue, and relatively few were willing to take an extreme stand either way. The fact that the Professional Women had a mean of 4.1 on this item, as compared with their scale mean of 2.7, was perhaps a straw in the wind to indicate that the attempted California Fair Employment Practices Law (referendum) of 1946 would receive far less than majority support. In their interview discussions many strongly anti-ethnocentric subjects—who clearly recognized the crucial role of discrimination in maintaining ingroup-out-

group conflicts—were nevertheless political pacifists in the sense of being unwilling militantly to oppose discrimination. Some of the psychological sources of this point of view will be considered in later chapters.

The E scale (Form 78), while adequate for its intended uses, was revised in the light of the results just discussed. The revision also took account of the correlations now to be considered, between the E and A-S scales.

D. THE INCLUSION OF ANTI-SEMITISM WITHIN GENERAL ETHNOCENTRISM

It will be recalled that the E scale contained no items referring to Jews; rather, the independent A-S scale was included within the total questionnaire. We may now consider the correlations between these scales.

The initial form of the questionnaire, administered in 1944 to the University of California Psychology Class Women, contained the 52-item A-S scale and the 34-item E scale. Correlations of the A-S scale with the E scale and its subscales are presented in Table 11(IV).

TABLE 11 (IV)

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE A-S AND E SCALES (INITIAL FORMS)[a]

	Total E Scale	E Subscale		
		"Negroes"	"Minorities"	"Patriotism"
A-S	.80	.74	.76	.69

[a]The reliabilities of these scales, as presented previously, are as follows: A-S = .92; E = .91; "Negroes" = .91; "Minorities" = .82; "Patriotism" = .80.

The correlation of .80 between E and A-S permits a further broadening in the conception of ethnocentrism. The correlations of .69–.76 between A-S and the E subscales are only slightly lower than the correlations of .74–.83 among the E subscales (see Section C, above). These values indicate once again the generality of the ethnocentric approach to group relations. Anti-Semitism is best regarded, it would seem, as one aspect of this broader frame of mind; and it is the total ethnocentric ideology, rather than prejudice against any single group, which requires explanation. The fact that A-S correlates slightly less with the E subscales than the latter correlate among themselves may be due in part to the shortened range of A-S scores (absence of extreme highs); however, it appears likely that there are certain specific determinants of anti-Semitism apart from those which hold for general ethnocentrism.

The correlations between the A-S and E scales in Form 78, presented in

Table 12(IV), provide a further indication of the generality of ethnocentrism. The average correlation, .68, is lower than that of .80 obtained in the initial form. This difference is due partially to the decreased reliability of the shortened E scale. However, it suggests once again that anti-Semitism,

TABLE 12 (IV)

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE A-S AND E SCALES (FORM 78)

Group	N	Correlation
Public Speaking women	140	.71
Public Speaking men	52	.75
Extension women	40	.63
Professional women	63	.63
Mean r[a]	295	.68

[a]The mean r is unweighted for N and not based on Z_r.

while it is essentially a facet of a broader ethnocentric pattern, may nevertheless have certain independent determinants of its own.

1. THE THIRD FORM OF THE E SCALE (FORM 60)

The close, though imperfect, relationship between the A-S and E scales in Form 78 led, in the construction of Questionnaire Form 60, to their contraction into an inclusive 12-item E scale. This scale, presented in Table 13 (IV), contains 4 A-S items (numbers 8, 21, 38, 47), 3 Negro items (14, 28, 42), and 5 items dealing with other minorities and with patriotism. Once again slight revisions in the wording have frequently been made, particularly in the direction of simplicity and brevity. Again items were selected on the basis both of statistical adequacy and theoretical significance. Two items (42, 55) were included, despite their previous low means and D. P.'s, because they seemed to express significant ideas and because the means, and thus the D. P.'s, were expected to go up in some of the groups to be tested. Item 59 ("Okies") was recovered from the initial E scale.

a. The Groups Studied. Questionnaire Form 60 was administered in the summer of 1945 to the following groups:

1. Summer session students in psychology classes at the University of Oregon (one of us taking advantage of his summer teaching position there).

2. Summer session students in an education class at the University of California.[8] Whereas the Oregon students were almost entirely of college age, the members of this particular education class at the University of California were somewhat older (age range about 25–45), the most common occupation

[8] We wish to express our thanks to Dr. Harold Carter for the administration of the questionnaires to his class.

TABLE 13 (IV)
THE THIRD FORM OF THE E SCALE (FORM 60)

3. Zootsuiters prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.
8. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.
14. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.
21. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
28. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
33. If and when a new world organization is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power in matters that affect this country.
38. There may be a few exceptions, but in general, Jews are pretty much alike.
42. If Negroes live poorly, it's mainly because they are naturally lazy, ignorant, and without self-control.
47. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
51. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.
55. Citizen or not, no Jap should be allowed to return to California.
59. For the good of all, the Oklahomans ("Okies") who recently flooded California ought to be sent back home as soon as possible.

being that of teacher, although other, particularly semiprofessional, occupations were well represented.

3. Men's service clubs (Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary) in the vicinity of the University of Oregon.

In order that separate data for men and women might be obtained, the above groups were divided and recombined for statistical purposes. The first University of Oregon class obtained included enough women to form a statistical group (Group I, N = 47). However, the second class at Oregon was too small to be divisible into statistically adequate subgroups of men and women, and so was the class at California. Accordingly, statistical Group II contains the combined Oregon and California Student Women (N = 54), Group III the combined men (N = 57). Finally, Group IV contains the Oregon Service Club Men (N = 68).

b. RELIABILITY. The reliability data for the E Scale (Form 60) are presented in Table 14(IV). The reliabilities, ranging from .82 to .88 and averaging .86 for the four groups, are entirely adequate in terms of currently accepted standards. The obtained scores cover most of the possible range (1.0–7.0) with the exception of the extremely high end; there are few scores of over 6.0. A slight predominance of low scores is also indicated by the group means, which are well below the neutral point of 4.0.

The differences among the various groups are of some interest. The highest degree of ethnocentrism was expressed by the Oregon Service Club Men.

TABLE 14 (IV)

RELIABILITY OF THE E SCALE (FORM 60)[a]

Property	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Over-all
Reliability	.88	.88	.86	.82	.86
Mean (total)	3.43	3.25	2.96	3.55	3.30
Mean (odd half)	3.48	3.24	2.95	3.72	3.35
Mean (even half)	3.38	3.26	2.97	3.43	3.26
S.D. (total)	1.38	1.29	1.26	1.11	1.26
S.D. (odd half)	1.63	1.77	1.38	1.21	1.50
S.D. (even half)	1.30	1.53	1.23	1.17	1.31
N	47	54	57	68	226
Range	1.0–6.3	1.1–5.9	1.0–6.3	1.3–5.8	1.0–6.3

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are:
Group I: University of Oregon Student Women.
Group II: University of Oregon and University of California Student Women.
Group III: University of Oregon and University of California Student Men.
Group IV: Oregon Service Club Men.

Their mean of 3.55 is significantly higher (1 per cent level) than the lowest mean, 2.96, obtained by the University Student Men. We may note that the group of Service Club Men was also the most constricted in its range of scores (1.3–5.8) and in its internal variability (S. D. = 1.11); that is, its members tended to cluster around the middle position so that there are few extreme high or low scorers. These considerations help to explain why the E scale has the lowest reliability in this group and why the average D. P. is, as will be shown below, also lower for this group than for the others. That this group should exhibit a clustering around a modal "point of conformity" is perhaps not surprising, since conformity is one of its central values. It may, however, be surprising to some that the mode should be in a middle rather than a more extreme position.

It is also of some interest that the California subjects are slightly less ethnocentric than the Oregonians. Thus, Group I, composed entirely of Oregon students, has a slightly higher mean than Group II (3.43 to 3.25), which is more than half Californian in make-up. The likelihood of a regional difference is given greater weight by the fact that at least two items (55, "Japs," and 59, "Okies," and perhaps also 3, "Zootsuiters") refer specifically to conditions in California. A slight, though also not statistically significant difference is found between comparable sex groups, the University Student Women (Group II) having a higher mean than the University Student Men (Group III) (3.25–2.96). No consistent, significant difference between com-

TABLE 15 (IV)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE E-SCALE ITEMS (FORM 60)[a]

No.	Item	Group I Mean	Group I D.P.	Group II Mean	Group II D.P.	Group III Mean	Group III D.P.	Group IV Mean	Group IV D.P.	Over-all Mean	Over-all D.P.	Rank D.P.
3.	(Zootsuiters)	3.34	2.31	3.41	3.06	2.77	3.07	4.06	3.11	3.40	2.89	(9)
8.	(J. businessmen)	4.11	3.47	3.65	3.87	3.40	3.47	3.78	2.22	3.74	3.26	(7)
14.	(Negro rights)	3.79	4.55	3.70	5.26	3.46	3.93	4.57	2.28	3.88	4.00	(2)
21.	(Marry a Jew)	4.94	4.15	4.50	2.87	3.61	3.60	4.47	3.22	4.38	3.46	(5)
28.	(Negro foreman)	4.00	4.69	3.87	4.46	3.53	3.67	4.31	4.05	3.93	4.22	(1)
33.	(World organization)	4.49	4.23	4.54	3.73	3.91	3.80	4.32	4.00	4.32	3.69	(4)
38.	(Jews alike)	3.70	4.38	3.15	3.33	2.93	3.66	3.99	3.89	3.44	3.82	(3)
42.	(Negroes lazy)	1.81	1.46	2.04	1.93	1.86	1.80	2.82	2.87	2.13	2.02	(11)
47.	(Jewish neighbors)	3.30	4.00	3.07	3.07	3.00	3.93	3.38	2.54	3.19	3.38	(6)
51.	(Foreign ideas)	2.74	3.54	2.56	3.13	2.75	2.27	3.25	3.61	2.82	3.14	(8)
55.	(No Japs)	2.34	2.69	2.13	1.87	1.93	1.13	2.00	1.50	2.10	1.80	(12)
59.	(Okies)	2.62	2.39	2.41	2.86	2.19	2.26	1.81	0.84	2.26	2.09	(10)
	Mean per item	3.43	3.49	3.25	3.20	2.95	3.05	3.56	2.84	3.30	3.15	

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are:

Group I: University of Oregon Student Women (N = 47).
Group II: University of Oregon and University of California Student Women (N = 54).
Group III: University of Oregon and University of California Student Men (N = 57).
Group IV: Oregon Service Club Men (N = 68).

parable groups of men and women has been found, as may be noted below in the results on additional groups (p. 133 ff.).

c. ITEM ANALYSIS. The results of the item analysis of the E scale (Form 60) are presented in Table 15(IV). The average D. P. of 3.15 is very satisfactory. The three lowest D. P.'s (1.8–2.1) were obtained by the items having the lowest means (2.1–2.3). Two of these items, numbers 42 and 55, obtained similar means on previous forms of the scale. They were included here, slightly revised, with the expectation that the present groups might agree more strongly. This expectation was not borne out. In view of the relatively strong rejection of Oklahomans in California, the low mean and D. P. of Item 59 are probably due more to faults in formulation than to the inadequacy of the idea which we intended to express. Even the three poorest items, however, differentiate significantly and with a minimum of overlap between the high and low quartiles, the low scorers being strongly opposed (almost uniform responses of —3), the high scorers tending to disagree only slightly.[9]

The rank order of goodness of items is, on the whole, consistent with previous results. The five best items (14, 21, 28, 33, 38) include two referring to Negroes, two to Jews, and one to world organization; these items ranked similarly in earlier forms. Item 3 (Zootsuiters) has a rank of 9, as compared with a rank of 1 on Form 78. The drop may well be due to the fact that the zootsuiter issue was less focal, and therefore less likely to produce extreme agreement or disagreement, in Oregon than in California. The groups taking Form 60 agree quite well among themselves regarding the relative level of acceptability (mean) and level of discriminability (D. P.) of the items. While rank-order correlations between the groups were not computed, it appears from inspection of Table 15(IV) that the mean or D. P. rank of each item is fairly stable from group to group.

2. THE FOURTH FORM OF THE E SCALE (FORMS 45 AND 40)

The fourth and final form of the E Scale (see Table 16(IV)), as used in Form 45, involved the deletion of two items ("Japs" and "Okies") from the previous form, the other ten items remaining intact. It was understood that this contraction of the E scale would eliminate many of its qualitative functions and would probably lower its reliability to the minimum required by the present research purposes. Nevertheless, the intention to distribute the questionnaire to a wide variety of groups, many of whom would have very little time for filling it out, made every reduction in size seem desirable. The entire Questionnaire Form 45 could, accordingly, be filled out in approximately thirty minutes—short enough so that, for example, a club or

[9] The group mean for each item is usually about midway between the means for the high and low quartiles. It is therefore legitimate to infer the quartile means from the item mean and D. P.

TABLE 16 (IV)

THE FOURTH FORM OF THE E SCALE (FORMS 45 AND 40)[a]

E_A 5. Zootsuiters prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.

E_A 10. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.

E_A 15. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.

E_A 20. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

E_B 24. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.

E_B 28. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.

E_B 32. If Negroes live poorly, it's mainly because they are naturally lazy, ignorant, and without self-control.

E_B 36. There may be a few exceptions, but in general, Jews are pretty much alike.

E_B 40. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.

E_A 45. If and when a new world organization is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power in matters that affect this country.

[a] The five E_A items constitute the entire E scale in Form 40. The total ten-item scale was given, numbered as it appears above, in Form 45. The reliability of Form 45 was obtained by correlating the 5 E_A items with the remaining 5 E_B items. It will be noted that there are no items about Jews in E_A, it being desired as a practical aim to construct a questionnaire which would give an index of anti-Semitism without mentioning Jews at all.

organization could take it during a meeting, just before hearing a talk not directly related to the questionnaire.

Demands of practicality and expediency forced an additional compromise. Questionnaire Form 40 was even shorter than Form 45; in addition to contractions of other techniques, the E scale in this form was reduced to five items (as shown in Table 16(IV)). A primary reason for Form 40 was that certain groups might be unable to spare even the thirty minutes required by Form 45. An additional consideration in the contraction of the E scale, however, was the possibility that, in certain groups at least, the items referring to Jews might be too "controversial" or might focus attention too directly on the issue of prejudice. Accordingly, the five E_A items in Form 40 contain no direct reference to Jews. They deal, rather, with Negroes, zootsuiters, foreigners, and "world organization." (In Form 45 the E scale contains, in addition to these, five E_B items, four referring to Jews, one to Negroes.) It was recognized that these five items do not constitute a scale in the more technical sense, but this loss seemed justified by the gain in applicability to various groups.

Our conclusions regarding the advantage of using Form 40 ought perhaps to be noted for those faced with similar problems. Although it avoided focusing atten-

tion on Jews, the loss in terms of research aims was not sufficiently compensated for by the small gain in time nor by elimination of resistance. Indeed, the resistance encountered seemed to be based as much on the other phases of the questionnaire as on the E scale. Probably the basic opposition psychologically was to being "investigated" at all in an intensive way. Unlike the usual several-question poll, this questionnaire seemed, to many a subject, to *identify* him as a total individual even though he knew that his anonymity was preserved. In some cases this was highly anxiety-producing despite our careful attempts at reassurance and at explaining the entire procedure in terms of an impersonal, public opinion, nonindividual approach. In some cases it was impossible to gain the cooperation of the leadership of a group; in other cases cooperative leaders were unable to put the idea across or to have it carried out. Difficulties of this sort were as great with Form 40 as with Form 45. Once a group was induced to cooperate, there were very few omissions of questions or scale items in either form. In short, resistance was related more to the general nature of the questionnaire than to any specific individual items. Form 45 might therefore have been used on practically all of the groups tested. When it is absolutely necessary to delete certain items—e.g., if one were testing groups with a large Jewish or Negro membership and items referring to these groups might cause friction—probably the best procedure would be to have alternative items to replace those deleted.

While the number of groups which were actively but unsuccessfully approached is not large, there is some indication that resistance of the type mentioned above is correlated positively with ethnocentrism. For example, among the "Middle-Class Women" (Table 15(V)) there was an exclusive club which "just barely" decided to cooperate and which refused even to consider our request for volunteers to be interviewed. This group obtained one of the highest E means of all groups tested. Such resistance was seldom encountered in less ethnocentric groups. This difficulty might have been expected on the basis of the ethnocentrists' tendency toward self-deception and concern with prying, which was expressed indirectly in the responses on the A-S and E scales, and which is brought out more directly in the chapters that follow.

Considerations of this type are of great importance in any attempt to generalize from a research sample to a broader population. Thus, because of the greater resistance of ethnocentrists to psychological investigation, it is likely that the average degree of ethnocentrism (over-all mean E score) in our total sample is somewhat lower than that which would be found in a truly random or truly representative sample. Even in the more customary public opinion polls, where population areas are often mapped out in advance (stratification or other attempt at representative sampling), an adequate sample may not be achieved because, in their door-to-door polling, interviewers cannot reach those subjects who are unreceptive to the idea of being "tested."[10]

[10] The common assumption that "any 50 people" within a given area or income level will do, and that errors of sampling on an individual level will cancel each other out, overlooks the likelihood that *receptivity* may correlate with what is being polled.

It seems necessary, therefore, in describing the groups on whom data were obtained, to mention briefly the nature and adequacy of the sampling procedure.

a. THE SAMPLE AND THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE. The distribution of Forms 45 and 40 took place during the latter part of 1945 and the first half of 1946, a period of about nine months in all. Form 45 was given to the following groups:[11]

1. *Testing Class Women* (N = 59). This was an adult evening class given by the Extension Division of the University of California. Since it was a class in Psychological Tests, it probably attracted a more diversified group than does the usual adult class in psychology. It was expected to contain not only individuals seriously interested in understanding themselves better—individuals who, as we shall see later, are not likely to be extremely ethnocentric—but also persons interested in psychology more as a means of manipulating others. The class was also varied with respect to age (range about 20–50), income, and previous education. Therefore, despite the desire to get away from the university groups which predominated in our previous samples, we could not resist taking the opportunity to test this marginal university group. The questionnaire was administered during a class meeting, all members being present. The men were too few to constitute a separate statistical group, and our policy of separating the sexes—perhaps too strictly adhered to—prevented us from combining them.

2. *San Quentin State Prison (California) Inmates* (N = 110). Since these men constitute a particularly important group, psychologically and sociologically, they were studied more intensively than the others; the sampling procedures and results are discussed in detail in Chapter XXI. It may suffice here to say that the sample was well randomized.

3. and 4. *Psychiatric Clinic Patients* (71 women, 50 men). This group, like the San Quentin group, was considered to have special importance both practically and for a full theoretical understanding of our problem. As a "key group," it seemed to merit thorough study and analysis (Chapter XXII). The questionnaires were administered individually (each subject filling out the questionnaire by himself) as part of the clinic routine, and there appeared to be no systematic bias operating in the selection of cases.

5. *Working-Class Men and Women.* A number of small groups were combined to form the "working-class" sample on which statistics were computed. Of the 53 women in this sample, 19 were from the California Labor School (an extremely liberal school for working people which has classes in a variety of fields, from trade unionism to arts and crafts), 8 were members of the United Electrical Workers, C.I.O., 10 were new members of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U., C.I.O.), and 16 were office workers obtained

[11] The collection of questionnaires from these groups would have been impossible without the generous cooperation of numerous people. We wish to express our gratitude to Dr. Merle H. Elliott, who obtained questionnaires from his class in the Extension Division of the University of California, Dr. David G. Schmidt, who made the necessary arrangements for the San Quentin Group, Dr. Karl Bowman and Dr. Robert Harris, who made it possible for us to obtain subjects at the Langley Porter Clinic, Dr. Barbara Kirchheimer, who made the arrangements, and Mrs. Emily Moulton, who collected questionnaires at the U.S. Employment Service, Captain Malcolm E. Crossman, who gave his support, and Dr. Boyd R. McCandless, who gave freely of his time in obtaining questionnaires at the Alameda School for Merchant Marine Officers.

through the employers. The 61 men were obtained similarly: 15 were from the California Labor School, 12 from the United Electrical Workers, 26 from the I.L.W.U., and 8 from the United Seamen's Service. All groups were obtained in the San Francisco Bay area. The Labor School subjects constitute the total membership of various classes, the questionnaire being administered in class.[12] The 20 Electrical Workers were obtained in the union hall as they came in on business matters. The 36 I.L.W.U. members were given the questionnaire at the beginning of a class for new members before any indoctrination had started. While the female office workers took the questionnaire at the request of interested employers, it was understood that they maintained their anonymity, and no systematic selective factors appear to have entered in. Less reliance can be placed on the male sample from the Seamen's Service, since the 8 subjects are but a small percentage of those passing in and out of the center. The working-class sample as a whole does not appear to reflect, in either a random or a representative manner, the actual working-class population, and any generalizations from the data must be drawn tentatively and with great caution.

The bulk of the working-class sample was given Form 40, only 19 women and 31 men receiving Form 45. Therefore, for the statistical purpose of relating the E scale to the other scales and measures (see Chapters V through VII), all questionnaires were treated as if they were Form 40, that is, only E_A was statisticized in Form 45. In consequence there are results on Form 40 for *Working-Class Women* (N = 53) and *Working-Class Men* (N = 61).

However, when additional data were desired on the total Form 45 E scale, it was decided to combine the 19 women and 31 men into a single sample,[13] the *Working-Class Men and Women* (Form 45) (N = 50). This sample is, then, actually a part of the larger Form 40 sample (see below). The men in the Form 45 sample were obtained from the groups mentioned above in almost exactly the same proportions as those taking Form 40. However, the Form 45 women are preponderantly from the Labor School and the United Electrical Workers' Union, and may consequently differ systematically from the others with respect to E.

Form 40 was given to a number of groups forming the following statistical samples:

6. *George Washington University Women* (N = 132). This group comprises the total female membership of several day and evening classes in psychology at George Washington University, Washington, D.C.[14] (There were so few men that their questionnaires were not statisticized.) It was included out of an interest in regional differences between California and the East, even though only limited generalizations can be drawn from so selected a sample.

7. *California Service Club Men* (N = 63). Two service clubs, Kiwanis and Rotary, comprise this sample. Questionnaires were filled out during a customary luncheon meeting (procedure not previously announced) just prior to the featured talk, given by a member of our staff.

[12] It appeared necessary to distinguish "middle-class" from "working-class" members of the Labor School, and to place the former in the broader "middle-class" sample. (See the discussion of the middle-class sample, Form 40.) The present figures refer only to working-class members.

[13] This sample was used only for getting the reliability data on the Form 45 E scale; no statistics were computed on the other scales.

[14] As mentioned previously, while the questionnaire was administered to all present, only the native-born, white, non-Jewish, American subjects were included in the statistical treatment. The N's reported refer to the number of cases treated statistically.

8. *Middle-Class Men* (N = 69) and 9. *Middle-Class Women* (N = 154). These two samples represent the combination, for statistical purposes, of the following groups: The membership at a meeting of the Parent-Teachers' Association in a "solid" middle-class section of Berkeley, California (46 women, 29 men). Again, the questionnaire was administered just before the featured talk on child training. The membership of a Protestant church in a small town just outside of San Francisco (29 women, 31 men). The 15 women in a local Unitarian Church group. The members of the California Labor School who appeared to be "middle class" in terms of occupation (lawyer, engineer, independent businessman, etc.) and income (11 women, 9 men); in case of doubt the individual remained in the "working-class" sample discussed above. The 17 women in one division or panel of the local League of Women Voters. Finally, the 36 members of an exclusive, upper middle-class women's club. It would appear, then, that these two samples, particularly the women, represent diverse elements of the middle class.

10. *Working-Class Men* (N = 61) and 11. *Working-Class Women* (N = 53). These groups have been described above in connection with the Form 45 sample of Working-Class Men and Women.

12. *Los Angeles Men* (N = 117) and 13. *Los Angeles Women* (N = 130).[15] In an attempt to obtain greater regional diversity for the total sample, a group of men and women was tested in the Los Angeles area. Because of time limitations the sampling procedure was not thoroughly controlled, and exact figures are not available on the number of subjects in each of the groups comprising the sample. Subjects were obtained from the following groups (not more than 25 per cent of the total N from any one group): parents of college students (volunteers), high school teachers, veterans at a counseling center, Radio Writers Guild (tested during a meeting), League of Women Voters, Boy Scout leaders, members of an anti-Semitic organization (12 responders out of some 100 questionnaires mailed out), and several small local clubs and neighborhood groups. The sample is primarily middle class in composition, although it cannot be considered clearly representative of the middle-class population. Moreover, its mean may be systematically lowered by the relatively high educational level and by the fact that many of the subjects were obtained on a volunteer basis. It was suitable for the present research purposes, however, since it appeared highly diverse with respect to ethnocentrism and with respect to the social and psychological characteristics whose relations to ethnocentrism were being investigated.

In addition to the above groups, the following two groups received both Forms 45 and 40:

14. *Employment Service Men Veterans* (N = 106). It seemed likely, early in 1946, that the questionnaire, particularly the F scale (see Chapter VII) and the projective questions (Chapter XV) could reveal much that was of interest to the clinician and the vocational counselor. Thus, when the questionnaire was given to veterans seeking vocational guidance at the local U. S. Employment Service, it was with the thought that it would be an aid to the agency as well as to the research. With a few exceptions, all (white, Christian) male veterans coming in for counseling during a several-month period starting early in 1946 were given the questionnaire, the first 51 receiving Form 45, the next 55, Form 40. The exceptions were men who seemed not to have enough education to handle the questionnaire and men in whose case a convenient time could not be arranged. This group can thus be considered a relatively random sample of the counselees. However,

[15] These questionnaires were collected by Dr. J. F. Brown with the assistance of Emily Gruen and Carol Creedon.

it may well be that counselees as a group are not representative of the veteran population. Thus, our sample is above average in socioeconomic level (see Chapter V) and in education and intelligence (see Chapter VIII). Furthermore, on the basis of evidence to be presented in later chapters, particularly Chapter XI, it appears likely that willingness to seek guidance, and especially to accept the mild psychotherapy going with it, is more common in nonethnocentrists than in others. How serious a sampling bias this produces depends in part on other factors which might impel ethnocentric individuals to seek help (e.g., external pressures, or a tendency to conceive of the Service as benevolent authority). At any rate, it is not unlikely that the mean E score for this sample may be somewhat lower than for the veteran population generally.

15. *Maritime School Men* (N = 343). This group comprises the entire membership of a government training school for Merchant Marine officers. The school is located in Alameda (San Francisco Bay area), but its students come from all parts of the country. Upon admission all of them must have had at least fourteen months of active service as unlicensed seamen. The questionnaires were administered during the study periods, under well-controlled conditions, by members of the Psychology staff who seemed to be on excellent terms with the men. Half of the study sections received Form 45, the other half Form 40, the halves being roughly equated in terms of ability and time in school. This group, like the one described immediately above, cannot be considered a fully representative sample of the armed services population. It is selected in at least the following ways: predominantly lower middle-class background, relatively few members coming from the lower socioeconomic strata or from the upper middle class or above; above average in upward social mobility—in the desire to "raise oneself socially and financially"; above average in intelligence, this being a primary qualification for admission (mean AGCT score of 126.2, range of 102–153).[16] Despite these relative uniformities, the group is extremely diverse in most other ways.

b. Reliability and Group Differences. The reliability data for Forms 45 and 40 are presented in Table 17(IV). As noted above, the 5-item E_A scale in Form 40 contained no items referring to Jews; Form 45 contained these five items plus five E_B items, four of which are from the former A-S scale. Since the small number of items in Form 40 made it unfeasible to compute a reliability coefficient, it was decided to determine the reliability of the total scale by correlating E_A with E_B rather than by correlating odd-even or equivalent halves. This procedure gave some indication of the degree of equivalence between scores on Form 40 and scores on Form 45; it provided, for example, a partial answer to the question: of a group scoring in the low quartile on the E_A scale, what percentage would score in the low quartile on E_{A+B}? The average reliability of .79 for the seven groups taking Form 45 (Table 17(IV) A, C) indicates that the overlap is relatively great—although it also brings out the advantage of using the longer scale.

The present method of computing reliability, while it was helpful in determining the degree of relationship between E_A and E_{A+B}, and in showing

[16] No detailed description of the social and psychological properties of the various groups will be presented in this chapter. Instead, each set of properties will be presented and discussed in the appropriate chapter, e.g., politico-economic properties in Chapter V, religion in Chapter VI, and so on.

the great, though incomplete, unity in ethnocentric ideology, had nevertheless the disadvantage of yielding lower reliabilities than would have been obtained by a division into odd-even or equivalent halves. Two halves equated for content are certainly likely to intercorrelate more highly than two halves, such as E_A and E_B, which differ in content. This hypothesis was tested on two groups. In the case of the San Quentin Men, who obtained an $E_A - E_B$ reliability of .65, the lowest of any group tested, the reliability rose to .79 when odd-even halves were used. In a group of 517 women, students at the University of California,[17] the reliability based on E_A vs. E_B was .79, while the odd-even reliability was .87. Since in its usual meaning "reliability" refers to the relation between "'equivalent measures of the same thing," the reliability of the total E scale is probably around .85 on the average, a value which meets current testing standards.

In view of the shortness of the E scale (Form 40), it was not feasible to compute reliabilities on it. Instead, the mean Discriminatory Power (D. P.)

TABLE 17 (IV)

RELIABILITY OF THE E SCALE (FORMS 45 AND 40)

A. Groups Taking Form 45 (E_{A+B})

Property	Group[a]					Over-all[b]
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Reliability[c]	.82	.65	.84	.75	.91	.79
Mean (total)	3.41	4.61	3.65	3.67	3.34	3.74
Mean (A half)	3.77	5.33	4.23	3.92	3.62	4.17
Mean (B half)	3.06	3.86	3.06	3.42	3.07	3.29
S.D. (total)	1.40	1.28	1.60	1.59	1.78	1.53
S.D. (A half)	1.68	1.31	1.81	1.78	1.91	1.70
S.D. (B half)	1.35	1.60	1.64	1.70	1.77	1.61
N	59	110	71	50	50	340
Range	1.0–6.1	1.6–7.0	1.0–7.0	1.0–6.2	1.0–7.0	1.0–7.0

[a]The groups taking this form are as follows:

Group I: Extension Testing Class Women
Group II: San Quentin Men Prisoners
Group III: Psychiatric Clinic Women
Group IV: Psychiatric Clinic Men
Group V: Working Class Men and Women

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[c]The reliabilities for Form 45 are not based on odd-even or equivalent halves but on E_A vs. E_B; they are therefore slightly lower than they would be had equivalent halves been used (see text).

[17] This group was not included in the over-all sample because the proportion of students in the sample was already too great. This group was obtained for the primary purpose of making a correlational analysis of the Form 45 scales, particularly the F scale (see Chapter VII).

TABLE 17 (IV) (CONT'D.)

RELIABILITY OF THE E SCALE (FORMS 45 AND 40)

B. Groups Taking Form 40 (E_A)[a]

Property	Group[b]								Over-all[c]
	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	
Mean	4.04	4.31	3.89	3.64	3.92	3.91	3.82	3.71	3.90
S.D.	1.58	1.73	2.08	1.96	1.71	2.25	1.89	1.78	1.87
Mean D.P.	4.10	4.54	5.28	5.11	4.53	5.64	5.08	4.67	4.87
N	132	63	69	154	61	53	117	130	779
Range[d]									

[a]The E scale in Form 40 contained only 5 items, referred to as the E_A items and identical to the E_A items in Form 45.

[b]The groups taking this form are as follows:
Group VI: George Washington University Women
Group VII: California Service Club Men
Group VIII: Middle-Class Men
Group IX: Middle-Class Women
Group X: Working-Class Men
Group XI: Working-Class Women
Group XII: Los Angeles Men
Group XIII: Los Angeles Women

[c]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[d]The range in every case was 1.0-7.0.

TABLE 17 (IV) (CONT'D.)

RELIABILITY OF THE E SCALE (FORMS 45 AND 40)[a]

C. Groups Taking both Forms 45 and 40

Property	Group		Over-all
	Employment Service Men Veterans	Maritime School Men	
Form 45:			
Reliability	.86	.73	.80
Mean (total)	4.26	4.34	4.30
Mean (A half)	4.67	4.82	4.74
Mean (B half)	3.85	3.85	3.85
S.D. (total)	1.60	1.25	1.42
S.D. (A half)	1.63	1.40	1.52
S.D. (B half)	1.71	1.36	1.54
N	51	179	230
Range	1.1–6.6	1.2–6.6	1.1–6.6
Form 40:			
Mean (E_A)	4.21	5.08	4.64
S.D. (E_A)	1.75	1.47	1.61
N	55	164	219
Range	1.0–7.0	1.2–7.0	1.0–7.0

[a]The total number of cases on Forms 45 and 40 is as follows:

	Form 45	Form 40	Total
N	570	998	1568

is reported for each group in Table 17 (IV)*B*. The over-all mean D. P. of 4.87 suggests what the total E reliability also suggests: that the subjects show a relatively high degree of consistency in response to all items. The mean D. P. in four of the eight groups is over 5.0; this suggests that the distribution of scores is bimodal, that is, that the subjects tend either to agree strongly or to disagree strongly (in contrast to the more common result in which scores cluster around the "uncertain" neutral point). The high S. D.'s and wide range of scores indicate the same thing.

The group differences in average degree of ethnocentrism are of some interest. Among the groups taking Form 45, the three which stand clearly at the head of the list in terms of mean E score are the San Quentin Men (4.61), the Maritime School Men (4.34), and the Employment Service Men Veterans (4.26), these means being significantly higher than the others (3.34–3.67). That the San Quentin Men are so ethnocentric makes it clear that being in a subordinate group is not a guarantee against ethnocentrism. The results for the San Quentin group, and the psychological affinity between criminality and fascism, are considered in detail in Chapter XXI.

It is unclear why, in the Veteran and Maritime School groups, the E_A

means should be so different in Form 40 as compared with Form 45 (Table 17(IV) *C*). Thus, for the Veterans, the E_A mean drops from 4.67 to 4.21, while for the Maritime School it increases from 4.82 to 5.08. Although these differences are not statistically significant (at the 5 per cent level), they might, if they were both in the same direction, suggest a general systematic difference between the two Forms. It might he hypothesized, for example, that the presence of the anti-Semitic items in E_B makes some people defensive and thus lowers the mean on the entire scale in Form 45. This hypothesis is opposed, however, by the facts that neither difference is significant, that in the Maritime School the E_A mean is higher in Form 40 than in Form 45, and that the E_A means in the other Form 40 groups (Table 17(IV) *B*) are of the order of magnitude as in the Form 45 groups. It would appear, in short, that the presence of the E_B items in Form 45 produces no systematic increase or decrease in scores on the other items.

The mean E score of 3.7, as well as the wide range and the large S. D., for the Psychiatric Clinic patients indicates that no simple relationship exists between psychological ill health and ethnocentrism. The degree of ethnocentrism in this group of neurotic and psychotic—primarily the former—individuals just about equals the average of all groups tested. It would appear incorrect, therefore, to assume that there is on the average more pathology, psychologically speaking, in ethnocentrists than in nonethnocentrists or conversely.[18] Evidence to be presented later, however (Chapter XXII), will show that high and low scorers differ significantly with respect to type of pathology. The least ethnocentric groups taking Form 45 and 40 are the Testing Class Women and the Working-Class Men and Women. The low mean for the former group is consistent with previous results on University groups in California and Oregon. The E_A mean for the Form 45 group of Working-Class subjects is slightly but nonsignificantly lower than for the larger Working-Class group taking Form 40. This difference is apparently due to the fact that the Form 45 sample contains a greater proportion of subjects from the California Labor School, a subgroup with an extremely low E mean. Further discussion of the relation of economic class and politico-economic ideology to ethnocentrism is reserved for Chapter V. From the results in Table 17(IV), particularly for the groups taking Form 40, it would appear that socioeconomic class, as such, is not a major determinant of differences in ethnocentrism. The means for the Middle-Class groups are almost identical with those for the Working-Class groups. This is not to

[18] This conclusion depends, of course, on the representatives of our sample. What can be stated unequivocally is that every quartile on E contains some psychologically disturbed individuals. We may suspect, however, that a truly random sample of seriously disturbed individuals would show a higher average degree of ethnocentrism than is shown by the present sample, which includes, for the most part, individuals who recognize their problems as primarily psychological and who are willing to undergo psychological treatment—personality trends associated, as later chapters will show, with lack of ethnocentrism.

say that economic forces play no role in ethnocentrism, or that class membership is unimportant. However, the *average* amount of ethnocentrism in the two classes appears to be the same, to the extent that the measuring instrument is valid and the sample adequate. Moreover, there are wide variations within each class, some groups being very high in ethnocentrism, others very low. Thus, within the middle class, the service clubs are significantly more ethnocentric than the university groups. Individual and group differences in E score within each class are associated with differences in *ideology* (political, religious, and so forth) and in *personality* as shown by the chapters which follow.

c. Item Analysis: Forms 45 and 40. The item means and D. P.'s for the groups taking Forms 45 and 40 are presented in Table 18(IV). While the item means for men average slightly higher than those for women, the rank orders of the individual item means and D. P.'s are similar for the two sexes. Furthermore, the wide range of the over-all item means and D. P.'s suggests that similar consistency exists among the various groups of men and women comprising the total sample. In other words, the relative level of acceptability (mean) and "goodness" (D. P.) of the items is fairly stable from group to group.

The best items in Form 45 deal with Negroes, Jews, zootsuiters, and foreigners. For the women two items, 32 (Negroes' own fault) and 40 (Jewish neighborhoods), had means of below 3.0 and D. P.'s ranking 10 and 9 respectively. Even the lowest D. P. for men and for women (3.0 in each case) is sufficient to differentiate high from low scorers with a minimum of overlap. The only item in Form 45 with a mean of over 5.0 for both men and women is number 45 (World organization). While this item discriminates very well between low and high scorers on the total scale, the low scorers are apparently less sure of themselves on the issue of national sovereignty than on the other issues; the high scorers almost uniformly rate this item +3, but the low scorers are less emphatic and more divided.

The significantly higher means for men than for women on both forms may not reflect a true sex difference since they are not based on *comparable groups* of men and women. Thus, the four highest men's groups (San Quentin, Veterans, Maritime School, Service Clubs) have no high-scoring counterparts among the women. The absence of a significant sex difference is also suggested by the very similar means obtained by comparable sex groups (see Table 17(IV) *B*): Working-Class, Middle-Class, and Los Angeles Men and Women. Significant differences between comparable groups of men and women might, of course, be found on various individual items; this problem has not been systematically explored.

The differences in means and D. P.'s between Forms 45 and 40 may also be less significant than they appear at first glance. That the mean D. P. is almost one point higher for both sexes on Form 40 than on Form 45 is

TABLE 18 (IV)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE E-SCALE ITEMS (FORMS 45 AND 40)

		MEN'S GROUPS[a] (N = 969)						WOMEN'S GROUPS[b] (N = 599)					
		Form 45 (N=440)			Form 40 (N=529)			Form 45 (N=130)			Form 40 (N=469)		
No.	Item	Mean	D.P.	Rank D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Rank D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Rank D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Rank D.P.
5.	(Zootsuiters)	4.14	3.57	(7)	4.10	4.26	(5)	3.64	4.05	(4)	3.48	4.50	(4)
10.	(Negro rights)	4.57	4.58	(1)	4.25	4.92	(2)	3.93	4.91	(1)	3.96	5.21	(1)
15.	(Foreign ideas)	3.81	3.34	(9)	3.64	4.44	(3)	3.26	3.99	(5)	3.25	4.49	(5)
20.	(Negro foremen)	4.32	4.54	(2)	4.07	4.93	(1)	4.00	4.60	(2)	3.86	5.15	(2)
24.	(J. businessmen)	4.11	4.04	(4)				3.48	3.88	(6)			
28.	(Marry a Jew)	3.25	3.49	(8)				3.24	3.50	(7.5)			
32.	(Negroes live)	3.10	3.82	(5)				2.42	2.99	(10)			
36.	(Jews alike)	4.03	4.35	(3)				3.20	4.24	(3)			
40.	(Jewish Neighb.)	3.55	3.71	(6)				2.96	3.26	(9)			
45.	(World org.)	5.54	3.01	(10)	4.97	4.38	(4)	5.16	3.50	(7.5)	4.58	5.07	(3)
	Mean-per item[c]	4.04	3.84		4.20	4.59		3.53	3.89		3.83	4.88	

[a]The data were obtained from the following groups of men: San Quentin Men Prisoners (N = 110). Employment Service Men Veterans (N = 106). Maritime School Men (N = 343). California Service Club Men (N = 63). Psychiatric Clinic Men (N = 50). Middle-Class Men (N = 69). Working-Class Men (N = 61). Los Angeles Men (N = 117). The Working-Class Men and Women (N = 50) were also included here since 34 of these 50 subjects were men.

[b]The data were obtained from the following groups of women: Extension Testing Class Women (N = 59). George Washington University Women Students (N = 132). Psychiatric Clinic Women (N = 71). Middle-Class Women (N = 154). Working-Class Women (N = 53). Los Angeles Women (N = 130).

[c]In obtaining the over-all means and D.P.'s, the individual group values were not weighted by N.

due in part to the smaller number of items in Form 40 (each item therefore contributing a larger portion of the total score). It is also partly due to sampling factors: the composition of the various samples taking Form 40 was more heterogeneous, resulting in larger S. D.'s (Table 17(IV)), more extreme scorers, and thus higher D. P.'s. Both men and women had slightly lower E_A means on Form 40 than on Form 45 (4.48–4.20 for men, 4.00–3.83 for women). For reasons discussed earlier, these differences in means may be attributed mainly to sampling differences (both systematic and random) rather than to the nature of the forms themselves.

d. Correlational Analysis: Form 45. It was possible, using the group of 517 University of California student women mentioned above, to make a correlational analysis of the E scale (Form 45).[19] Only the highlights of these results need be presented here. The group was near the average of the total sample with respect to mean (3.64), S. D. (1.52), and reliability (.79 for E_A vs. E_B, .87 for odd vs. even halves). For the single items the means ranged from 2.25 for Item 32 (Negroes' own fault) to 5.00 for Item 45 (World organization), while the S. D.'s ranged from 1.77 for Item 32 to 2.47 for Item 28 (Marry a Jew). The average of the interitem correlations was .42. The lowest interitem *r*'s, .25 and .26, were between Item 15 (Foreign ideas) and Items 40 (Jewish neighborhoods) and 32 (Negroes' own fault), respectively. The highest *r*'s, .61 and .62, were between Items 24 (Jewish businessmen) and 36 (Jews alike), and between Items 10 (Negro rights) and 20 (Negro foremen), respectively. The correlations between each item and the sum of the remaining items averaged .59; the two lowest values, .43 and .46, were for Items 15 and 45, the two highest, .67 and .69, for Items 10 and 36. Six of the ten items correlated .60 or higher with the sum of the remaining ones. These results, including the rank order of goodness of items and the general level of magnitude of the correlations, are consistent with the results for the other groups. While there is a tendency for items referring to a given group to cluster somewhat, the predominant trend is toward broad internal consistency. That the consistency is incomplete is shown by the fact that the correlations are far from perfect. In terms of statistical rigor, the scale shows about the same degree of unidimensionality (consistency) as the standard intelligence tests.

e. Age and Ethnocentrism. The total sample from which the above data were obtained was not randomly distributed with respect to age. Its members were predominantly in their twenties and thirties, a disproportionately small number being in their forties or older. It was hypothesized that younger people tend to be less conservative and less ethnocentric than their elders, and that the mean E scores for the present sample might consequently

[19] We wish to express our thanks to the Social Science Research Council for the funds which made this aspect of the research possible.

be lower than for the population at large. As a partial check on this hypothesis, correlations between age and E score (Form 45) were computed for the Psychiatric Clinic Men and Women (N = 121). This group, despite its atypicality with respect to psychological health, appeared to be the most diverse group taking Form 45, and its E-scale results (mean, reliability, internal consistency, and correlations with other scales) were fairly representative of the total sample. Approximately 80 per cent of this group was between 18 and 40 years old, the mean (and median) being 34 years. The figures for men were very similar to those for women.

The correlation between age and E score for both men and women was .19. This value for men and women combined is significantly above zero at the 5 per cent (lowest acceptable) level of confidence. It suggests that there is a slight but consistent tendency for younger adults to be less ethnocentric than those of middle or old age. That the correlation is not likely to be higher for the general population is indicated by the fact that very high E-scale means were made by such young adult groups as the Employment Service Veterans and the Maritime School Men. The sampling bias in favor of younger age levels appears, then, to be of minor importance in our final results: the average degree of ethnocentrism found is slightly but significantly lower than would be found in a more representative sample.

3. A SUGGESTED FINAL E SCALE

The above data indicate that even the brief ten-item E scale in Form 45 can be used as a dependable measure of ethnocentrism. Whenever possible, however, it would appear advantageous to use a longer form which is likely to be more reliable and which can cover in a more systematic fashion various aspects of ethnocentric ideology. Table 19 (IV) contains a suggested final E scale of 20 items—short enough to meet most demands of practicality, yet sufficiently long to meet theoretical and statistical requirements. These items were selected, on the basis of both statistical adequacy and theoretical significance, from previous forms of the Ethnocentrism and Anti-Semitism scales. The wording of several items has been shortened and simplified. Subscales have been reinstated: six items dealing with Jews, six with Negroes, and eight with other Minorities and Patriotism.

In some cases the demands of time or administrative expediency may require that the scale be shortened or that certain items be deleted. From the experience of the present research it would appear that such changes can be made without seriously damaging the effectiveness of the scale in providing an adequate index of ethnocentrism. From a broader point of view, however, it is desirable to have further data on the internal structure of ethnocentric ideology, as revealed by the total scale, and on the social and psychological structures with which this ideology is associated.

TABLE 19 (IV)
ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE: SUGGESTED FINAL FORM

A. Jews

1. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.
2. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.
3. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.
4. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.
5. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for the Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults.
6. There is something different and strange about Jews; it's hard to tell what they are thinking and planning, and what makes them tick.

B. Negroes

1. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.
2. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.
3. Negro musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands.
4. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.
5. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.
6. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

C. Other Minorities and Patriotism

1. Zootsuiters prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.
2. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.
3. Now that a new world organization is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.
4. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.
5. Filipinos are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly and go around with white girls.
6. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
7. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.
8. The best guarantee of our national security is for America to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the secret of the atom bomb.

E. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE E SCALE

In order to throw some light upon the validity of the E scale, we may compare the responses of Mack and Larry on the scale with their ideas about groups and group relations as brought out by the interview. The scores of these two subjects for each of the items of the E scale (Form 78), together with the group means and D. P.'s, are shown in Table 20(IV).

TABLE 20 (IV)

RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE E SCALE

No.	Item	Mack	Larry	Group[a] Mean	Group[a] D.P.
4.	(Discrimination illegal)	5	1	3.95	1.51
7.	(Zootsuiters)	6	1	3.38	4.02
18.	(Foreign ideas)	5	1	3.17	3.26
25.	(World organization)	7	7	4.60	3.28
29.	(Negroes have rights)	6	1	3.41	4.00
34.	(Feminine positions)	3	1	2.74	2.18
37.	(Negroes lazy)	5	1	1.92	2.16
41.	(American way)	5	2	4.34	3.05
45.	(Negro foremen)	6	1	4.09	3.48
48.	(Germans and Japs)	6	1	2.50	3.08
51.	(Remove corrupt people)	5	1	3.15	2.34
54.	(Population incapable)	3	5	3.79	2.66
57.	(Radicals pro-Negro)	6	1	2.60	2.86
64.	(No Japs in California)	6	1	2.24	2.69
	Over-all mean	5.3	1.8	3.29	2.90

[a]The group means and D.P.'s are based on all four groups taking Form 78.

In the analysis of Mack's interview, in Chapter II, it was shown that he exhibited in a clear-cut fashion all of the trends which, according to the present theory, are most characteristic of ethnocentrism. That he should score near the top of the high quartile on the E scale may therefore be taken as evidence of its validity. He agrees with 12 of the 14 scale items, thus presenting a picture of very general ethnocentrism. His idealization of the ingroup is as marked as his hostility toward outgroups. His rejection of Negroes, zootsuiters, and Japanese is particularly pronounced, and decidedly more extreme than his rejection of Jews. (His mean score on the five items pertaining to the former minority groups is 5.8 as compared with his mean score of 4.6 on the A-S scale.) It may be recalled that Mack's ideology con-

cerning Jews has a somewhat special quality. He wishes to make the point that Jews ought to participate more fully in American life and that they would be accepted and liked were it not for the fact that they would rather stay apart. In order to make this point, it is necessary for him to disagree with statements pertaining to the exclusion of Jews, and this lowers his mean score. It seems that he is impressed by what he conceives to be Jewish power. The interview, unfortunately, concentrating as it did upon anti-Semitism, did not explore Mack's imagery of other minority groups. It is fairly safe to assume, however, that he considers Negroes, zootsuiters, and Japanese weaker and more submerged than the Jews, and hence more suitable objects of hostility; certainly his scale responses express strong opposition to the idea of these groups participating more fully in American life.

Mack's failure to agree with Item 34 (Feminine positions) may have to do with the fact that he is engaged to be married to a school teacher; this is a matter that will be discussed more fully later on. The other item with which he disagrees, and the one on which he scores below the group mean is 54 (Population incapable); some light may be shed upon this inconsistency by considering that Item 54 is an unusually strong statement, one that includes no pseudodemocratic rationalization, and that Mack in his interview does not make extremely aggressive statements. It will be seen later that on other scales also he fails to agree with the more openly aggressive antidemocratic statements, a fact that is considered to be in keeping with the general picture of him as a potential follower rather than a potential leader in a fascist movement.

Larry's mean E-scale score of 1.8 is extremely low. This is consistent with the fact that in the interview he makes every effort to place himself squarely on the side of democratic internationalism and social equality for minorities. He disagrees strongly with 12 of the 14 scale items, his total score being raised by agreement with Items 25 (World organization) and 54 (Population incapable). Although the group mean for item 25 is high, indicating that strong sentiment in favor of national sovereignty is probably characteristic of the country as a whole, the item nevertheless discriminates very significantly between high and low scorers on the total scale. That Larry should agree strongly with the item may be due, not to concern with power as seemed to be the case with Mack, but to his conservatism and to his linking world organization with Roosevelt's economic policies, which he generally opposes. This interpretation is supported by the interview material, as will be shown later.

It is interesting that both subjects show inconsistency in the case of Item 54. Although this statement was intended to be strongly ethnocentric, the prejudiced subject disagrees with it while the unprejudiced subject agrees. This is in keeping with the fact that the item has one of the lowest D. P.'s of any in the scale. The reason might well be that some low scorers interpret the statement not in a cynical, antihuman way, imputing the incapability to

outgroups (the high scorers show clearly, in their responses to other E items, who they think are the incapable people), but rather in the sense that there are too many people in all groups who have not, because of social conditions, developed sufficiently. This explanation probably holds for Larry.

F. CONCLUSIONS: THE STRUCTURE OF ETHNOCENTRIC IDEOLOGY

On the basis of the various scale results presented above and of supporting evidence from interviews, we can now attempt to formulate a more detailed theory of ethnocentric ideology. Such a theory should indicate the generality of the ethnocentric frame of mind, should permit various patterns of surface opinions and attitudes to be viewed as alternative expressions of the same underlying point of view, and should show how the ethnocentric approach to groups and group relations differs from other approaches.

A word may first be said regarding the implications of the data presented above for such a theory. To what extent can ethnocentrism be considered a consistent, organized system of ideas? From the scale statistics the following points can be made. On an *item-by-item* basis most people are not entirely consistent in their agreement or disagreement with ethnocentric ideas. This is indicated by the correlations, about .4 on the average, between individual items. Also, inspection of the scale responses of individuals in the high and low quartiles shows that even extreme scorers vary somewhat around a generally ethnocentric or anti-ethnocentric position. Thus, to know that a person is ethnocentric in terms of total E-scale score permits only fair prediction of his stand on any single item in the scale (correlations between single items and total E scale averaging about .6).

On the other hand, there is much greater consistency on a *subscale-by-subscale* basis. The high reliability of the initial E scale and of its relatively short subscales indicates that, whatever the item-by-item fluctuation, each subscale measures a rather consistent trend. Furthermore, the correlations among the initial Negro, Minorities, Patriotism, and Anti-Semitism scales indicate that these trends are closely related, that people are notably consistent in their acceptance or rejection of *general* ethnocentrism. To attempt to measure this ideology as a totality, however, is not to deny that it has components with respect to which individuals may vary. Indeed, the assumption that each trend *is* complex underlies the formulation of subscales and the attempt to make each subscale as complex and inclusive as possible.

A person is considered ethnocentric when his total score (average agreement with items) is high enough to indicate that he has accepted most of the ideas expressed in the scale. Whenever in the text a reference is made to "generality" or "consistency," it is always on a subscale or scale basis and with a recognition of item-by-item variability. And whenever there is a reference to any specific idea in ethnocentric ideology it is understood that

most, though usually not all, ethnocentrists have this idea; that is to say, *each facet of ethnocentric ideology as here conceived is accepted by most high scorers, rejected by most low scorers.*[20] Ethnocentric ideology is held in its entirety by only the most extreme high scorers on the E scale. The less extreme members of the high quartile have accepted most, though not all, of the ethnocentric ideas described below. It would be erroneous, then, to regard high scorers as "all alike"; they have in common a general way of thinking about groups, but there are wide individual differences in the imagery and attitudes regarding various groups. Similar reasoning applies to the low scorers.[21]

We may now return to a consideration of the preliminary definition of ethnocentrism as an ideology concerning ingroups and outgroups and their interaction.

The term "group" is used in the widest sense to mean any set of people who constitute a psychological entity for any individual. If we regard the individual's conception of the social world as a sort of map containing various differentiated regions, then each region can be considered a group. This sociopsychological definition includes sociological groups such as nations, classes, ethnic groups, political parties, and so on. But it also includes numbers-of-people who have one or more common characteristics but who are not formal groups in the sense of showing organization and regulation of ways. Thus, it is legitimate in a sociopsychological sense to consider as groups such sets of people as criminals, intellectuals, artists, politicians, eccentrics, and so on. Psychologically, they are groups in so far as they are social categories or regions in an individual's social outlook—objects of opinions, attitudes, affect, and striving.

"Ingroup" and "outgroup" are sociopsychological rather than purely sociological concepts, since they refer to identification and, so to speak, contraidentification, rather than to formal membership in the group. A person may be identified with groups to which he does not formally belong. This is exemplified by the type of socially upward mobile person who is identified with groups of higher status and power (class, profession, political faction) than those to which he now belongs; also by the person with motivated downward mobility[22] who identifies with lower status and power groups such as Negroes, Jews, "the proletariat," "the weak and suffering."

[20] The difference between high and low scorers is shown statistically for each item by the Discriminatory Power and the item-total scale correlations; for the subscales it is shown by the subscale-subscale and the subscale-total scale correlations.

[21] Various patterns of "high" and "low" ideology, as found in the interview material, will be considered later, in Chapter XIX.

[22] The word "motivated" is used to distinguish this type of downward mobility—which is psychologically desired and sought—from a loss of status which is externally imposed by depression or economic failure (and in which the individual usually remains identified with the higher status group). Similarly, a person may want to rise in economic status primarily because of the desire for comfort, leisure, and so on; this is psychologically different from that upward mobility in which the desire for status and power, and identification with powerful groups, are primary motivating forces.

An individual may, of course, be concerned with many groups which are neither ingroups nor outgroups for him. One may feel sympathetic towards Negroes or the Catholic Church without actually identifying with them. Conversely, one may be opposed to many groups in the sense of feeling a difference in interest or values, or merely of feeling that their aims and existence are irrelevant to him; but these are not outgroups if there is not the sense of contraidentification, of basic conflict, of mutual exclusiveness, of violation of primary values.

A primary characteristic of ethnocentric ideology is the *generality* of outgroup rejection. It is as if the ethnocentric individual feels threatened by most of the groups to which he does not have a sense of belonging; if he cannot identify, he must oppose; if a group is not "acceptable," it is "alien." The ingroup-outgroup distinction thus becomes the basis for most of his social thinking, and people are categorized primarily according to the groups to which they belong. The outgroups are usually entirely subordinate (Negroes, Mexicans), or groups with relatively low status and power who are struggling to better their position in society. The major outgroups in America today appear to be Jews, Negroes, the lower socioeconomic class, labor unions, and political radicals, especially Communists. Other groups whose outgroup status varies somewhat are Catholics, artists, intellectuals; Oklahomans and Japanese (in the West); pacifists, Filipinos, Mexicans, homosexuals. Most other nations, especially the industrially backward, the socialistic, and those most different from the "Anglo-Saxon," tend to be considered outgroups. While there are probably considerable sectional, class, and individual differences regarding which groups are regarded as outgroups, it would appear that an individual who regards a few of these groups as outgroups will tend to reject most of them. An ethnocentric individual may have a particular dislike for one group, but he is likely nonetheless to have ethnocentric opinions and attitudes regarding many other groups.

Another general characteristic of ethnocentric ideology is the *shifting* of the outgroup among various levels of social organization. Once the social context for discussion has been set, ethnocentrists are likely to find an outgroup-ingroup distinction. Thus, in a context of international relations ethnocentrism takes the form of pseudopatriotism; "we" are the best people and the best country in the world, and we should either keep out of world affairs altogether (isolationism) or we should participate—but without losing our full sovereignty, power, and economic advantage (imperialism). And in either case we should have the biggest army and navy in the world, and atom bomb monopoly.

However, the superior American "we" breaks down when the context shifts to intranational affairs. In a religious context the ingroup-outgroup distinction may shift in various ways: religious-nonreligious, Christian-Jewish, Protestant-Catholic, among Protestant sects. Similar outgroup-ingroup distinctions can be found in various other phases of American life.

It seems, then, that the individual who has a pseudopatriotic conception of America in relation to other nations actually regards most of America as an outgroup: various religions, non-whites, "the masses," too-educated people and too-uneducated people, criminals, radicals, and so on, tend largely to fall in the outgroup category. This is not to say that nonethnocentrists regard all these groups as ingroups; rather, the nonethnocentrist can take a supportive attitude without necessarily identifying, and he can be critical without a sense of alien-ness and of categorical difference.

The social world as most ethnocentrists see it is arranged like a series of concentric circles around a bull's-eye. Each circle represents an ingroup-outgroup distinction; each line serves as a barrier to exclude all outside groups from the center, and each group is in turn excluded by a slightly narrower one. A sample "map" illustrating the ever-narrowing ingroup would be the following: Whites, Americans, native-born Americans, Christians, Protestants, Californians, my family, and finally—I.

The ethnocentric "need for an outgroup" prevents that identification with humanity as a whole which is found in anti-ethnocentrism. (This lack in identification is related to the ethnocentrists' inability to approach individuals *as* individuals, and to their tendency to see and "prejudge" each individual only as a sample specimen of the reified group. Their experience of interpersonal relations involves, so to speak, the same stereotypy as their opinions regarding groups generally.) The inability to identify with humanity takes the political form of nationalism and cynicism about world government and permanent peace. It takes other forms, all based on ideas concerning the intrinsic evil (aggressiveness, laziness, power-seeking, etc.) of human nature; the idea that this evil is unchangeable is rationalized by pseudoscientific hereditarian theories of human nature. The evil, since it is unchangeable, must be attacked, stamped out, or segregated wherever it is found, lest it contaminate the good. The democratic alternative—humanitarianism—is not a vague and abstract "love for everybody" but the ability to like and dislike, to value and oppose, *individuals* on the basis of *concrete specific experience;* it necessarily involves the elimination of the stereotypical ingroup-outgroup distinction and all that goes with it.

What is the *content* of ethnocentric ideology regarding outgroups? There are, of course, individual differences here, and the same individual has different conceptions of, and attitudes toward, different outgroups. Nevertheless, certain common trends seem to exist, and these are generally the same as those found in anti-Semitic ideology. Most essentially, outgroups are seen as *threatening* and *power-seeking*. Accusations against them tend to be moralistic and, often, mutually contradictory. One of the main characteristics of most outgroups is that they are objectively *weaker* than the groups whom they supposedly threaten. Sometimes this weakness is perceived by the ethnocentrist, but this does not seem to lessen his sense of being threatened. The conflict as he sees it is between an ingroup trying to maintain or

recapture its justly superior position, and an outgroup, resentful of past hurts, trying to do to others what they have done to it. But the conflict is seen as permanent and unresolvable; the only alternatives are dominance and submission; justice requires dominance by the superior ingroup, and the subordinate group will always remain resentful and rebellious. Because he considers hierarchy and power conflict "natural" he has difficulty in grasping a conception of group relations in which power considerations are largely eliminated and in which no group can control the lives of other groups.

The moralistic accusations against outgroups are similar to those that were seen in the case of anti-Semitism; again we find stereotypy, an absence of theories—save simple hereditarian ones—to explain why groups are as they are, and a readiness to place all the blame for group conflict upon outgroups.

The general outlook just described must, it would seem, have to do primarily with psychological trends within the ethnocentrist rather than with the actual characteristics of the outgroups. For one thing, many people who have had bad experiences with members of minority groups—and most of us have had unhappy experiences with members of most groups including ingroups—or who have heard derogatory remarks about these groups, do not have ethnocentric imagery and attitudes. It is not the experience as such that counts, but the way in which it is assimilated psychologically. Also, the prejudiced individual is prepared to reject groups with which he has never had contact; his approach to a new and strange person or culture is not one of curiosity, interest, and receptivity but rather one of doubt and rejection. The feeling of difference is transformed into a sense of threat and an attitude of hostility. The new group easily becomes an outgroup. The stereotypy, the illogicality, the large number of outgroups, the consistency of outgroup imagery—all these point to things in the psychological functioning of ethnocentrists which differentiate them from anti-ethnocentrists.

Ethnocentric ideology regarding ingroups shows similar trends, though often in an opposite direction, to that regarding outgroups. The ingroups are conceived of as superior in morality, ability, and general development; they ought also to be superior in power and status, and when their status is lowered or threatened the ethnocentrist tends to feel persecuted and victimized. Attempts by subordinate groups to improve their status are regarded as threats; he cannot imagine that they are struggling for equality and mutual interaction because he does not think in these terms. The ingroup is idealized and blindly submitted to. Obedience and loyalty are the first requirements of the ingroup member. What is called power-seeking and clannishness in the outgroup is transformed into moral righteousness, self-defense, and loyalty in the ingroup. In all other respects the ingroup is regarded as the opposite of the outgroup: clean, unaggressive, hard-working and ambitious, honest, disciplined, well-mannered. The same values, then, are applied to both ingroups and outgroups, and in the same stereotyped way.

The interaction of ingroups and outgroups, and indeed all social inter-

action, is conceived in hierarchical and authoritarian terms. Groups as well as individuals must "find their level," and the greatest danger is that certain groups will attempt to rise above their natural position. The same conceptions are applied to ingroup structure and functioning. As in the army, there should be a series of levels, and individuals on a given level should submit to those above and dominate those below. The conception of the ideal family situation for the child is similar: uncritical obedience to the father and elders, pressures directed unilaterally from above to below, inhibition of spontaneity and emphasis on conformity to externally imposed values.

We can now consider the ethnocentric solution to problems of group conflict. The ingroup must be kept pure and strong. The only methods of doing this are to *liquidate* the outgroups altogether, to keep them entirely *subordinate*, or to *segregate* them in such a way as to minimize contact with the ingroups. The first method represents politicalized ethnocentrism—fascism and the dissolution of democratic values. This method so obviously violates traditional American values of nonviolence, fairness, and equal opportunity that it has found relatively little support in this country. The second and third methods are supported, however, by large numbers of ordinary citizens.

Attitudes that the main outgroups should be subordinated and segregated are characteristic of American ethnocentrism because, it would seem, they combine so well ethnocentric imagery and sense of threat on the one hand, and certain democratic values which still prevail even in ethnocentrists, on the other. The democratic values often prevent more drastic action, but they may also serve to permit discrimination and oppression behind a pseudo-democratic front.

From these considerations the following general statement emerges. *Ethnocentrism is based on a pervasive and rigid ingroup-outgroup distinction; it involves stereotyped negative imagery and hostile attitudes regarding outgroups, stereotyped positive imagery and submissive attitudes regarding ingroups, and a hierarchical, authoritarian view of group interaction in which ingroups are rightly dominant, outgroups subordinate.*

CHAPTER V

POLITICO-ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY AND GROUP MEMBERSHIPS IN RELATION TO ETHNOCENTRISM

Daniel J. Levinson

A. INTRODUCTION

That political and economic forces play a vital role in the development of ethnocentrism, in both its institutional and individual psychological forms, is no longer questioned by social scientists or even by most laymen. In modern industrial societies ethnocentric ideology has been utilized by a great variety of sociopolitical movements which can be broadly characterized as fascist, prefascist, reactionary, imperialistic, chauvinistic. It is not within the scope of the present research to investigate directly the social movements and structures—monopoly, the concentration of power and wealth, labor unions, changing government functions, the declining middle class, and so on—which are crucial for the elimination of ethnocentrism or for its further development in such forms as war and rigid socioeconomic stratification. We are concerned, however, with the ideologies of these social groupings, with the organization of ideologies in the individual, and with some of the factors responsible for these broad ideological patterns.[1]

What patterns of politico-economic ideology are related to ethnocentric and anti-ethnocentric "group relations" ideology? There is good reason to believe that the "right-left" dimension politically is correlated with ethnocentrism. Fascism, which represents the most extreme right-wing political and economic structure and ideology, is also the most virulent antidemocratic form of ethnocentrism. The emphasis in ethnocentrism on a static, rigid stratification of groups finds its politico-economic analogue in the fascist

[1] Since the term "ideology" has acquired many negative connotations, particularly in the realm of political thought, we wish again to emphasize that this concept is used here in a purely descriptive sense: "ideology" refers to an "organized system of opinions, values, and attitudes." Any body of social thought may, in this sense, be called an ideology, whether it is true or false, beneficial or harmful, democratic or undemocratic.

corporate state. Conversely, left-wing, socialistic ideology stresses the elimination of economic classes (that is, of social stratification based on unequal distribution of economic power) as a condition for the complete removal of stratification and outgroup exploitation.

While fascist and socialist-communist (Marxist) ideologies represent the extreme right and left, respectively, with regard to political economy and group relations, neither point of view has as yet found much active, open support on the American political scene. The focus of the present study was, therefore, on liberalism and conservatism, the currently prevalent left- and right-wing political ideologies—with an eye, to be sure, on their potential polarization to the more extreme left and right.

There is considerable evidence suggesting a psychological affinity between conservatism and ethnocentrism, liberalism and anti-ethnocentrism. In a preliminary study by Levinson and Sanford (71) anti-Semitism correlated significantly with opposition to labor unions and socialistic institutions (socialized medicine, government ownership of utilities, etc.). Also, Republicans were, on the average, more anti-Semitic than Democrats. The researches of Newcomb (91), Lenz (67, 68), Murphy and Likert (84), Edwards, Stagner, and others (63) have yielded similar results. Unpublished data from the present study indicate that both conservatism and ethnocentrism are significantly correlated with support of the un-American Activities Committee, Hearst, the American Legion, and militarization (postwar increases in our army and navy).

The right-left dimension (reactionary-fascist, conservative, liberal, socialist-communist) is, of course, an extremely complex one. Crucial qualitative differences can be found not only among various degrees of left-ness or right-ness, but also among various ideological camps falling at approximately the same point on the right or left. Furthermore, there exists today a great deal of ideological heterodoxy, not to speak of simple confusion, so that a cutting across of formal political categories may be expected in many individuals.

Despite these complicating factors an attempt was made, by means of an opinion-attitude scale similar to those discussed previously, to measure politico-economic ideology along a liberalism-conservatism dimension. We shall be concerned, in the sections which follow, with the construction of this scale and the results obtained; with the relation of ethnocentric ideology to politico-economic ideology, and with the relation of ethnocentrism to membership in various political and economic groupings. In addition to these quantified group results, systematic but nonquantified observations on the political views of ethnocentric and nonethnocentric subjects, as expressed in the interviews, will be presented later (Chapter XVII).

B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM (PEC) SCALE

Quantitative study began with the construction of a politico-economic conservatism (PEC) scale, on which a high score would represent extreme conservatism, a low score, extreme liberalism. The procedure followed was similar to that used in constructing the Anti-Semitism and Ethnocentrism scales (Chapters III, IV). The PEC scale differs from the others in having positive as well as negative items and in lacking formal subscales. The same method of scaling was used and similar rules of item formulation were followed. As in the case of the other scales, a preliminary analysis of major trends within this ideological area was made. This analysis was intended to provide the basis both for the formulation of widely inclusive scale items and for the interpretation of individual patterns of response.

1. SOME MAJOR TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM[2]

No attempt was made, in the construction of the PEC scale, to cover all the forms in which conservatism and liberalism are currently expressed. The main focus was, rather, on some of the more underlying—and therefore more stable—ideological trends which appear to characterize conservatism and liberalism as *contrasting approaches* to politico-economic problems. While specific issues such as the OPA, rent control, Dumbarton Oaks, the TVA are always changing, most issues as they arise find liberals and conservatives taking opposing stands. The problem was to get behind the specific issues, to move, so to speak, from a purely political to a more psychological level, as a means of differentiating these two broad patterns of social thought.

Conservatism and liberalism appeared to differ markedly with regard to the following ideological trends. (These trends are conceived as interrelated and as separable only for the purposes of analysis; indeed, one principle of item formulation was that each item should, whenever possible, express more than one underlying trend.)

a. SUPPORT OF THE AMERICAN *Status Quo*. Perhaps the definitive component of conservatism is an attachment, on the surface at least, to "things as they are," to the prevailing social organization and ways. Related to the idea that "what is, is right," is a tendency to idealize existing authority and to regard the "American Way" as working very well. Social problems tend either to be ignored or to be attributed to extraneous influences rather than to defects intrinsic in the existing social structure. One way of rationalizing

[2] It is symptomatic of the present political situation that terms like "liberalism" and "conservatism" are given numerous definitions and are used as shibboleths rather than as aids in description or analysis. We have therefore tried to make our meanings as explicit as possible.

chronic problems is to make them "natural"; for example, "Depressions are like occasional headaches and stomach aches; it's natural for even the healthiest society to have them once in a while" (Item 5). Or, as a prominent ultra-conservative radio commentator observed recently: "There is nothing wrong with our American system. It is as good as it ever was, but we must do all we can in the New Year to get rid of the charlatans, fakers and agitators who are responsible for so many problems." It is clear from the other speeches of this commentator that his "charlatans" are for the most part leaders of the labor movement or of liberal political groupings—men who, in his eyes, threaten the existing order. The following scale item expresses a similar idea, namely, that personal maturity requires conformity and the overcoming of "rebellious" tendencies: "Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down" (Item 27).

To be "liberal," on the other hand, one must be able actively to criticize existing authority. The criticisms may take various forms, ranging from mild reforms (e.g., extension of government controls over business) to complete overthrow of the *status quo*. As noted above, the scale attempts mainly to distinguish the political right and left rather than to identify the numerous varieties of left- and right-wing ideology.

b. Resistance to Social Change. Another aspect of traditionalism is the tendency to oppose innovations or alterations of existing politico-economic forms. If things are basically good now, then any change is likely to be for the worse. Underlying resistance to change is sometimes expressed in the form of an emphasis on caution and an antipathy to being "extreme." For example: "The best way to solve social problems is to stick close to the middle of the road, to move slowly and to avoid extremes" (Item 15).

The opposition to change is often rationalized by an elaborate mythology of human nature according to which psychological man and capitalist social order are ideally suited to each other. According to this view, liberals are "utopian dreamers" who do not see man as he really is. Man is conceived as governed by economic self-interest and the profit motive. "In general, full economic security is harmful; most men would not work if they didn't need the money for eating and living" (Item 61). Major social problems such as war and depression are regarded primarily as expressions of human nature rather than as products of the existing social structure. The person who wants to change the social structure is, therefore, either an impractical idealist or an agitator making trouble in order to gain his own selfish ends. In short, basic improvement of our politico-economic forms is not possible, man being what he is, and social change is therefore undesirable.

c. Support of Conservative Values. As in the other areas of ideology, values play a central role in organizing and giving meaning to the total pattern of politico-economic ideology. One of the primary value systems underlying conservative ideology is concerned with practicality, ambition, and

upward class mobility. Success tends to be measured in financial terms, and business is accorded very high prestige as an occupation. These values are reflected in the raising and indoctrination of children, who "should learn early in life the value of a dollar" (Item 1). They are also expressed in the selection of men who represent models of success: "Whether one likes them or not, one has to admire men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success" (Item 71).

The values for practicality and rugged competitiveness stand in rather marked contrast to other, psychologically related, values for charity and community service. On the one hand, it is assumed that "most people get pretty much what they deserve" (Item 78), that ability will find its socio-economic rewards, and that those who end up on the low end of the social ladder—since they did not have what it takes—are hardly to be pitied. On the other hand, our religious tradition is one of charity and tolerance; if one cannot excuse the poor, one can at least soften their plight—with Christmas parties, Thanksgiving bazaars, orphanages, and the like. Industrialists like Carnegie and Rockefeller are examples of this combination of weekday toughness and Sunday charity, which Item 8 was intended to measure: "Every adult should find time or money for some worthy service organization (charity, medical aid, etc.) as the best way of aiding his fellow man."

From the "liberal" point of view charity is mainly a soothing of conscience and a means of maintaining an unjust state of affairs. The causes of poverty are seen, not in the innate stupidity of the poor, but in the politico-economic organization which, by virtue of its concentration of economic power, creates poverty as a symptom. And the answer is seen, not in ineffectual though often well-intentioned charity, but in the elimination of poverty through modification of its societal causes.

It would appear, then, that liberals tend to view social problems as symptoms of the underlying social structure, while conservatives view them as results of individual incompetence or immorality. This difference is expressed also in the evaluation of political candidates. Conservative politicians tend to base their election campaigns largely on qualities of personal character and moral standing. To be a good family man and a leading figure in the community are judged more important than to know social science or to understand the actual politico-economic problems of the community. A district attorney or a businessman has a great initial advantage over a college professor or a labor leader. In short, political problems tend to be seen in moral rather than sociological terms. Item 22 was intended to measure this trend. "A political candidate, to be worth voting for, must first and foremost have a good character, one that will fight inefficiency, graft and vice." The liberal alternative is not to reject "good character," but to make it secondary, in political affairs, to the understanding of issues and the desire to do what is best for the most people.

d. IDEAS REGARDING THE BALANCE OF POWER AMONG BUSINESS, LABOR, AND GOVERNMENT. This is the most technical and the most confused aspect of contemporary political thought. The confusion has multiple causes: the fact that most Americans are, politically, relatively uneducated and uninformed; the very technicality and abstractness of the basic issues involved; the factionalism in both major political parties as well as in the minority left- and right-wing groups; American antipolitical, anti-intellectual tradition; and so on. The semantic confusion is especially great. Thus, "laissez-faire," originally a characteristic of liberalism, is nowadays called "conservatism." Because of this confusion, it is necessary to make explicit the conception of conservatism used here, and to contrast it with other viewpoints.

Conservatism is taken to mean traditional economic laissez-faire individualism, according to which our economic life is conceived in terms of the free (unregulated) competition of individual entrepreneurs. Business, accorded such great prestige by conservative values, is regarded as deserving great social power in relation to labor and government. Unions are regarded as threatening, power-seeking, interfering with the traditional functions of management, and promoting radical changes. Unions are likely to be accepted only when their actual power is less than that of business: this means virtual elimination of the right to strike, of a voice in determining company policy, and of political functions—in short, of the possibility of changing to any significant degree the existing balance of politico-economic power. A liberal viewpoint regarding unions is expressed in Item 68: "Labor unions should become stronger by being politically active and by publishing labor newspapers to be read by the general public."

Conservative ideology has traditionally urged that the economic functions of government be minimized. Fear of government power (like union power) is emphasized, and great concern is expressed for the freedom of the individual, particularly the individual businessman. (The issue here is greatly complicated by the fact that our economy has changed from a large number of competing entrepreneurs to a small number of powerful economic units; more about this will be said in Subsection 5.) For example, "It is a fundamental American tradition that the individual must remain free of government interference, free to make money and spend it as he likes" (Item 63). This way of thinking assumes that the individual has "freedom" economically to the extent that there are no government restrictions on him; it overlooks the fact that economic freedom for most people today is limited to the greatest degree by economic forces originating in business monopoly. The attempt to minimize government functioning extends also to the sphere of social security, socialized medicine, and various other programs designed to help the "common man."

There are numerous patterns of left-wing ideology regarding these issues. What characterizes the left and distinguishes it from the right is the desire

for a change, slight or great, in the balance of power. Support for slight change is exemplified by New Deal liberalism, which would increase the functions of government so as to reduce the power of business, increase the power of labor, and diminish somewhat the extreme class differences that now exist. The more extreme left-wing ("radical") ideologies support more basic changes in the politico-economic structure; their thesis is that capitalism, no matter how it is modified by reforms, must necessarily produce social problems such as depression, war, and mass poverty. What they want is not merely controls on business, but nationalization of industry, planned production, and production for use rather than for profit. Only when the process of production is organized on a socialist basis, they argue, can there be true economic democracy, equality of management and labor, and a high national standard of living.

This is not the place to consider in detail the differences among the various left-wing or the various right-wing ideologies. The PEC scale attempted to measure only a general right-left dimension (with the hope that the individual's pattern of response might reveal more precisely the nature of his liberalism or conservatism). It was intended that a high score should indicate a high degree of the above-mentioned trends: support of the *status quo* and particularly of business; support of conservative values; desire to maintain a balance of power in which business is dominant, labor subordinate, and the economic functions of government minimized; and resistance to social change. Conversely, a low score was intended to reflect support of trends common to most left-of-center viewpoints: opposition to the *status quo*; a tendency to think in sociological rather than moral-hereditarian terms; a tendency to identify with labor and the "common man" and to oppose the power of business; support for extension of the political and economic functions of government. Further differentiation of various liberal and conservative patterns can be attempted after the empirical findings have been presented.

2. THE INITIAL PEC SCALE (FORM 78)

The Form 78 PEC Scale is presented in Table 1(V). Eleven of the 16 items took the "conservative" position, so that agreement was given a high score (+3 = 7 points, −3 = 1 point); on the five "liberal" items the scoring was reversed. The items were, as can be seen from the numbering, distributed randomly throughout the 78-item series. The questionnaire was administered in the spring of 1945 to three groups at the University of California: Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140) and Men (N = 52), and Adult Extension Psychology Class Women (N = 40); and to a group of 63 Professional Women (teachers, nurses, social workers).[3]

[3] For a more detailed discussion of the groups and the sampling problems involved in Form 78 as well as in the later forms, see Chapter IV (Ethnocentrism).

TABLE 2 (V)

RELIABILITY OF THE PEC SCALE (FORM 78)

Property	Group[a] A	B	C	D	Over-all[b]
Reliability	.74	.64	.72	.81	.73
Mean (total)	4.30	4.18	4.29	3.91	4.17
Mean (odd half)	4.39	4.23	4.34	3.96	4.23
Mean (even half)	4.24	4.12	4.26	3.85	4.11
S.D. (total	.81	.75	.83	1.10	.87
S.D. (odd half)	.96	.88	.86	1.28	1.00
S.D. (even half)	.86	.84	.96	1.09	.94
Range	1.5–5.9	2.3–6.0	1.6–5.6	1.5–6.4	1.5–6.4

[a]The four groups are:
Group A: U.C. Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140)
Group B: U.C. Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52)
Group C: U.C. Extension Psychology Class Women (N = 40)
Group D: Professional Women (N = 63)

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

Professional Women, probably the most heterogeneous of the four groups, had the highest reliability (.81) as well as the largest Standard Deviation and range. Finally, and most basic, is the likelihood that American political thinking shows an actual lack of consistency and pattern. The lack of extreme scorers may thus reflect an ideological reality, namely the absence of a well-developed and articulate political left and political right in contemporary America. To the extent that this is true, it is doubtful that any scale measuring diverse trends in politico-economic ideology could obtain an average reliability of much over .80.

It is interesting that for all groups the PEC means were almost a point higher than the A-S and E means, and that once again the Professional Women were significantly lower than the others. Thus, while the *rank order* of conservatism is similar to that of ethnocentrism, the general *level* of conservatism is considerably higher. People are, so to speak, more conservative than ethnocentric, at least as measured by these scales. The relation of conservatism to ethnocentrism will be considered more fully below (Section C).

An item analysis was made according to the procedure described in Chapter III. Table 3(V) presents the item means and Discriminatory Powers for the Form 78 PEC scale. The average D. P. of 2.14 is, like the reliability, lower than the corresponding values obtained from the previous scales. The low

TABLE 1 (V)

THE INITIAL POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM SCALE (FORM 78)

1. A child should learn early in life the value of a dollar and the importance of ambition, efficiency, and determination.
5. Depressions are like occasional headaches and stomach aches; it's natural for even the healthiest society to have them once in awhile.
8. Every adult should find time or money for some worthy service organization (charity, medical aid, etc.) as the best way of aiding his fellow man.
13. The businessman, the manufacturer, the practical man—these are of much greater value to society than the intellectual, the artist, the theorist.
15. The best way to solve social problems is to stick close to the middle of the road, to move slowly and to avoid extremes.
22. A political candidate, to be worth voting for, must first and foremost have a good character, one that will fight inefficiency, graft, and vice.
27. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
36.[a] It is the responsibility of the entire society, through its government, to guarantee everyone adequate housing, income, and leisure.
44.[a] The only way to provide adequate medical care for the entire population is through some program of socialized medicine.
52.[a] It is essential after the war to maintain or increase the income taxes on corporations and wealthy individuals.
61. In general, full economic security is harmful; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living.
63. It is a fundamental American tradition that the individual must remain free of government interference, free to make money and spend it as he likes.
68.[a] Labor unions should become stronger by being politically active and by publishing labor newspapers to be read by the general public.
71. Whether one likes them or not, one has to admire men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success.
76.[a] The government must play an even greater part in the economic and business life of the nation after the war than it has before.
78. Character, honesty, and ability will tell in the long run; most people get pretty much what they deserve.

[a] These five items are "liberal," the others are "conservative." A high score is given for agreement with the conservative items, disagreement with the liberal items.

The reliability data for the PEC scale are given in Table 2 (V). The average reliability of .73 is considerably lower than those of the Anti-Semitism and Ethnocentrism scales (.8–.9); while inadequate for the precise measurement of the individual, this reliability is sufficient for the present purposes of group comparison and correlation with other measures. There are probably several major reasons for the relatively low reliability values. Several items may not have worked out as planned, because of either poor formulation or erroneous guiding hypotheses; this possibility is investigated in the item analysis below. It is also possible that the absence of extreme scorers is due in part to a real constriction in the "range of talent"—something that would tend to lower the obtained reliability—rather than to the intrinsic unreliability of the scale. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the

TABLE 3 (V)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE PEC SCALE ITEMS (FORM 78)[a]

No.	Item	Group A		Group B		Group C		Group D		Over-all[b]		
		Mean	D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Mean	D.P.	Rank D.P.
1.	(Value of dollar)	6.20	1.69	5.94	0.81	6.25	0.88	6.02	1.27	6.10	1.16	(15)
5.	(Depressions)	3.23	2.09	3.75	1.86	3.40	3.36	2.95	3.73	3.33	2.76	(4.5)
8.	(Charity)	5.66	1.35	5.06	1.17	5.73	1.18	5.37	2.20	5.46	1.48	(14)
13.	(Businessmen, artists)	2.24	1.73	2.54	1.25	2.05	1.94	2.32	1.87	2.29	1.70	(12)
15.	(Middle of the road)	4.03	2.60	4.44	2.45	4.60	2.71	4.32	3.86	4.35	2.90	(2)
22.	(Political candidate)	6.44	0.31	6.17	0.39	6.50	-0.03	6.41	0.60	6.38	0.32	(16)
27.	(Rebellious ideas)	3.71	2.90	3.62	2.05	4.30	2.06	3.83	4.33	3.86	2.84	(3)
36.	(Gov't. responsibility)	3.46	2.73	3.35	2.41	3.65	3.82	2.43	3.07	3.22	3.01	(1)
44.	(Socialized medicine)	2.49	1.64	2.58	1.72	2.45	1.39	1.98	2.00	2.38	1.69	(13)
52.	(Taxes, corporations)	3.73	2.02	3.69	2.58	3.78	1.76	3.43	2.80	3.66	2.29	(9)
61.	(Economic security)	4.19	2.05	3.94	2.44	3.78	2.85	3.10	3.40	3.75	2.68	(6)
63.	(Gov't. interference)	4.11	1.81	3.95	1.34	4.43	2.02	3.56	4.40	4.01	2.39	(7)
68.	(Unions stronger)	5.11	2.36	4.83	1.75	4.48	1.74	3.90	3.33	4.58	2.30	(8)
71.	(Ford, Morgan)	5.42	1.89	5.21	1.67	5.45	1.46	5.13	3.00	5.30	2.00	(10)
76.	(Gov't. activity)	3.69	2.32	3.35	4.07	3.05	1.11	3.21	3.53	3.32	2.76	(4.5)
78.	(Ability will tell)	5.14	1.96	4.42	1.52	4.80	2.74	4.62	1.73	4.74	1.99	(11)
	Mean per item	4.30	1.97	4.18	1.84	4.29	1.94	3.91	2.82	4.17	2.14	

[a]The four groups are: *Group A*, U.C. Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140); *Group B*, U.C. Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52); *Group C*, U.C. Extension Psychology Class Women (N = 40); *Group D*, Professional Women (N = 63).

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

average D. P. (and thus the low reliability) is not due to the counterbalancing of several very good items by several very poor ones; the best item has a D. P. of 3.0—not extremely high by previous standards—and the values diminish very gradually. It is noteworthy that the best items deal with a variety of trends: acceptance of depressions as natural (Item 5); values for the "middle of the road" and slow social change (Item 15); and for conformity to existing authority (Item 27); and "liberal" items supporting economic security, increased government functioning, and unions (Items 36, 61, 68, 76).

Of the seven items with the lowest D. P.'s, six had means greater than 5.3 or less than 2.4; that is, these items tended to evoke almost uniform responses of agreement or of disagreement. (None of the 9 best items had such extreme means.) In view of the greatly reduced variability of response to these items, the D. P.'s are more significant than they at first appear. Only the lowest D. P. of 0.32 (for Item 22) can be considered clearly insignificant. For the other low D. P. items the difference between the high and low quartiles is statistically significant. For a given item the difference is not that one quartile consistently agrees while the other disagrees; it lies rather in the fact that one quartile consistently obtains an extreme score while the other tends to be more neutral in its stand. Thus, with regard to the importance of teaching a child the value of a dollar (Item 1), the extreme conservatives most frequently responded with a +3, while the extreme liberals tended to respond +1, a difference in emphasis rather than an actual opposition. There were four such items (1, 8, 22, 71), all dealing with conventional values, on which very few subjects made extremely low scores, and two (13, 44) on which there were few high scores. Some of these items were reformulated in the succeeding form of the scale, with the intention of eliminating possible ambiguities and thus increasing the D. P.'s. The possibility remains, of course, that the relative uniformity of response to these items reflects an actual uniformity of belief on the part of these groups of subjects.

Since most of the 78 items in this series are agreed with by the high scorers on the various scales (A-S, E, PEC, F), disagreed with by the low scorers, the question of a mechanical "set" to agree or to disagree may be raised. For instance, once an individual gets set consistently to disagree, is he not likely to continue disagreeing regardless of the content of the items? The "set" factor was considered, and found to play a negligible role, in the previous scales. By way of further evidence, we may consider the five "liberal" items, that is, those which tend to be agreed with by individuals who usually disagree with the other items. The 5 rank D. P.'s range from 1 to 13, and average 7.1, or slightly better than the scale average of 8.5. Furthermore, the extreme liberals tended, as noted above, to agree even with some of the "conservative" items. The great variability of the item means is also a sign of selective response to each item. It seems safe to conclude that set is not a

major determinant of response, although it may enter as a minor complicating factor.

The item means in Table 3(V) are also worthy of note. The highest means are on items expressing conventional values (1, 8, 22, 71). The very high mean (6.38), as well as the negligible D. P., on Item 22 is probably due in part to inadequate formulation; but also to the actual tendency of most Americans to regard the good politician as a fighter against vice rather than as one who understands the political and economic problems of democratic government. In contrast to this, the two "conventional values" items which discriminated very well and whose means were near the neutral point of 4.0 are particularly important. These items, 15 (Middle of the road) and 27 (Rebellious ideas), seem to reflect a primary personality trend underlying ideological conservatism, namely the surface acceptance of authority and the overcoming of rebellious tendencies. It seems possible that the rebellious tendencies have not actually been outgrown but have rather been inhibited, so that the emphasis on conformity now serves as a defense against underlying hostility toward accepted authority. This hypothesis, which arose previously in the case of the ethnocentrists' uncritical submission to ingroup authority, will be considered in detail in the chapters which follow.

Among the more directly ideological items, the highest mean, 4.58, was made on Item 68 (Unions stronger). This result may indicate a fear of union strength, and perhaps a sense of alienation from the working class, among numerous middle-class individuals who are "liberal" with respect to the other political trends expressed in the scale. For example, the means on the several items (36, 44, 52, 61, 76) dealing with social security and extension of government functions are all well below 4.0, indicating considerable support for the liberal viewpoint.

The low means on the "government" items raise another question: Why do many individuals who are otherwise conservative support an increase in government activity? In some cases this inconsistency probably reflects ideological confusion or the beginnings of change from right to left or vice versa. However, this apparent contradiction may reflect something much more basic, namely a shift from traditional laissez-faire conservatism, whose economic unit was the individual competitive businessman, to a new type of conservatism whose economic unit is organized big business. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, the assumption of liberalism-conservatism as a simple quantitative dimension holds only in the most general sense. It was for this reason, among others, that the theory guiding scale construction was presented in some detail. It is possible, then, for an individual to make a moderately high rather than a very high score, not because of any true liberal tendency, but because of a change in the nature of his conservatism. He is now willing to extend the functions of government for reasons that are the opposite of liberal, for he conceives of government as a tool of busi-

ness rather than as a means of controlling corporate capital and of preventing concentrations of economic power. We shall return again to this question after considering the relation between the PEC and E scales.

3. THE SECOND PEC SCALE (FORM 60)

In Form 60 the PEC Scale (see Table 4(V)) was shortened to 14 items, and numerous changes were made in content and wording. Items 27 and 60.

TABLE 4 (V)
THE SECOND FORM OF THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM (PEC) SCALE (FORM 60)

4.[a] Labor unions should become stronger and have more influence generally.
9.[a] Most government controls over business should continue after the war.
13. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
15.[a] If America had more men like Henry Wallace in office, we would get along much better.
20.[a] The artist and the professor are of just as much value to society as the businessman and the manufacturer.
26. It would be dangerous for the U. S. to cooperate too closely with Russia.
27. The best political candidate to vote for is the one whose greatest interest is in fighting vice and graft.
31.[a] No one should be allowed to earn more than $25,000 a year.
37.[a] It is up to the government to make sure that everyone has a secure job and a good standard of living.
43.[a] The government should own and operate all public utilities (transportation, gas and electric, railroads, etc.).
48.[a] Depressions can be prevented by proper government planning.
54.[a] Poverty could be almost entirely done away with if we made certain basic changes in our social and economic system.
56. Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcome all competition on the road to success, are models for all young people to admire and imitate.
60. In general, the best way of aiding our fellow men is to give time or money to some worthy charity.

[a] These nine items are "liberal," the other five are "conservative." A high score is given for agreement with the conservative items, disagreement with the liberal items.

referring to political candidates and the importance of charity, respectively, are reformulations of items that were unsuccessful in Form 78; the present formulations are, presumably, more clear-cut expressions of the trends initially hypothesized. Two items which worked relatively well in Form 78, numbers 27 (Rebellious ideas) and 61 (Security is bad), were placed in the Form 60 F scale (see Chapter VII) because they seemed on theoretical grounds to fit better there.

Several totally new items have been added. Item 13 (The American Way) was taken from the Form 78 E scale (see Chapter IV); it is transitional between conservatism and ethnocentrism in that it expresses both conservative

support of the politico-economic *status quo* and ethnocentric idealization of the ingroup. Taken literally, however, it seemed to fall more within the sphere of political ideology. Correlational analysis is required before this item can properly be placed within one scale or the other.

Three of the new items provide vivid reminders of the speed of historical change. Item 15 (Wallace) was formulated when the confirmation of Henry Wallace as Secretary of Commerce was the issue of the day. Item 26 (Russia) reflected the atmosphere of the initial postwar period, when cooperation rather than containment was the prevailing attitude toward Russia. Item 31 referred to President Roosevelt's wartime suggestion of a $25,000 limit on yearly incomes. It will be noted that the Form 60 scale contains fewer generalizations and more concrete references to specific issues than did Form 78.

Form 60 was administered in the summer of 1945 to several groups which were combined for statistical purposes as follows. (a) University of Oregon Student Women ($N = 47$), undergraduate students attending summer session courses in psychology. (b) Combined University of Oregon and University of California Student Women ($N = 54$), the Oregon group being obtained too late to be included in (a); the California group was a summer session education class containing mostly teachers and others of above college age. (c) University of Oregon and University of California Student Men ($N = 57$), from the same classes as the (b) women. (d) Oregon Service Club Men ($N = 68$), obtained at luncheon meetings of service clubs (Kiwanis, Lions, Rotary).[4]

The last three groupings received the total Form 60 questionnaire in one sitting. However, the first group of Oregon Student Women received the questionnaire in two parts, A and B. Part A included the F scale and half of PEC, while Part B contained the E scale and the remaining half of PEC. The purpose of this division was to help determine whether the presence of the E items had any effect on the responses to the F items; the results will be discussed in Chapter VII.

The reliability data for the Form 60 PEC Scale are presented in Table 5(V). The average reliability of .70 is substantially the same as that of .73 for the initial form, and indicates that the changes in wording and content did not improve this property of the scale. The fact that the reliabilities, S. D.'s, and ranges vary so little among these four groups, as well as among those taking the first form (Form 78), suggests that a scale of this length and this degree of inclusiveness can hardly be expected to obtain an average reliability greater than .7–.8. The main reason for the relatively low reliability of PEC, as compared with E, appears to lie in the fact that political ideology is intrinsically less organized and less consistent in the individual today than is ideology concerning group relations.

Once again the group means on PEC are significantly higher than those on

[4] For a discussion of the sampling problems involved, see Chapter IV.

TABLE 5 (V)

RELIABILITY OF THE PEC SCALE (FORM 60)

Property	Group[a] I	II	III	IV	Over-all[b]
Reliability	.73	.69	.69	.70	.70
Mean (total)	3.72	3.82	3.77	4.40	3.92[d]
Mean (odd half)	3.86(A)[c]	3.60	3.55	4.06	3.74[d]
Mean (even half)	3.58(B)[c]	4.03	3.99	4.68	4.23[d]
S.D. (total)	.90		.80	.92	
S.D. (odd half)	.97(A)[c]		.78	.95	
S.D. (even half)	1.02(B)[c]		1.05	1.14	
Range	1.2–5.6	1.0–5.5	1.2–5.0	1.6–6.1	1.0–6.1

[a]The four groups are:
Group I: University of Oregon Student Women (N = 47)
Group II: University of Oregon and University of California Student Women (N = 54)
Group III: University of Oregon and University of California Student Men (N = 57)
Group IV: Oregon Service Club Men (N = 68)

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[c]The signs (A) and (B) refer to the two parts of the questionnaire given to Group I; half of PEC was in part (A), the other half in part (B). The reliability for this group is based on the correlation between the A and B halves.

[d]The Over-all mean (odd) (even), and S.D. (odd) (even) include only the three groups taking the total form since the (A) and (B) halves of the split form do not correspond to the odd and even halves of the total form.

E (Chapter IV), suggesting that the level of conservatism is higher than the level of ethnocentrism. Again, the rank order of group means on PEC tends to follow that on E, with the Service Club Men being significantly more conservative (beyond the 1 per cent level) than the combined university groups. These facts would lead us to expect a significant correlation between PEC and E (see Section C). While the Service Club Men are quite conservative on the average (mean of 4.4), the lowest score being 1.6, this group can by no means be considered ideologically homogeneous; indeed, it shows about the same degree of internal variability (range and S. D.) as do the other groups. We are given another warning against stereotypy in thinking about groups and about group memberships as determinants of ideology. This is not to say that service clubs are not "conservative groups" in terms of actual policy. Rather, it would appear that group policy and leadership, in this case

at least, reflect the average degree of conservatism, the conservative tradition, and frequently the immediate business interests of the group. However, to say that such-and-such is a conservative group, in terms of actual policy, is not necessarily to imply that all members are strongly conservative. Similarly, not all individuals who call themselves "New Deal Democrats" are thoroughly liberal in their personal ideologies; not all Catholics support the political program of the policy-makers of the Catholic Church; and so on. This is one of the main problems in bringing together the psychological and the sociological approaches; it is an especially great problem for that theory of social psychology which regards the individual adult as merely a product or sum of his various group memberships.

The data on item analysis are presented in Table 6(V). The over-all D. P. of 2.08 is almost identical with that of 2.14 on the initial PEC scale, as might be expected from the similar reliabilities. The best items deal for the most part with government functioning; ownership of utilities, controls over business, limitations on income. Item 4 (Unions) worked out relatively well (rank order 6) despite its having the highest over-all mean, 5.35; even in the university groups the mean did not fall below 5.0. Item 15 (Wallace) came out similarly; it had the third best D. P. despite a mean of 5.00. Other items with D. P.'s of over 2.0 include 13 (American Way), 54 (Poverty), and 56 (Ford and Morgan).

The five poorest items are also of some interest. Three of these, 20 (Artists, businessmen), 27 (Political candidate), and 60 (Charity), are reformulations of poor items in Form 78. Almost none of these subjects disagreed with the idea that the artist and professor are as important as the businessmen, although the liberals agreed more emphatically than the conservatives (the difference being statistically significant only in the Service Club Men). The D. P. of 1.06 on Item 27, while statistically significant, indicates considerable overlap between the high and low quartiles. Further exploratory research is required in order to determine possible differences between liberals and conservatives with respect to underlying imagery of "the good political candidate." Item 48 (Depressions) is an example of not leaving well enough alone. In the initial form this item had a D. P. rank of 4.5; in this form, after drastic revision, its rank was 12. Both the mean and D. P. on Item 26 (Dangerous to cooperate with Russia) are somewhat surprising. The mean of 2.57 indicates that very few individuals agreed with this item. The D. P. of 1.60 is more significant than it at first appears, because of the low mean, but it shows that even conservatives were divided on the Russian issue at the close of the war. This is shown most dramatically by the Service Club Men who, although strongly conservative on most domestic issues, obtained on the Russian item a mean of 2.51 and a D. P. of .93. How and why slight support has, within less than two years, changed to bitter antagonism, is a problem beyond the scope of the present study.

TABLE 6 (V)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE PEC SCALE ITEMS (FORM 60)[a]

No.	Item	Group I Mean	Group I D.P.	Group II Mean	Group II D.P.	Group III Mean	Group III D.P.	Group IV Mean	Group IV D.P.	Over-all[b] Mean	Over-all[b] D.P.	Rank D.P.
4.	(Unions)	5.43	2.65	5.06	2.64	5.26	1.60	5.65	2.76	5.35	2.41	(6)
9.	(Gov't. controls)	4.43	3.54	4.81	2.26	4.39	2.94	5.87	2.82	4.88	2.89	(2)
13.	(American Way)	4.15	1.97	4.91	2.22	3.77	3.08	4.68	2.16	4.38	2.36	(7)
15.	(Wallace)	4.79	3.00	4.72	2.64	4.65	2.33	5.84	2.51	5.00	2.62	(3)
20.	(Artists and professors)	1.17	0.03	1.22	0.38	1.51	0.14	1.87	1.15	1.44	0.41	(14)
26.	(Russia)	2.94	2.49	2.54	1.47	2.30	1.52	2.51	0.93	2.57	1.60	(10.5)
27.	(Political candidate)	4.00	0.74	3.30	0.34	3.44	1.19	3.21	1.99	3.49	1.06	(13)
31.	($25,000/yr.)	4.51	2.22	4.74	1.98	5.17	3.42	5.56	2.12	5.00	2.44	(5)
37.	(Gov't. and jobs)	4.21	2.46	4.72	3.72	4.67	1.27	5.38	2.99	4.74	2.61	(4)
43.	(Utilities)	4.47	3.94	4.93	2.77	4.61	3.48	5.82	3.23	4.96	3.36	(1)
48.	(Depressions)	2.87	1.90	2.76	0.85	3.09	1.30	4.41	1.94	3.28	1.50	(12)
54.	(Poverty)	4.02	2.69	3.63	2.02	4.21	1.86	4.31	2.38	4.04	2.24	(8)
56.	(Ford, Morgan)	2.77	1.13	3.22	2.12	3.00	1.75	3.34	3.13	3.08	2.03	(9)
60.	(Charity)	2.38	1.54	2.87	1.73	2.47	0.91	2.88	2.22	2.65	1.60	(10.5)
	Mean per item	3.72	2.16	3.82	1.94	3.77	1.91	4.40	2.31	3.92	2.08	

[a]Group I: University of Oregon Student Women (N = 47)
Group II: University of Oregon and University of California Student Women (N = 54)
Group III: University of Oregon and University of California Student Men (N = 57)
Group IV: Oregon Service Club Men (N = 68)

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

These groups are more conservative on specific issues than the over-all scale mean of 3.92 indicates. The over-all means on the items (4, 9, 15, 31, 37, 43) dealing with unions, business, and government functions range from 4.74 to 5.35, and these items are also the most discriminating. It would appear, then, that with regard to what is most definitive in liberalism and conservatism—mainly ideas regarding power relations among labor, business, and government—the liberal position is as yet less crystallized and less militantly held than is the conservative position. There is some question as to how far these results can be generalized beyond the present sample.[5] They are, however, in general accord with numerous other findings and observations regarding the contemporary political scene. What is more difficult, and also more important, to gauge is the psychological *potential* for future ideological development in various directions in the face of changing political and economic conditions. Perhaps the other components of political ideology, when systematically measured and psychologically understood, would provide a basis for the solution of this problem.

4. THE THIRD PEC SCALE (FORMS 45 AND 40)

The construction of Forms 45 and 40 was, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, influenced greatly by considerations of practicality and of administrative expediency. In view of these considerations, and in order to make room for the inclusion of other material, the PEC scale was cut literally to the bone. It was identical in both forms of the questionnaire and contained only five items—not enough to obtain an adequate measure of reliability, and hardly enough to be called a "scale." The reasoning behind the use of a five-item E scale was discussed and criticized in Chapter IV; the same criticisms apply to the present PEC scale. It appears now that it would have been wiser to have used a 10-item form; the short form used did, however, make possible the comparison of various groups and the study of relationships between this scale and the others.

The Form 45–40 PEC scale is presented in Table 7(V). It will be seen that the five items were not selected solely on statistical grounds; rather an attempt was made to include items whose D. P.'s were above a minimal level and, more important, which covered as many as possible of the ideological trends previously discussed. The first four items are taken, with occasional slight revisions, from Form 60. Item 17 (Economic security), has a history of transiency; originally in the Form 78 PEC scale, it was moved to the F scale in Form 60 (see Chapter VII); it has been returned to PEC in an attempt to rid the F scale of all items which might be connected fairly directly with

[5] The representativeness of this sample with respect to political party and other group memberships will be considered later in this chapter (Section E). That the university groups are not unusually conservative is suggested by the fact that E-scale means are relatively low in comparison with other middle-class groups (see Chapter IV). Their PEC means can be compared with those for the groups taking Forms 45 and 40, below.

TABLE 7 (V)

THE THIRD FORM OF THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC CONSERVATISM (PEC) SCALE (FORMS 45–40)

3.* Labor unions should become stronger and have more influence generally.
7. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.
11.* Most government controls over business should be continued even though the war is over.
14. Men like Henry Ford or J. P. Morgan, who overcame all competition on the road to success, are models for all young people to admire and imitate.
17. In general, full economic security is bad; most men wouldn't work if they didn't need the money for eating and living.

* These items are "liberal," the others are "conservative." A high score is given for agreement with the conservative items, disagreement with the liberal items.

existing ideologies regarding politico-economic or minority groups. Item 17, as well as several others, might be included in any of several scales; proper placement must ultimately be based on statistical analysis.

Forms 45 and 40 were administered late in 1945 and in the first part of 1946. The sampling methods and problems, as well as the composition of the groups and their combination for statistical purposes, have been discussed in Chapter IV. It will suffice here to list the groups comprising this sample.

The Form 45 sample contains four groups: (a) Extension Testing Class (adult) Women (N = 59) at the University of California; (b) San Quentin Men (N = 110), inmates at the California State Prison; (c) and (d) Psychiatric Clinic Women (N = 71) and Men (N = 50), mostly outpatients at a community clinic in San Francisco.

The following groups are included in the Form 40 sample: (e) George Washington University Women (N = 132), members of day and evening classes in psychology; (f) California Service Club Men (N = 63), obtained at luncheon meetings of San Francisco Bay Area Kiwanis and Rotary clubs; (g) and (h) Middle-Class Men (N = 69) and Women (N = 154), members of various local groups such as church, P. T. A., women's clubs, etc.; (i) and (j) Working-Class Men (N = 61) and Women (N = 53), members of local groups such as United Electrical Workers Union, Warehousemen's Union (I. L. W. U.), California Labor School, etc.; (k) and (l) Los Angeles Men (N = 117) and Women (N = 130), a heterogeneous but largely middle-class sample of various local groups in Los Angeles. Data on some of the subgroupings within these statistical units will be considered in Section E, below.

In addition, there were two groups which were given both Forms 45 and 40. First, the School for Merchant Marine Officers (to be referred to as "Maritime School") (N = 343), half of which was given Form 45, the other half Form 40, the two halves being equated for intelligence (AGCT), time in school, and planned function as officer (deck or engine). Second, veterans

TABLE 8 (V)

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF PEC SCALE SCORES FOR GROUPS TAKING FORMS 45 AND 40

Group	Statistical Property					
	N	Mean	Rank	S.D.	Mean E_A	Rank
a. *Groups taking Form 45*						
Extension Testing Class Women	59	4.33	(4)	1.28	3.77	(12)
San Quentin Men	110	4.68	(2)	0.96	5.33	(1)
Psychiatric Clinic Women[a]	71	4.12	(11)	1.53	4.23	(5)
Psychiatric Clinic Men[a]	50	4.14	(10)	1.40	3.92	(7.5)
Over-all[b]	290	4.32		1.29	4.31	
b. *Groups taking Form 40*						
George Washington University Women	132	4.30	(6.5)	1.13	4.04	(6)
California Service Club Men	63	4.83	(1)	1.31	4.31	(4)
Middle-Class Men	69	4.30	(6.5)	1.52	3.89	(10)
Middle-Class Women	154	4.26	(8)	1.62	3.64	(14)
Working-Class Men	61	3.39	(13)	1.58	3.92	(7.5)
Working-Class Women	53	3.25	(14)	1.53	3.91	(9)
Los Angeles Men	117	3.91	(12)	1.49	3.82	(11)
Los Angeles Women	130	4.16	(9)	1.41	3.71	(13)
Over-all[b]	779	4.05		1.45	3.91	
c. *Groups taking both forms*						
Maritime School Men						
Form 45	179	4.31	(5)	1.08	4.95	(2)
Form 40	164	4.32				
Employment Service Men Veterans						
Form 45	51	4.35	(3)	1.28	4.43	(3)
Form 40	55	4.37				
Over-all[b]	449	4.34		1.18	4.69	
d. Totals for all groups	1518	4.19		1.37	4.13	

[a]The use of two forms for the Psychiatric Clinic groups complicated the PEC scale results somewhat. The data above are based on 45 women and 29 men taking the Form 45 PEC scale. For the remaining 26 women taking the Form 60 PEC scale (14 items) the mean was 4.05, and for 21 men the mean was 4.04. For the combined 47 men and women taking this scale, the reliability was .77 and the Standard Deviation was 1.05-- values comparable to those of the other groups taking Form 60.

[b]In obtaining the over-all values, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

coming for vocational guidance to the U.S. Employment Service over a period of several months, the first 51 receiving Form 45, the next 55, Form 40. This procedure had mainly to do with determining possible effects of the presence of certain E items on the F-scale responses and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter VII.

In view of the shortness of the PEC scale, no reliabilities were computed. However, means and S. D.'s were obtained for each group and are given in Table 8 (V). The group means appear to fall into three main levels of magnitude. The two most conservative groups are the California Service Club Men (4.83) and the San Quentin Men (4.68). At an intermediate level, with PEC means of 3.91 to 4.37 (significantly lower than the first level and higher than the third) is the bulk of the total sample: University groups, Psychiatric Clinic Patients, the Middle-Class and Los Angeles groups. Finally, the most liberal groups—although the means of 3.25 and 3.39 are far from extreme, and the variability within each group is large—are the Working-Class Men and Women.

That the Service Club Men make the highest mean is not so much a new discovery as a partial indication that the scale provides a valid measure of conservatism. The program and tradition of these groups are fairly explicit in their support of numerous trends in conservative ideology. It will be recalled that similar results were found with the Oregon Service Club Men (Form 60). Once again, however, we must emphasize the variability within this and the other groups.

The great conservatism of the San Quentin Men may come as a surprise to those who conceive of criminals as conscious foes of the social order and to those who assume a psychological affinity between criminality and radicalism. It might have been expected that those who violate prevailing laws regarding property and morality would tend to oppose the prevailing social ideology and social authority. Yet this does not appear to be the case. Criminals accept the basic premises of the capitalistic system while at the same time engaging in a pseudorebellion against the formal rules and technicalities. The criminal does not oppose the principles of rugged individualism; he simply carries them *ad absurdum*. The San Quentin material and the relation of criminality to antidemocracy are considered further in Chapter XXI.

The problem of class differences in conservatism is raised by the fact that the Working-Class Men and Women make a significantly lower PEC mean than do the Middle-Class Men and Women and the Los Angeles group (which is largely middle class). There are several reasons for questioning whether these differences can be generalized to the broad middle- and working-class populations. For one thing, the Working-Class group shows a distinct sampling bias in a liberal direction: almost half the members of this group are from the United Electrical Workers (C.I.O.), a militant union, or from the California Labor School, a strongly left-wing institution. The

Middle-Class groups are more varied and probably more representative in membership. Furthermore, several groups with PEC means similar to those of the Middle-Class groups contain a large proportion of working-class individuals; these groups are the San Quentin Men (almost entirely working class), the Psychiatric Clinic Patients, and the Maritime School and Employment Service Veteran Men. In view of the intergroup as well as the intragroup variability, it seems safe to conclude that over-all class differences in political ideology are not extremely large, and that individual and group differences within each class are so great that they become the primary problem requiring explanation. How does it happen, for example, that the same working-class background produces a law-abiding conservative worker, a politically conservative criminal, a company union leader, a C.I.O. leader, a Communist? Why does one middle-class individual join a service club while another becomes a supporter of Henry Wallace? Why is it that some, perhaps most, workers identify with the middle class or with the economic *status quo*, and some individuals with middle-class background identify with what they conceive to be the true interests of the working class? These may be not so much questions of actual class or group *membership* as questions of class or group *identification*—and "identification" is a psychological variable. An individual, in making his social identification, is determining not only his ideology, but also what he is to be like as a person. We shall have occasion to consider further, in the chapters that follow, the deeper emotional trends that help to determine the individual's group memberships and identifications.

How close is the relation between conservatism and ethnocentrism in the various groups studied? A means for obtaining a preliminary answer to this question is to compare group means on PEC and on E (see Table 8(V)). Since most groups took the short E_A scale, the E_A means were used even for those groups which took the total E_{AB} scale (see Chapter IV). The rank-order correlation between the PEC means and E_A means for the fourteen groups was +.50, indicating a statistically significant but not very close relationship. In general, as the degree of group conservatism increases, the degree of ethnocentrism also increases. The four groups with conspicuously high E_A means are the San Quentin Men (5.33), the Maritime School Men (4.95), the Employment Service Men Veterans (4.43), and the California Service Club Men (4.31). These groups ranked 2, 5, 3, and 1, respectively, on PEC. No groups were conspicuously low on E, the eight lowest groups having no means within the fairly narrow range of 3.64–3.92; the most liberal groups were among the least ethnocentric. The over-all E_A mean was 4.13, almost identical to the over-all PEC mean of 4.19. (The E_{AB} mean is somewhat lower, partly because of sampling differences and partly because the E_B items—four on Jews and one on Negroes—had lower means.)

The correlation of ranks does not, however, tell the whole story. Many groups made a significantly higher mean on PEC than on E, or *vice versa.*

Whether the group mean on PEC is higher than on E, or lower, seems to depend in large measure on the socioeconomic class of the group: the predominantly middle-class groups tend to be lower on E than on PEC, while the working-class groups are, it appears, more ethnocentric than conservative. Consider the middle-class groups: the PEC and E means, respectively, for the Extension Testing Class Women are 4.33 and 3.77; for the George Washington University Women, 4.30 and 4.04, for the California Service Club Men, 4.83 and 4.31; and similarly for the Middle-Class and Los Angeles Men and Women. Only one of these PEC-E differences is below the 5 per cent level of statistical significance. It will be recalled that in the Form 78 and Form 60 samples, largely middle class, the level of conservatism was greater than the level of ethnocentrism. The opposite trend is found in the working-class (or marginal middle-class) groups. Thus the PEC and E means, respectively, are: for the San Quentin Men, 4.68 and 5.33; Working-Class Men, 3.39 and 3.92; Working-Class Women, 3.25 and 3.91; Maritime School Men, 4.32 and 4.95; Employment Service Men Veterans, 4.36 and 4.43. This leaves only the Psychiatric Clinic Men and Women, who are heterogeneous with respect to class and whose PEC and E means differ only slightly (0.1–0.2).

Several factors—not mutually exclusive—may help to explain these class differences. First, open prejudice is more accepted on a verbal level in the working class than in the middle class. The higher E means of the former may therefore reflect, in part, the verbal atmosphere rather than a difference in basic outgroup hostility. (This factor would not hold for the pro-ingroup items.) Then there is the previously discussed "pseudodemocratic façade," which is more characteristic of the middle than of the working class, and which the E-scale items probably only partially circumvented. Also, certain trends in liberal ideology may appeal to some workers not on a truly liberal basis but on a "class-ethnocentric" basis which is an aspect of general ethnocentrism. For example, some workers are strongly prounion and resentful of "bosses," yet at the same time are anti-Negro, anti-foreigner, and conservative regarding many political issues.

All in all, the group data lead us to investigate further the relationship between ethnocentrism and conservatism, with an eye both to what makes the correlation relatively high and to what keeps it from being higher. These problems will be pursued further when we consider the correlations between the PEC and E scales, and the psychological connection between conservatism and ethnocentrism in the individual. But first we must complete the presentation of the PEC-scale data.

Table 9(V) gives a summary of the item analysis of the Form 45–40 PEC scale. Data for the men and the women are summarized separately. The over-all mean for the women, 4.07, is significantly lower than that of 4.25 for the men. The women were also, as noted in Chapter IV, slightly but sig-

TABLE 9 (V)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE PEC SCALE ITEMS (FORMS 40 AND 45)

No.	Item	MEN'S GROUPS[a] (N 869)[b]			WOMEN'S GROUPS[c] (N 573)[d]		
		Mean	D.P.	Rank	Mean	D.P.	Rank
3.	(Labor unions)	4.51	3.16	(4)	4.67	3.49	(4)
7.	(American Way)	4.90	3.33	(3)	4.57	3.98	(1)
11.	(Government controls)	4.19	3.08	(5)	3.92	2.97	(5)
14.	(Ford and Morgan)	3.75	3.58	(1)	3.56	3.90	(2)
17.	(Economic security)	3.93	3.46	(2)	3.62	3.77	(3)
Mean per item[e]		4.25	3.32		4.07	3.62	

[a]The individual groups of men in this sample are as follows: San Quentin Men Prisoners (N = 110). Employment Service Men Veterans (N = 106). Maritime School Men (N = 343). California Service Club Men (N = 63). Middle-Class Men (N = 69). Working-Class Men (N = 61). Los Angeles Men (N = 117).

[b]The over-all N for the PEC scale (men) is 100 less than that for the E scale because two groups were omitted: (1) Of the 50 Psychiatric Clinic Men, only 29 took the regular Form 45; the others took a form equated for E and F, but not for PEC. Because of the small N, no PEC scale analysis was made on this group. (2) The 50 Working-Class Men and Women were used as a statistical group for analysis on the E scale because additional data on the total E scale were desired; but their F and PEC scales were not analyzed statistically.

[c]The individual groups of women in this sample are as follows: Extension Testing Class Women (N = 59). George Washington University Women Students (N = 132). Psychiatric Clinic Women (N = 45). Middle-Class Women (N = 154). Working-Class Women (N = 53). Los Angeles Women (N = 130).

[d]This N is 26 less than the over-all N for women on the E and F scales because only 45 of the 71 Psychiatric Clinic Women took the regular Form 45. The remaining 26 took a form which was equated to Form 45 for E and F, but not for PEC.

[e]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

nificantly less ethnocentric than the men. This may, however, be a difference in the sample rather than in the total population, since we have no female groups comparable to the high-scoring San Quentin, Service Club, and Maritime School male groups. Moreover, as shown in Table 8(V), for all comparable sex groups (Psychiatric Clinic, Middle Class, Working Class, Los Angeles) the means for men and women are almost identical. Since the sampling methods used were not primarily designed to determine the average intensity of any opinions or attitudes in broader populations, it is perhaps safest not to draw inferences about the total male and female population. It

can be said, however, that for groups of the general type represented here, no sex differences of practical significance seem to exist; and that differences *among* male groups and *among* female groups are much greater than the differences *between* males and females.

The male and female subsamples are also very similar with regard to means and D. P.'s on the individual items. While the scale mean was lower in women, the relative standing of the item means was almost identical for the two sexes, the rank-order correlation being .90. Women were more conservative than men on only one item (unions). A similar relation holds also for the D. P.'s, the rank-order correlation being .70.

The general level of D. P.'s would, other things being equal, be slightly greater for a 5-item than for a 14-item scale, since each item contributes more to the total score. Therefore, the average D. P. of 3.4–3.5 for Forms 45 and 40 is comparable or slightly superior to that of 2.1 for Forms 78 and 60. All of the present items seem statistically adequate. Item 11 (Government controls over business) had the lowest D. P., but in view of the greater success of the "government function" items in earlier forms, improvement should not be difficult. While the five items can hardly claim to be considered a "scale," they show sufficient internal consistency so that one may meaningfully speak of "total PEC score" and one may determine the relations between this and various other measures.

The level of internal consistency of the PEC scale is indicated also by a correlational analysis made on a group of 517 University of California women students.[6] A mean r of +0.26 was found between each item and the sum of the remaining items, the range of r's being +0.10 to +0.33. The rank order of these items, according to the size of the item's correlation with the sum of the others, was identical to the rank order of item D. P.'s for the combined women's groups above (Table 9(V)). The correlations among individual items averaged +0.14, the range being +0.02 to +0.30. The highest correlation, 0.30, was between Item 7 (American Way ideal) and Item 14 (Ford and Morgan). Only three r's were below .10 (the 1 per cent level of significance), and all of them involved Item 11 (Government controls). These correlations, while far below those for the E scale, indicate that the PEC scale meets the minimum requirements for its present uses, and that a scale of 20 or 30 such items might, without loss of breadth, achieve a reliability in the neighborhood of .8.

5. DISCUSSION: SOME PATTERNS OF CONTEMPORARY LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

The reliability and internal consistency of the PEC scales suggest, on the one hand, that liberalism and conservatism are relatively organized and measurable patterns of current politico-economic thought; and, on the other

[6] The group and procedure are discussed more fully in Chapters IV and VII.

hand, that within each of these broad patterns there is considerable subpatterning, inconsistency, and simple ignorance. To ignore either the relative generality or the relative inconsistency would, it seems, lead to serious misunderstanding of the problem. More detailed exploration of the nature and deeper psychological meaning of these ideological trends, as expressed in the interviews, will be made in Chapter XVII, following presentation of the clinical material. However, at this point we ought briefly to consider, on the basis of the scale data and of some individual patterns of scale response, certain variations within liberalism and within conservatism.

Liberalism was conceived not as a single, unitary attitude, but as an ideological system containing a number of trends or components. The reliability and internal consistency of the initial forms of the scale show that these trends are interrelated significantly but imperfectly in the individual. The prototypic "liberal" is, according to our guiding conception, an individual who actively seeks progressive social change, who can be militantly critical (though not necessarily totally rejective) of the present *status quo*, who opposes or de-emphasizes numerous conservative values and beliefs regarding business success, rugged individualism, human nature, and the like, and who would diminish the power of business by increasing the power of labor and the economic functions of government.

It is clear, however, that many individuals who are generally liberal do not exhibit some of the above trends. While some of the inconsistency—perhaps the largest part—is due to confusion resulting from lacks and distortions in the press and other media of mass communication, part of it seems also to reflect deep-lying emotional trends of considerable intensity and resistance to change. The individual's pattern of thought, whatever its content, reflects his personality and is not merely an aggregate of opinions picked up helter-skelter from the ideological environment.

One variant, particularly common in the groups tested, might be called the *politically pacifistic* liberal. The guiding idea here seems to be fear of concentration of social power. This individual, who feels keenly the injustice of the present social order and who sympathizes with labor and other subordinate groups, nevertheless cannot militantly support their strivings for greater power. He feels that "powerful unions are as dangerous as powerful business." He is prone to emphasize the idea that unions are no longer weak in relation to organized industry, and he is likely therefore to accept, in one form or another, the conservative argument that unions are all right but their power must be limited. He would like to decrease the power of business but finds difficulty in directly opposing it—"we might, after all, be as bad as they are." He believes in extending the economic functions of government, perhaps even in some degree of nationalization of industry, but fear of government power often leads him to oppose liberal measures or to

support halfway measures which accomplish little. Opposed to force, he tends to confuse force with militancy and to be indecisive, critical of both sides, overly compromising, inept at political action, shocked by the realities of political affairs. He is likely to make a middle rather than low score on the PEC scale, not out of true conservatism but rather out of inhibited liberalism; he has, one might say, a "liberal" utopia but he cannot fight for the social changes necessary to realize it. Critical of things as they are, yet afraid of change—hating to submit, yet unable to rebel—he cannot actively support the *status quo*, but he can do little to oppose it.

We were not able to attempt a quantitative study of various types of left-wing ideology. In addition to militant and politically pacifistic liberalism, we should also have been interested in determining the existence and nature of other patterns such as "disillusioned liberalism," "stereotyped (ticket) liberalism," "revolutionary socialism," and so on. Some leads for future study derived from the interview material are presented in Chapter XIX.

The political right requires similar differentiation and study. The prototypic "conservative," in terms of the present scale, is one who supports the *status quo* and resists changes in existing politico-economic power arrangements, who supports conservative values and traditions, who believes that labor is properly subordinate to employer or management, and who wishes to minimize the economic functions of government in order that individual businessmen can, in free and equal competition, provide goods of maximum quality at minimum cost to the consumer.

While this "traditional conservative" *ideology* is not uncommon today, the actual politico-economic *situation* has changed considerably from the one, of fifty or more years ago, to which the ideology refers. The individual small businessman or entrepreneur is no longer the primary economic unit; big business and group management have replaced the individual employer; the production process is more complex, organized, and impersonal; specialization and mechanization threaten the individuality and the job satisfaction of worker and manager. As both labor and industry become more organized and more clear-cut social forces, the role of government becomes increasingly an issue. The traditional conservative is in a dilemma. Shall he oppose the monopolistic trend of big business and want a return to rugged individualistic competition, with government having few economic functions (laissez-faire conservatism)? Shall he favor increased government functioning as a means of preventing monopolistic practices, even though it mean increasing the power of labor (move toward liberalism)? Or shall he, basing everything on his allegiance to the symbol "business," want government to be a force in the service of business as opposed to labor (move toward fascism)? Most conservatives seem still to be in the process of ideological adjustment along these and other lines. Much research re-

mains to be done concerning new patterns of conservatism and concerning the psychological dispositions making some individuals more receptive to one pattern, others to another.

It is proposed, then, that the PEC scale results can best be understood in terms of both general and specific factors. The general factors—over-all liberalism and conservatism—account for the significant reliability or consistency obtained, while the specific variations within the left and the right prevent the scale from attaining higher statistical standards.

C. THE RELATION BETWEEN ETHNOCENTRISM AND CONSERVATISM

The correlations of the Anti-Semitism and Ethnocentrism scales with the PEC scale are presented in Table 10(V). The correlations range in value from .14 for the San Quentin Men to .86 for the Working-Class Women, but they fall for the most part at the level of .5–.6. Of the 29 correlation coefficients obtained, there are only 4 below .40, 5 above .70. These correlations of individual scores are consistent with the rank-order correlation of .50 between the group means on PEC and E (Forms 45 and 40).

The data in Table 10 (V) indicate that PEC is less closely related to A-S than to the other components of E. Thus, in Form 78, PEC correlates significantly higher with E (exclusive of A-S) than with A-S (.59 to .43). In Form 60, where 4 of the 12 E-scale items deal with A-S, the average r is .52, midway between the two for Form 78. The results for the two groups taking both Forms 45 and 40 (Maritime School Men and Employment Service Men Veterans) show the same thing: PEC correlates higher with E_A than with E_{A+B} (.60 to .49, and .41 to .38). It will be recalled that E_A contains no A-S items, while 4 of the 5 E_B items refer to Jews. Finally, the highest PEC-E correlations were obtained on Form 40, which contained only E_A. The average r of .66 on Form 40 is especially significant in view of the brevity of the two scales (5 items each). The explanation would seem to lie in the fact that these items represent the most general trends in their respective ideologies: in PEC, support of the *status quo* and conservative values; in E, generalized ingroup idealization and outgroup rejection. It is probably in broad trends such as these that conservatism and ethnocentrism overlap the most, because these ideological trends are rooted in the same deep-lying emotional dispositions (see Chapter VII). The specific factors which lower the correlation of A-S with PEC constitute an important problem for future research.

There appear to be no consistent sex or class differences in the E-PEC correlation. In the University, Middle-Class and Working-Class groups (with presumably comparable male and female samples in each), the value of r is about 0.1 lower for men than for women; but in the Los Angeles group this trend is reversed, while in the Psychiatric Clinic Patients the difference is

TABLE 10 (V)

CORRELATIONS OF THE A-S AND E SCALES WITH THE PEC SCALE (ALL FORMS)

		N	Correlation E: PEC	Correlation A-S: PEC
A.	*Groups taking Form 78:*			
	Public Speaking Class Women	140	.52	.49
	Public Speaking Class Men	52	.55	.32
	Extension Psychology Class Women	40	.52	.23
	Professional Women	63	.76	.69
	Mean r[a]	295	.59	.43
B.	*Groups taking Form 60:*[b]			
	University of Oregon Student Women	47	.48	
	University of Oregon and University of California Student Women	54	.62	
	University of Oregon and University of California Student Men	57	.48	
	Oregon Service Club Men	68	.52	
	Mean r[a]	226	.52	
C.	*Groups taking Form 45:*[c]			
	Extension Testing Class Women	59	.60	
	San Quentin Men	110	.14	
	Psychiatric Clinic Women	71	.53[d]	
	Psychiatric Clinic Men	50	.55[d]	
	Working-Class Men and Women	50	.75	
	Mean r[a]	340	.51	
D.	*Groups taking Form 40:*[c]			
	George Washington University Women	132	.48	
	California Service Club Men	63	.64	
	Middle-Class Men	69	.67	
	Middle-Class Women	154	.76	
	Working-Class Men	61	.74	
	Working-Class Women	53	.86	
	Los Angeles Men	117	.61	
	Los Angeles Women	130	.52	
	Mean r[a]	779	.66	
E.	*Groups taking Forms 40 and 45:*			
	Employment Service Men Veterans (Form 40)	55	.60[e]	
	Employment Service Men Veterans (Form 45)	51	.49	
	Maritime School Men (Form 40)	164	.41[e]	
	Maritime School Men (Form 45)	179	.38	
	Mean r[a]	449	.47	
	Mean r for all groups taking Forms 40 and 45	1568	.57	

[a] In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N, and Z_r was not used.

[b] It will be recalled that in Form 60 the E scale contained 4 A-S items, there being no separate A-S scale.

[c] PEC is correlated with E_A in groups taking Form 40, with total E_{A+B} scale in groups taking Form 45.

[d] For the PEC scale in the Psychiatric Clinic groups, the number of women was 45, the number of men 29, due to a substitution of forms.

[e] These correlations are based on the E_A scores of subjects taking Form 45 as well as those taking Form 40.

negligible. The same holds for class differences: in the Working-Class Men and Women the correlations are very high (.74 and .86), but in other groups which draw heavily upon the working class, notably San Quentin and the Maritime School, the correlations are very low (.14 and .4). The reasons for the variations in the size of *r* seem to lie more in the specific nature of the group than in its sex or class status. It is interesting in this connection that two groups in which the E-PEC correlation was very high, the Working Class Men (.74) and Women (.86) also had the two lowest PEC means (see Table 8(V)). We may hypothesize that the E-PEC correlation will be highest when, other things such as the S. D. being equal, the group contains a sizeable minority of strong liberals. Judging from some of the other groups, the number of strong conservatives has less influence on the correlation. We shall return to this question shortly.

The general level of the E-PEC correlations demonstrates that ethnocentrism and conservatism, as measured by the present scales, are significantly but imperfectly related.[7] In everyday terms, we may say that conservatives are, on the average, significantly more ethnocentric than liberals are. The more conservative an individual is, the greater the likelihood that he is ethnocentric—but this is a probability and not a certainty. Since the existence of an affinity between these ideological patterns has often been observed previously, the present correlations are perhaps less a startling discovery than an indication of the validity of the scales. To those who have been unaware of the E-PEC relationship, the significance of the correlations must be stressed. To those who tend to equate conservatism and ethnocentrism as psychological trends in the individual, it must be pointed out that the correlations are far from perfect. Even with a much more reliable measure of PEC, the correlation with E could hardly average over .70—a value inadequate for predictive purposes. It becomes necessary, then, to understand what produces the close association between these ideological patterns in the individual, as well as what systematic factors—apart from ignorance or misinformation—make the E-PEC correlation less than 1.0.

A theoretical basis for the close tie between conservatism and ethnocentrism is suggested by certain similarities in their major underlying trends. Support of the prevailing politico-economic ideology and authority is, apparently, often a part of the generalized ethnocentric tendency to submit to accepted authority in all areas of social life. Similarly, ethnocentric rejection of outgroups is expressed in the politico-economic sphere by resistance to social change and by the tendency to subsume progressive political ideologies under the general heading of "foreign" outgroups and ideas (threats to ingroup authority). The interconnection between the two ideologies and the difficulty of separating them even for purposes of study are revealed by a

[7] These results are, on the whole, consistent with those of the other studies mentioned at the start of this chapter.

number of scale items. For example: "America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society." To support this idea is, it would seem, to express both politico-economic conservatism and the ingroup idealization so characteristic of ethnocentrism. The item, "The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators," is another example of politicalized ethnocentrism: again we find moral stereotypy and externalization of blame for social problems onto the threatening outgroup.

There are also theoretical reasons for expecting a relationship between liberalism and anti-ethnocentrism. Both tend to involve a critical attitude toward prevailing authorities and traditions. The identification with the masses (workers, "the common man," "the weak and downtrodden") so often a central theme in left-wing political ideology, finds expression also in opposition to ethnocentrism and outgroup suppression. Indeed, the formation of leftist political views in youth often begins with a sense of the injustice of anti-Semitism or anti-Negroism; when sympathetic imagery of subordinate groups is extended to include the working class, the transition from "group relations" to "politico-economic" ideology has begun. The further development of liberal-radical views is ordinarily based on imagery and attitudes identical to those underlying anti-ethnocentric ideology: opposition to hierarchy and to dominance-submission, removal of class and group barriers, emphasis on equalitarian interaction, and so on.

We have also to consider the "correlation-lowering" factors. Why, in view of the theoretical argument above, is the E-PEC correlation not higher? The present data suggest, but are not adequate to test, several hypotheses. The correlation charts (scattergrams) for each sample reveal that extreme liberals (low scorers on PEC) are for the most part low as well on E. But the "middles" on PEC are extremely diversified with respect to standing on E. It is possible that the group which is low on E but middle on PEC consists largely of the "politically pacifistic" liberals discussed previously. Practically none of the subjects were low on PEC and high on E (ethnocentric liberals); such individuals would, however, be well worth intensive study.

The high scorers on PEC are more variable on E than are the low scorers. While most of those high on PEC are also high on E, a considerable number are middle and a small but consistent percentage low on E (nonethnocentric conservatives). In other words, strong political liberalism is a pretty good indicator of anti-ethnocentrism, but political conservatism is less consistently related to ethnocentrism.

In attempting to explain the variability of conservatives with respect to ethnocentrism, we are reminded of the distinction between "genuine" and "pseudo-" previously drawn with respect to patriotism and traditional-conventional values (Chapter IV). One can be politically conservative, just as one can be patriotic (in the sense of firm attachment to American culture

and tradition), without being ethnocentric. We should like to use the term "*genuine conservative*" to refer to the individual with this broad pattern of thought. He is "genuine" because, whatever the merits of his political views, he is seriously concerned with fostering what is most vital in the American democratic tradition. He believes, for example, in the crucial importance of the profit motive and in the necessity of economic insecurity; but he wants the best man to win no matter what his social background. He is resistant to social change, but he can be seriously critical of the national and political ingroups and—what is more important—he is relatively free of the rigidity and deep-lying hostility characteristic of ethnocentrism.

The ethnocentric conservative is the *pseudoconservative*, for he betrays in his ethnocentrism a tendency antithetical to democratic values and tradition. He is the E-PEC "correlation raiser" because, as discussed above, his politico-economic views are based on the same underlying trends—submission to authority, unconscious handling of hostility toward authority by means of displacement and projection onto outgroups, and so on—as his ethnocentrism. It is indeed paradoxical that the greatest psychological potential for antidemocratic change should come from those who claim to represent democratic tradition. For the pseudoconservatives are the pseudodemocrats, and their needs dispose them to the use of force and oppression in order to protect a mythical "Americanism" which bears no resemblance to what is most vital in American history.

An additional hypothesis may be proposed regarding individuals high on E but middle on PEC. These may well be pseudoconservatives who have kept up with changes in the actual politico-economic situation by making changes in traditional (individualistic) conservative ideology. They emphasize competitiveness as a value, yet they support the concentration of economic power in big business—the greatest single threat at present to the individual competing businessman. They emphasize economic mobility and the "Horatio Alger" myth, yet they support numerous forms of discrimination that put severe limitations on the mobility of large sections of the population. They may also believe in extending the economic functions of government, not for humanitarian reasons but as a means of limiting the power of labor and other groups.

This is not merely a "modern conservatism." It is, rather, a totally new direction: away from individualism and equality of opportunity, and toward a rigidly stratified society in which there is a minimum of economic mobility and in which the "right" groups are in power, the outgroups subordinate. Perhaps the term "reactionary" fits this ideology best. Ultimately it is fascism. While certainly not a *necessary* sequel to laissez-faire conservatism, it can be regarded as a possible (and not uncommon) distortion of conservatism—a distortion which retains certain surface similarities but which changes the basic structure into the antithesis of the original. Since most

Americans are "middle on PEC," it becomes crucial to understand the psychological dispositions which help to determine new ideological directions in the individual.

The above distinction regarding ideological patterns within the political left and right are presented as hypotheses to help explain the scale results.[8] If these hypotheses are not borne out, others will be needed. For it is clear that political ideologies do not fall neatly along a simple liberalism-conservatism dimension; that the relation between ethnocentrism and "conservatism" is extremely complex; and that the individual's receptivity to political ideology, as to "group relations" ideology, is based to a large extent on deeplying personality trends.

D. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE PEC SCALE

In an attempt to judge the validity of the PEC scale we may here, as in Chapters III and IV, compare the scale responses of Mack and Larry and consider them in relation to material from their interviews (Chapter II). The PEC-scale scores of these two subjects, the group mean, and the D. P. for each of the 16 PEC items included in Form 78 are shown in Table 11(V).

TABLE 11 (V)

RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE PEC SCALE

No.	Item	Mack	Larry	Group[a] Mean	Group[a] D.P.
1.	(Value of dollar)	6	7	6.10	1.16
5.	(Depressions)	5	1	3.33	2.76
8.	(Charity)	3	7	5.46	1.48
13.	(Businessmen, artists)	1	1	2.29	1.70
15.	(Middle of the road)	7	5	4.35	2.90
22.	(Political candidate)	7	7	6.38	0.32
27.	(Rebellious ideas)	5	6	3.86	2.84
36.	(Gov't. responsibility)	2	1	3.22	3.01
44.	(Socialized medicine)	2	6	2.38	1.69
52.	(Taxes, corporations)	2	3	3.66	2.29
61.	(Economic security)	6	6	3.75	2.68
63.	(Gov't. interference)	5	1	4.01	2.39
68.	(Unions stronger)	6	2	4.58	2.30
71.	(Ford, Morgan)	7	6	5.30	2.00
76.	(Gov't. activity)	2	2	3.32	2.76
78.	(Ability will tell)	7	6	4.74	1.99
	Mean per item	4.56	4.19	4.17	2.14

[a]The group means and D.P.'s are based on all four groups taking Form 78.

[8] Further hypotheses, plus supporting evidence, are presented in Chapter XVII, which deals with the interview material.

The two men are much more similar in their PEC-scale scores than was the case with their A-S and E scores. Larry's mean score, 4.19, is at the group mean and Mack's, 4.56, is not very far above. When the group of Public Speaking Men to which these subjects belonged is considered by itself, Mack is just inside the high quartile, Larry is just below it. On 11 of the 16 items the scores of the two men do not differ by more than one point. Attention to the individual items, however, shows that the similarities are confined to certain areas of politico-economic ideology; in other areas there are sharp differences.

Mack and Larry are most similar in their consistent support of general conventional-conservative values. Both agree, usually rather strongly, with Items 1 (Value of a dollar), 15 (Middle of the road), 22 (Political candidate), 27 (Rebellious ideas), 71 (Ford, Morgan), and 78 (Ability will tell). This seems to be in keeping with the interviews, in which both men expressed the usual conservative criticisms of the New Deal. Both men, it appears, accept the view that a man's getting ahead depends most of all upon his living according to the values of thrift, determination, work, honesty, conformity, and the like.

Examination of the scores on other items, however, indicates that Mack and Larry differ with respect to the context in which their conservative values occur. For Mack the context appears to be one of upward social mobility on a class-ingroup basis, for Larry it appears to be one of nineteenth-century liberalism. This seems to be expressed in their wide disagreement on Items 5 (Depression) and 68 (Unions stronger). Mack's belief that depressions are "only natural" can be interpreted as an expression of the broader idea that, in the nature of things, the benefits to be had in our society are insufficient to go around and that it is no more than proper that the major portion of them should go to the "right people," that is, to an ingroup. This ingroup does not seem to include organized labor (Item 68) nor the various minority groups which he rejected in his responses on the E scale. This would appear to be another manifestation of Mack's tendency, so marked in his interview, to make rigid ingroup-outgroup distinctions in his thinking about politico-economic matters as well as about social relations generally. For Larry, on the other hand, the value for getting ahead does not exclude the possibility of various other kinds of people getting ahead, for he seems to be thinking in terms of an expanding economy in which working men can have a strong role (Item 68) and in which depressions are unnecessary (Item 5). The absence of any ingroup-outgroup distinction, and optimism with respect to the possibilities of economic abundance were outstanding features of Larry's interview.

Neither man shows the usual conservative opposition to the government's participation in the economic life of the nation: for Items 36 (Government responsibility), 44 (Socialized medicine), 52 (Taxes, corporations), 63 (Gov-

ernment interference), and 76 (Government activity) the two men have the same low mean score of 2.60. Their reasons, however, seem to be different. When the responses to the total scale are considered, it appears that Mack deviates from true, laissez-faire conservatism by taking a stand further to the political right. The fact that he rejects labor unions and believes in the inevitability of depressions suggests that the strong central control which he favors is not to have as its function economic planning to benefit all of the people; rather, it seems, he is thinking of rule by an ingroup from which the majority of the population would be excluded. That he does reject the majority of the population has been seen in his responses to the E scale. When it is considered that he is antigovernment only when it comes to interference with the individual's freedom "to make money and spend it as he likes" (Item 63) we are led to the conclusion that his idea of central control is a combination of government and the most powerful business interests. Thus it appears that Mack comes as close as he can, within the confines of the 16-item PEC scale, to expressing that pattern of pseudoconservatism which emerged from the analysis of his interview.

Larry, on the other hand, deviates from the usual conservative position by moving further to the left. Not only does he insist upon the social obligations of government (Items 36 and 76) but he would accept limitations upon the profits of individuals and corporations (Items 52 and 63). These views can be reconciled with his strong conservative values and pro-business sentiments, it seems, only by means of the belief that there is plenty for all, that it is the task of government to see to it that no one has too little or too much, and that this situation will permit people who, like himself, are willing to work hard, to get as much as they really need without causing others to suffer.

It would appear from this analysis, and from the analysis of Mack's and Larry's interviews in Chapter II, that the difference of 0.37 in their PEC-scale means is not great enough to represent the actual distance between them on a right vs. left dimension of politico-economic ideology. However, as the discussion in the preceding section has shown, the differences between pseudoconservatism, which we find in Mack, and genuine conservatism as represented by Larry are qualitative as well as quantitative, and it is to the credit of the PEC scale that it pointed out these differences while indicating at the same time that Mack is somewhat more extreme in a quantitative sense.

E. THE RELATION BETWEEN ETHNOCENTRISM AND MEMBERSHIP IN VARIOUS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GROUPINGS

We have considered in previous sections the nature of political ideologies as measured by the PEC scales, and the relation of these ideologies to ethnocentrism. The data also revealed numerous group differences in degree of

ethnocentrism. It was therefore natural to ask next: How do various political and economic groupings differ with respect to ethnocentrism? Information on such groupings (political party preference, parents' preference, organization memberships, income level, etc.) was obtained on the front page of the questionnaire, so that it was possible to compute the mean (average) E score for each group.[9]

We may consider first the relation between ethnocentrism and political group preference.

Political group preference was determined by means of several questions. First: "What political party or group do you like best?" Second: "How do you feel about each of these political groups? Democrats (Anti-New Deal), Democrats (New Deal), Willkie-type Republicans, Traditional Republicans." In each case the subject was asked to check one of four choices: agree much, agree, disagree, disagree much. On the basis of his pattern of response to these questions, each subject was assigned a single "group preference" by two raters working together (semi-independent judgments). Each subject could be placed with relative ease into one or another of the following categories: (1) "Total" Democrats (supporting both factions within the party); (2) Anti-New Deal Democrats; (3) New Deal Democrats; (4) Willkie Republicans; (5) Traditional Republicans; (6) "Total" Republicans (supporting both factions); (7) New Deal Democrats, Willkie Republicans (supporting these two groupings and opposing the others, without indicating specific party preference; (8) Communists; (9) Socialists; (10) P.A.C. (National Citizens and C.I.O. Political Action Committee); (11) Undecided (wrote in "undecided" to first question, omitted the second); (12) Anti-all parties; (13) None, nonpartisan (gave this answer to first question, omitted the second); (14) Self-contradictory (e.g., supported Traditional Republicans and New Deal Democrats, gave no over-all party preference); (15) Blank.

Table 12(V) gives the number of cases (N) and the average A-S or E score for each political grouping, as well as for each sample tested and for the group of samples taking each form of the questionnaire. It is thus possible to compare, say, the New Deal Democrats in one sample with the other political groupings in that sample, or with the over-all totals for all New Dealers tested, or with the over-all totals for all subjects tested.[10]

The N's and means in the bottom row (horizontal) may be examined first. The ratio of Democrats (columns 1–3) to Republicans (columns 4–5) is roughly 10 to 7, a value which approximates the registration figures in the 1944 California elections. However, the proportion of New Deal Democrats and of "combined liberal groups" (column 17) is unduly large. It seems safe to conclude that the present sample shows a slight but significant bias

[9] It would have been an important additional validation of the PEC scales to show differences among these groups with respect to PEC. Unfortunately, limitations of time prevented this further step.

[10] It will be noted that group-membership data was not statisticized for several of the groups tested (approximately one-third of the total N), due to time limitations. However, the groups in Table 12(V) appear to be a fairly representative selection of the total sample.

in a liberal direction—a sampling factor which tends to lower the over-all E mean.

The various groupings appeared to fall into two clearly differentiated categories on the basis of average degree of ethnocentrism. First, the "*conservative*" category (column 16: Total Democrats, Anti-New Deal Democrats, Traditional Republicans, Total Republicans), with E means ranging from 4.17 to 4.72 and averaging 4.39. Second, the "*liberal*" category (New Deal Democrats, Willkie Republicans, New Deal-Willkie combined, Communists, Socialists, P.A.C.), with E means ranging from 1.25 to 3.60 and averaging 3.41. The difference of 0.98 between the liberal and conservative categories is statistically very significant (far above the 1 per cent level).[11]

The rank order of the individual groupings, in terms of E mean, is similar to their rank order on a right-left political dimension. The traditional wings of the Democratic and Republican parties are the most conservative as well as the most ethnocentric (E means of 4.2 to 4.7). The New Deal Democrats and the Willkie Republicans, representing in the main a slightly left-of-center political position, have a similar stand on ethnocentrism (means of 3.6 and 3.5). Interestingly enough, those who support both the New Deal and Willkie, without making an over-all party choice, have a much lower E mean of 2.4—an indication perhaps that greater political sophistication in liberals is accompanied by greater militancy regarding democratic group relations. The Socialists (those who gave this as their party preference, regardless of their views on the other groupings) were similar to the previous group with a mean of 2.6. The most militantly anti-ethnocentric groups were the P.A.C. and the Communists, with E means of 2.0 and 1.25 respectively.

The great difference between the "liberal" and "conservative" categories, as well as the rank order of the individual groupings, offer important evidence for the validity of the E scale and the E-PEC correlations reported above. The relationship between ethnocentrism and liberal-conservative group membership is very similar to that between ethnocentrism and liberal-conservative ideology in the individual. There is, on the average, a systematic relation between E, PEC, and political group preference, to the extent of a correlation of approximately .5.

Once again, both the group trend and the individual differences must be emphasized. The relationships, though significant, are far from perfect. There is, for one thing, considerable individual variability within each group-

[11] Critical ratios have not been computed for the various group differences discussed here. The following rules of thumb may be used in estimating the significance of the differences: Assume that the Standard Deviation for any grouping is equal to the S. D. for the sample containing it. This estimate is a maximal one so that any errors will tend to lower spuriously the value of the C. R. obtained. For groups with N's of about 50 each, differences of 0.6 are likely to be significant at the 5 percent level; when the N's are 100, a difference of 0.4 is adequate. These approximate standards hold for all tables in this section. An additional argument for the significance of these differences is their relative consistency from group to group.

TABLE 12 (V)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS SHOWING VARIOUS OVER-ALL POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES

Group	1. "Total" Democrat		2. Anti-New Deal Democrat		3. New Deal Democrat		4. Wilkie Republican		5. Traditional Republican		6. Total Republican		7. New Deal Democrat, Wilkie Republican		8. Communist	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Groups taking Form 78:																
U. C. Public Speaking Class Women	6	3.63	4	3.83	28	3.11	39	3.00	13	4.19	34	3.66	0	--	0	--
U. C. Public Speaking Class Men	0	--	3	5.07	17	3.25	11	3.33	4	4.18	6	3.88	8	2.10	0	--
Extension Psychology Class Women	1	3.80	6	3.70	11	2.57	7	3.39	4	3.30	2	5.35	0	--	0	--
Professional Women	0	--	1	6.00	30	2.06	12	3.43	3	2.63	8	3.43	0	--	0	--
Totals	7	3.66	14	4.19	86	2.70	69	3.17	24	3.84	50	3.72	8	2.10	0	--
Groups taking Form 60:																
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	2	3.32	2	3.24	14	2.73	6	3.14	4	4.46	13	4.28	3	2.77	0	--
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	3	4.59	4	4.15	19	2.95	9	3.26	1	2.49	14	3.24	2	2.37	0	--
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	2	2.78	2	3.07	12	2.95	9	2.08	6	3.45	10	3.67	7	2.32	0	--
Totals	7	3.71	8	3.70	45	2.88	24	2.79	11	3.73	37	3.72	12	2.44	0	--
Groups taking Form 45:																
Maritime School Men	17	4.41	16	4.49	74	4.32	12	3.88	13	5.08	12	4.54	3	3.23	1	1.30
Psychiatric Clinic Men	6	4.12	0	--	20	3.97	2	3.55	7	4.27	3	3.70	1	1.30	1	1.30
Psychiatric Clinic Women	7	4.74	3	4.07	26	3.51	2	4.20	5	4.54	5	3.28	2	1.80	1	1.00
San Quentin Men[b]	19	4.44	5	4.74	45	4.60	6	4.83	3	5.90	3	4.50	0	--	0	--
Totals	30	4.43	19	4.42	120	4.08	16	3.88	25	4.74	20	4.10	6	2.43	3	1.20
Groups taking Form 40:																
Geo. Washington Univ. Women	13	4.37	17	4.86	44	3.83	5	3.48	9	5.49	14	4.14	1	3.80	0	--
Maritime School Men	21	5.10	15	5.11	69	4.95	4	3.85	5	4.84	15	5.60	2	5.80	0	--
Middle-Class Women	0	--	4	3.35	43	2.76	28	4.36	11	6.00	32	4.51	10	1.50	2	1.10
Middle-Class Men	4	6.30	0	--	16	2.51	9	4.07	10	4.34	10	4.96	3	2.73	1	1.20
Working-Class Men	8	4.52	0	--	25	3.70	1	4.20	0	--	3	4.87	2	3.70	3	1.40
Totals	46	4.90	36	4.79	197	3.86	47	4.17	35	5.63	74	4.73	18	2.56	6	1.27
Over-all totals	90	4.55	77	4.48	448	3.60	156	3.49	95	4.72	181	4.17	44	2.43	9	1.25

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms: Form 78: A-S scale (10 items); Form 60: E scale (12 items); Form 45: E scale (10 items); Form 40: E scale (5 items).

[b]The San Quentin group was not included in obtaining the totals. The means for this group were so much larger than those of the others, for reasons which seemed to have little to do with party preference, that their inclusion would distort the over-all picture.

ing, and there is much variation in group mean from one sample to the next. The New Deal Democrats, for example, obtained E means ranging from 2.06 to 4.95 in the various samples tested. Moreover, political preference is much more closely related to ethnocentrism in some groups than in others. In the middle-class groups the relation is much closer than in working-class groups such as the Maritime School Men or San Quentin Men. Indeed, the San Quentin data were so atypical that they were not included in the over-all totals; for further discussion see Chapter XXI. The great variability obtained is a warning against stereotypy in thinking about groups. Members

9. Socialist		10. P.A.C.		11. Undecided		12. Anti-all parties		13. None, nonpartisan		14. Self-contradictory		15. Blank		16. Combined conservative groups: 1, 2, 5, 6		17. Combined liberal groups: 3, 4, 7, 8, 9. 10				
N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
2	1.15	0	--	4	3.05	0	--	8	2.88	0	--	2	3.70	(57)	3.79	(69)	2.99	140	3.32	1.43
3	3.67	0	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	(13)	4.25	(39)	3.07	52	3.34	1.48
0	--	0	--	2	5.15	0	--	4	2.30	0	--	5	4.24	(13)	3.84	(18)	2.89	42	3.40	1.36
2	1.40	0	--	2	2.25	0	--	3	2.40	0	--	2	1.65	(12)	3.44	(44)	2.40	63	2.57	1.37
7	2.30	0	--	8	3.38	0	--	15	2.63	0	--	9	3.54	(95)	3.82	(170)	2.85	297	3.18	1.46
1	1.16	0	--	0	--	0	--	2	3.74	0	--	0	--	(21)	4.13	(24)	2.77	47	3.42	1.38
1	1.83	0	--	0	--	0	--	1	4.57	0	--	0	--	(22)	3.56	(31)	2.97	54	3.24	1.29
2	3.03	0	--	0	--	0	--	7	3.17	0	--	0	--	(20)	3.45	(30)	2.55	57	2.93	1.25
4	2.26	0	--	0	--	0	--	10	3.42	0	--	0	--	(63)	3.71	(85)	2.76	158	3.18	1.31
3	3.20	0	--	7	4.86	1	3.30	0	--	13	4.47	6	4.35	(58)	4.61	(93)	4.16	178	4.36	1.60
2	1.65	0	--	3	2.40	2	2.70	0	--	2	4.05	1	4.60	(16)	4.11	(26)	3.55	50	3.67	1.59
1	1.80	1	1.00	5	3.34	5	3.20	0	--	2	3.65	6	4.57	(20)	4.23	(33)	3.25	71	3.65	1.80
1	2.80	0	--	7	4.64	5	4.52	0	--	4	3.05	12	5.11	(30)	4.64	(52)	4.59	110	4.61	1.28
6	2.45	1	1.00	15	3.86	8	3.09	0	--	17	4.32	13	4.47	(94)	4.44	(152)	3.86	299	4.07	1.63
1	2.80	3	1.13	9	3.04	0	--	12	3.93	0	--	4	4.10	(53)	4.66	(54)	3.63	132	4.04	1.58
1	5.60	1	3.40	10	5.28	5	5.64	0	--	10	5.44	6	4.60	(56)	5.21	(77)	4.90	164	5.08	1.76
3	2.07	2	2.40	1	2.80	2	3.70	9	2.51	4	5.15	3	4.73	(47)	4.76	(88)	3.06	154	3.64	1.96
1	5.98	2	1.00	2	3.50	2	4.80	7	4.57	1	1.20	1	1.20	(24)	4.92	(32)	2.94	69	3.89	2.08
4	2.45	2	3.90	1	5.00	0	--	5	4.56	2	5.50	3	3.47	(11)	4.62	(37)	3.40	59	3.83	1.72
10	3.02	10	2.14	23	4.13	9	5.02	33	3.78	17	5.13	17	4.11	(191)	4.88	(288)	3.69	578	4.19	1.90
27	2.60	11	2.04	46	3.91	17	4.11	58	3.42	34	4.73	39	4.10	(443)	4.39	(695)	3.41	1332	3.82	

[9]N for several of the present groups is different, by one or two subjects from the N given for the same groups in Tables 1-11 (V). If an N in Tables 12-20 (V) is smaller than the N for the corresponding group in Tables 1-11 (V), it is because one or two subjects who responded to the PEC scale left blank the whole of page 1 of the questionnaire. In one instance (Extension Class Women), two more subjects were available for the analysis of group membership than for the analysis of scale responses; their questionnaires came in late, after the statistics on scale responses were completed, but still in time to figure in the analysis of group memberships.

of any given political group are not "all alike"; and the fact that an individual belongs to a particular political group is, in most cases, an insufficient basis for predicting his standing on E.

These intra- and intergroup variations suggest that group membership is not in itself the major determinant of ideology in the individual. It would appear, rather, that different individuals support a political group for different reasons, and that we must understand why an individual *chooses* to support one group rather than another one. It is incorrect, or at least inadequate, to say that an individual is prejudiced *because* he is an Anti-New Deal

Democrat. He may be an Anti-New Dealer because he was ethnocentric to start with, or, more likely, both the ideology and the group membership must be explained in terms of more basic psychological and social factors. Consideration of these factors may help to explain why some anti-New Deal Democrats are not ethnocentric, and why some New Dealers are.

What of those who profess no preference for any political group (Table 12 (V), columns 11–15)? The results for these groups are difficult to interpret, but they are suggestive for further inquiry. Four of these groups, the "undecided," "against all parties," "self-contradictory" and "blank," with means of 3.9 to 4.7, are above the over-all mean of 3.8, while those who consider themselves "nonpartisan" are relatively low on E, with a mean of 3.4. Perhaps the most general conclusion to be drawn is that political confusion and indifference, as well as opposition to "politics," are associated with greater-than-average ethnocentrism. Since these subjects constitute some 10–15 per cent of the present sample, and at least that percentage of the American population, they merit more thorough study.

It was possible indirectly to approach the question of parental influence on subject's ideology by asking for the political party preference of father and of mother. In Table 13(V) the subjects are arranged in groups according to father's political party preference, and the E mean for each group is shown.[12] The offspring of Republicans are, on the average, slightly less ethnocentric than the offspring of Democrats, the E means being 3.41 and 3.68, respectively. Assuming an S. D. of 1.5 for each group, this difference is significant at the 5 per cent level.

These data suggest what everyday observation has often seemed to indicate, namely, that people do not necessarily believe what their parents tell them. This hypothesis is neither original nor profound—although we believe that it has profound implications for the understanding of the formation of ideology. It contradicts another commonly held theory, namely that one learns mainly by *imitation*. The "imitation" theory expects a high correlation between parents' ideology and offspring's ideology, on the assumption that one "naturally" (that is, imitatively) takes over parental ideology relatively intact. The present data, however, as well as those of many previous studies, e.g., those discussed by Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (85), suggest that the formation of ideology in the individual is a selective, dynamic process, in which any ideological pressure from the environment will be accepted or rejected on the basis of the needs and strivings of the individual. Approaching ideological learning in this way, we ask, for example: What kinds of personalities take over intact the views of their parents or other

[12] Similar data were obtained in terms of mothers' political preference. These data are not presented here since identical trends were revealed. A theoretical reason for focusing on the father is that politics in the United States seems still to be largely a "paternal" concern, just as religion is for the most part the function of the mother in the home.

TABLE 13 (V)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS WHOSE FATHERS HAVE VARIOUS POLITICAL PARTY PREFERENCES

Group	Political Preference of Father: Democrat N	Democrat Mean	Republican N	Republican Mean	Socialist N	Socialist Mean	Communist N	Communist Mean	Other N	Other Mean	None N	None Mean	Blank N	Blank Mean	Over-all N	Over-all Mean	Over-all S.D.
Groups taking Form 78:																	
U.C. Public Speaking Class Women	48	3.12	80	3.53	1	5.90	0	--	0	--	4	2.73	7	2.34	140	3.32	1.43
U.C. Public Speaking Class Men	20	3.59	26	3.45	0	--	1	2.30	0	--	2	2.50	3	1.77	52	3.34	1.48
Extension Psychology Class Women	17	3.25	19	3.64	0	--	0	--	1	1.30	0	--	5	3.36	42	3.40	1.36
Professional Women	16	2.12	30	2.56	1	2.40	0	--	0	--	1	1.10	15	3.20	63	2.57	1.37
Totals:	101	3.08	155	3.34	2	4.15	1	2.30	1	1.30	7	2.43	30	2.88	297	3.18	1.46
Groups taking Form 60:																	
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	18	2.93	24	3.74					2	2.53	0	--	3	4.40	47	3.42	1.38
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	19	3.39	28	3.19					3	3.32	0	--	4	2.80	54	3.24	1.29
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	21	3.24	27	2.88					2	1.41	2	2.16	5	3.20	57	2.93	1.25
Totals:	58	3.19	79	3.25					7	2.55	2	2.16	12	3.37	158	3.18	1.31
Groups taking Form 45:																	
Maritime School Men	95	4.39	42	4.16	2	4.70					7	4.23	32	4.51	178	4.36	1.60
Psychiatric Clinic Men	20	4.10	21	3.26	1	2.70					1	5.00	7	3.60	50	3.67	1.59
Psychiatric Clinic Women	31	4.06	23	3.27							1	1.70	16	3.53	71	3.65	1.60
Totals:	146	4.28	86	3.70	3	4.03					9	4.03	55	4.11	299	4.07	1.63
Over-all totals:	305	3.68	320	3.41	5	4.08	1	2.30	8	2.39	18	3.20	97	3.64	754	3.53	--

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms:

Form 78: A-S Scale (10 items)
Form 60: E Scale (12 items)
Form 45: E Scale (10 items)

authorities and under what psychological conditions do we find various forms of change or rebellion?

Questions such as those above were raised by the tendency for Republican fathers (presumably more ethnocentric) to have less ethnocentric offspring than did the Democratic fathers. This suggested the hypothesis that "disagreement with father" is related to anti-ethnocentrism, regardless of father's political views (see also Levinson and Sanford (71); Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (85)). The hypothesis was tested by comparing subject's and father's political preference. The results are presented in Table 14(V). The group of subjects whose political preference was the same as their fathers', regardless of party, had a much higher mean (4.05) than the group of subjects who differed from their fathers (mean of 3.04). The difference is extremely significant; indeed, it is almost identical with the difference between groups based on liberal vs. conservative party preference (Table 12(V)). In other words, *a person's standing on E can be predicted as closely on the basis of his agreement or disagreement with his father's political party preference (without knowing subject's or father's politics) as it can on the basis of the subject's actual party preference.*[13] This is important indirect evidence in favor of hypotheses raised previously (Chapters III and IV), namely, that ethnocentrists tend to be submissive to ingroup authority, anti-ethnocentrists to be critical or rebellious, and that the family is the first and prototypic ingroup. The individual's relation to parental authority, particularly his disposition to be submissive or critically independent, appears to be a basic personality trend which partially determines his political party preference and his ideology about group relations.

Data on the average degree of ethnocentrism in various organizations taking Form 40 are presented in Table 15(V). The low-scoring groups, with E means of 1.20 to 2.41, are the Labor School men and women, the League of Women Voters, and the Unitarian Church. It is interesting that the working-class Labor School members have an E mean which is considerably higher than that for the middle-class members (2.4 to 1.2), and slightly higher than that for the (middle-class) League of Women Voters and the Unitarian Church. Apparently the middle-class leftists have identified not only with the working class (in their political ideology) but also with subordinate groups generally. There is, however, some likelihood that working-class individuals may support left-wing political groups without a full acceptance of the underlying social ideology; that is to say, they may

[13] The difference would probably have been even greater had we known the fathers' party-faction preference rather than the simple party preference. Thus, all New Deal Democratic subjects who gave father's preference as "Democrat" were grouped under "same preference as father." It is likely, however, that in many of these cases the father was an anti-New Deal Democrat and that thus a real difference between father and son—one which we should expect to accompany lower E scores—was concealed. This inadequacy in measurement makes the obtained differences all the more impressive.

TABLE 14 (V)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS SHOWING VARIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN SUBJECT'S AND FATHER'S POLITICAL PREFERENCE

	Relation between Subject's and Father's Political Preference				Relation between Subject's and Father's Political Preference										
	Same		Different		F None S Has		F Has S Blank		F Blank S Has		Both None or Blank		Over-all		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
Groups taking Form 78:															
U.C. Public Speaking Class Women	99	3.49	19	3.10	2	2.50	11	3.07	6	2.25	3	2.93	140	3.32	1.43
U.C. Public Speaking Class Men	37	3.63	12	2.76	2	2.50	0	----	1	1.50	0	----	52	3.34	1.49
Extension Psychology Class Women	21	3.51	9	2.99	0	----	7	3.61	3	2.73	2	4.30	42	3.40	1.36
Professional Women	24	2.59	23	2.16	1	1.10	2	2.35	9	3.92	4	2.30	63	2.57	1.37
Totals:	181	3.40	63	2.68	5	2.20	20	3.19	19	3.08	9	2.98	297	3.18	1.46
Groups taking Form 60:															
University of Oregon Student Women	29	3.70	13	2.45	0	----	0	----	3	4.62	2	3.74	47	3.42	1.38
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	33	3.48	18	2.81	0	----	0	----	2	2.45	1	4.57	54	3.24	1.29
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	29	3.07	13	2.67	2	2.16	7	3.17	6	2.85	0	----	57	2.93	1.25
Totals:	91	3.42	44	2.66	2	2.61	7	3.17	11	3.26	3	4.01	158	3.18	1.31
Groups taking Form 45:															
Maritime School Men	107	4.32	20	4.16	4	4.58	14	4.49	20	4.51	13	4.52	178	4.36	1.60
Psychiatric Clinic Men	24	4.08	12	3.15	1	5.00	6	2.90	5	3.46	2	3.95	50	3.67	1.59
Psychiatric Clinic Women	27	4.29	18	2.80	1	1.70	9	3.86	7	3.39	9	3.63	71	3.65	1.60
San Quentin Men[b]	53	4.62	8	4.86	5	4.18	13	4.01	16	4.60	15	5.10	110	4.61	1.28
Totals:	158	4.28	50	3.43	6	4.17	29	3.96	32	4.10	24	4.14	299	4.07	1.63
Groups taking Form 40:															
George Washington University Student Women	78	4.28	12	3.85	6	3.33	13	3.66	10	3.86	13	3.62	132	4.04	1.58
Maritime School Men	94	5.17	26	4.64	3	5.07	22	5.41	14	4.86	5	4.80	164	5.08	1.76
Middle-Class Women	71	3.88	47	2.90	1	1.60	9	3.09	16	4.94	10	3.98	154	3.64	1.96
Middle-Class Men	34	4.75	19	2.07	0	----	9	3.82	3	3.80	4	5.50	69	3.89	2.08
Working-Class Men	22	4.26	17	2.71	0	----	4	5.20	9	4.09	7	4.06	59	3.83	1.72
Totals:	299	4.52	121	3.21	10	3.68	57	4.38	52	4.50	39	4.14	578	4.19	1.90
Over-all totals:	729	4.05	278	3.04	23	3.39	113	3.99	114	4.03	75	3.79	1332	3.82	----

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms:
Form 78: A-S Scale (10 items) Form 45: E Scale (10 items)
Form 60: E Scale (12 items) Form 40: E Scale (5 items)

[b]The San Quentin group was not included in the over-all total.

engage in liberal group activity more on the basis of economic self-interest than on that of a complete anti-ethnocentric point of view. This is also shown by the fact that the members of the United Electrical Workers, a militant C.I.O. union, had an E mean of 3.45, a value slightly higher than that (3.12) for the Parent-Teachers' Association group containing mostly middle-class members with a relatively high education level. These results suggest that union membership and college education are in themselves important forces, but by no means guarantees, against ethnocentrism. The basic question, it

TABLE 15 (V)

MEAN E SCORE FOR VARIOUS ORGANIZATIONS IN THE FORM 40 SAMPLE

Middle-Class Women Group:	N	Mean
1. Parent-Teachers' Association	46	3.13
2. Labor School (middle-class membership)	11	1.20
3. Suburban Church Group	29	5.23
4. Unitarian Church Group	15	2.32
5. League of Women Voters	17	2.06
6. Upper Middle-Class Women's Club	36	5.05
Over-all totals	154	3.64
Standard Deviation		1.96

Middle-Class Men Group:	N	Mean
1. Labor School (middle-class membership)	9	1.27
2. Parent-Teachers' Association	29	3.12
3. Suburban Church Group	31	5.38
Over-all totals	69	3.89
Standard Deviation		2.08

Working-Class Men Group:	N	Mean
1. United Electrical Workers (CIO) (old members)	12	3.45
2. Labor School	15	2.41
3. International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (CIO) (new members)	26	4.60
4. United Seamen's Service	8	4.74
Over-all totals	61	3.83
Standard Deviation		1.72

would seem, is whether the individual has been able to assimilate the broader democratic ideology supplied by the group environment—and here again we find wide individual differences in receptiveness to democratic thinking.

That the union has been at least partially successful in its educative effort

is suggested by the fact that the New Members Class of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (I.L.W.U.) has an E mean of 4.60 (Table 15(V)). Because of the small number of cases, the large difference of 1.15 between the new I.L.W.U. members and the old U.E.W. members is probably not statistically significant; but if it should be borne out in further studies, it would indicate that certain unions, at least, are doing a great deal to combat ethnocentrism.

The highest scoring groups, with E means of 5.05 to 5.38 (significantly higher than any other middle-class groups), are the Suburban Church men and women,[14] and the Upper Middle-Class Women's Club. Since neither of these groups is organized primarily or explicitly on the basis of ethnocentric ideology, their relative uniformity in this respect supports the hypothesis that ethnocentrism is correlated with patterns of ideology in other areas. The striking difference of 3.0 points between the E means of the Unitarian and Suburban Churches suggests that similar differences might well be found in the content of their religious ideologies; but these issues must await consideration of the over-all material on religion (Chapter VI). Similarly, what characterizes the Women's Club as compared, for example, with the League of Women Voters, is not its actual class or educational level, but psychological trends such as upper-class identification, upward economic mobility, conservative values, and the like. Moreover, it is not likely that membership in the group caused deep-lying personality trends such as these in the members, but rather that individuals with such dispositions gravitate toward this group—or, indeed, organize it in the first place—rather than toward the League of Women Voters or the Oakland Labor School. While no intensive case studies could be obtained from the Women's Club, because of resistance to such "investigation," the relation of the above and similar trends to ethnocentrism was studied in other groups and is reported in the chapters which follow.

Mean E scores for the various maritime unions, as represented in the Maritime School, are presented in Table 15(V) These results should probably be regarded as suggestive rather than conclusive, in view of the small N in each group and the fact that this sample is above the maritime union average in intelligence (AGCT score) and educational level, and probably in class level and economic aspiration. Among the well-represented unions, the lowest E mean (4.12) is made by the National Maritime Union (C.I.O.), which is also the most militantly left-wing. The most ethnocentric of the larger groups are the Sailor's Union of the Pacific (A.F.L.) and the Sailor's International Union (A.F.L.), with means of 4.97 and 4.81 respectively; both of these unions tend to be politically conservative and to be strongly anti-

[14] This interdenominational church is in a small town near Berkeley, California. It has several suburban features: it contains a number of small industries; many residents commute to Berkeley and San Francisco, and it is not culturally or economically isolated.

C.I.O. and anti-Communist. The Marine Firemen, Oilers and Wipers (Independent), with a mean of 4.24 is only slightly higher than the National Maritime Union; that this finding is valid is suggested by the fact that the M.F.O.W. actively joined with the C.I.O. a few years ago during a period of waterfront labor-management strife.

When the various union groups are combined into major categories, the following order is obtained (from most to least ethnocentric): blank or "none" (4.94), combined A.F.L. (4.79), combined C.I.O. (4.41), and combined Independent (4.30). While union membership, particularly in a C.I.O. or independent union, appears to play a significant role in decreasing ethnocentrism, there is clearly much that remains to be done. The National Maritime Union, for example, can take pride in having the lowest of the obtained means, but the value of 4.12 indicates only a 50–50 balance around the neutral point—still a long way from the democratic principles of its educational program and its constitutional regulations. It would be of considerable social as well as theoretical significance to understand why intensive anti-prejudice programs such as that of the N.M.U. are not more successful, and to determine how they might be improved.

The Form 40 data in Table 16(V) differ from the Form 45 data in two important respects: the over-all E mean is higher (5.08 to 4.34), and the differences among the various unions are smaller. The differences are due in part to the fact that the Form 45 data are based on the 10-item E_{AB} scale, while Form 40 contained the 5-item E_A scale. The E_A mean for the Form 45 sample was 4.82 (Chapter IV, Table 17, C), a value slightly but not significantly lower than the Form 40 E_A mean of 5.08. However, the Form 45 E_B subscale (of which four items deal with anti-Semitism) had a mean of only 3.85, and the E_A-E_B correlation, corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula, was only .73. It would appear, then, that the two samples are similar with respect to the opinions and attitudes in E_A (Negroes, foreigners, zootsuiters, patriotism). Moreover, the greater interunion differences on Form 45 than on Form 40 are probably due to the E_B items in Form 45; that is, the unions differ more with respect to anti-Semitism than with respect to other forms of prejudice. For example, the N.M.U. mean for Form 45 is 3.76, conspicuously lower than the sample mean of 4.34; but the N.M.U. Form 40 mean of 4.87 is only slightly lower than the sample mean of 5.08. While sampling differences and other uncontrolled factors probably influenced these results, the possibility is raised that the N.M.U. educational program has been less successful in combating some forms of prejudice (E_A) than others (E_B).[15]

Our attempts to determine income-class level and background of the subjects were relatively unsuccessful for several reasons. It was not possible to

[15] Had time permitted, it would have been worthwhile to obtain separate E_A and E_B means for each union group in the Form 45 sample, and to compare these with the Form 40 data.

TABLE 16 (V)

MEAN E SCORE FOR GROUPS HAVING VARIOUS MARITIME UNION AFFILIATIONS[a]

(Maritime School Sample)

Union	Form 45[b] N	Form 45[b] Mean E_{AB}	Form 40[b] N	Form 40[b] Mean E_A	Over-all N	Over-all Mean
1. Sailor's Union of the Pacific (AFL)	26	4.79	26	5.15	52	4.97
2. Sailor's International Union (AFL)	20	4.52	12	5.30	32	4.81
3. "AFL" only	7	4.10	9	4.26	16	4.19
4. Marine Firemen, Oilers, Wipers (Independent)	16	4.11	23	4.34	39	4.24
5. Master Mates and Pilots (Independent)	0	----	1	6.80	1	6.80
6. Marine Engineers' Beneficial Association (CIO)	2	3.85	4	5.95	6	5.25
7. National Maritime Union (CIO)	29	3.76	14	4.87	43	4.12
8. "CIO" only	8	4.88	7	5.00	15	4.93
9. "Union" only	17	4.07	12	5.45	29	4.64
10. Combined AFL (1,2,3)	(53)	4.60	(47)	5.02	(100)	4.79
11. Combined CIO (6,7,8)	(39)	3.99	(25)	5.08	(64)	4.41
12. Combined Independent (4,5)	(16)	4.11	(24)	4.44	(40)	4.30
13. All Unions Combined (1-9)	(125)	4.27	(108)	4.95	(233)	4.58
14. Combined "None" and Blank	(53)	4.55	(56)	5.31	(109)	4.94
15. "None"	17	4.89	21	5.25	38	5.08
16. Blank	36	4.38	35	5.35	71	4.85
Over-all totals	178	4.34	164	5.08	342	4.70
Standard Deviation		1.60		1.76		

[a]These data are based on answers to the question: "What groups or organizations do you belong to (union, political, fraternal, etc.)?" In administering the questionnaire, it was stressed that the men should record their union affiliation.

[b]As discussed in Chapter IV, the Maritime School population was divided into two roughly equated halves, one of which received Form 45, the other Form 40.

ask the number of questions required to give an adequate index of socio-economic class level. Also, the several questions included were often left blank, out of defensiveness or lack of knowledge (e.g., of father's or husband's income). Many subjects had no current income, due to momentary unemployment or to student or military status. Income had in some cases increased during the war period without a corresponding increase in actual class level. For these and other reasons, the data below must be interpreted only tentatively and with great care.

Table 17(V) presents mean E scores for groups based on present income.

TABLE 17 (V)

MEAN E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS WHO HAVE VARIOUS PRESENT YEARLY INCOMES[b]

Group	Present Income: Below $2,000 N	Below $2,000 Mean	$2,000-2,900 N	$2,000-2,900 Mean	$3,000-3,900 N	$3,000-3,900 Mean	$4,000-4,900 N	$4,000-4,900 Mean	$5,000-10,000 N	$5,000-10,000 Mean	Above $10,000 N	Above $10,000 Mean	Blank N	Blank Mean	None N	None Mean	Over-all N	Over-all Mean	Over-all S.D.
Groups taking Form 60:																			
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	13	3.21	15	3.87	0	--	0	--	0	--	0	--	11	3.14	8	3.29	47	3.42	1.38
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	11	3.15	23	3.27	15	3.28	0	--	1	1.74	0	--	4	3.55	0	--	54	3.63	1.29
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	14	2.91	10	3.06	16	2.83	5	3.42	4	2.26	0	--	4	3.59	4	2.53	57	2.93	1.25
Totals:	38	3.08	48	3.41	31	2.99	5	3.42	5	2.16	0	--	19	3.32	12	3.04	158	3.18	1.31
Groups taking Form 45:																			
Psychiatric Clinic Men	6	2.90	14	3.58	9	4.07	1	4.60	2	4.00	1	3.70	8	3.28	9	4.08	50	3.67	1.59
Psychiatric Clinic Women	12	3.51	4	3.03	3	4.37	0	--	0	--	0	--	27	3.20	25	4.21	71	3.65	1.60
Totals:	18	3.31	18	3.46	12	4.14	1	4.60	2	4.00	1	3.70	35	3.22	34	4.17	121	3.66	1.62
Groups taking Form 40:																			
Middle-Class Women	22	2.80	19	3.00	8	2.92	1	1.00	3	3.27	1	6.40	17	3.42	83	4.13	154	3.64	1.96
Middle-Class Men	11	4.49	3	4.87	9	4.04	12	4.27	25	2.89	1	4.00	0	--	8	5.10	69	3.89	2.08
Working-Class Men	7	4.20	26	4.11	8	2.80	7	2.71	3	4.67	0	--	1	4.80	7	4.20	59	3.83	1.72
Totals:	40	3.51	48	3.72	25	3.29	20	3.56	31	3.10	2	5.20	18	3.50	98	4.21	282	3.74	2.10
Over-all totals:	96	3.30	114	3.55	68	3.30	26	3.57	38	3.02	3	4.70	72	3.32	144	4.10	561	3.57	--

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms:
Form 60: E Scale (12 items)
Form 45: E Scale (10 items)
Form 40: E Scale (5 items)

[b]These groupings are based on answers to the following question: "What is your present income (to nearest $500 per year) ____."

It will be noted that some 25 per cent of the total sample reported "no income," while 13 per cent left the question blank. The majority of reported incomes were below $3,000 per year, only three individuals reporting incomes of over $10,000. Among the incomes below $5,000 there are no appreciable differences in E mean (3.30 to 3.57), and no consistent trend of increase or decrease. However, the $5,000–$10,000 group has a conspicuously low E mean of 3.02, while the "above $10,000" group is highest in ethnocentrism, with a mean of 4.70. The large but heterogeneous group—mostly women—with no income is also relatively high on E (4.10). Among the Working-Class Men (Form 40), E mean decreases as income increases up to $5,000, after which the E mean goes up again. Among the Middle-Class Men (Form 40) and the University of Oregon and University of California Student Men (Form 60), on the other hand, the $5,000–$10,000 group is by far the lowest on E. Thus, *there is no simple relation between income and ethnocentrism*, and the relation between income and ideology may well be different for the middle class as compared with the working class. It is of some interest that in the two groups of nonstudent women (Psychiatric Clinic and Middle Class) those with no income were considerably more ethnocentric on the average than those with some income. The lower E mean in women who work may be due to their economic position; it is more likely, however, that the personality trends which lead to nonethnocentrism tend to produce also the willingness or desire to have gainful work.

It seemed that *expected* income might yield a better measure of economic aspirations (and perhaps of class identification) than did present income. The mean E scores for groups divided on the basis of expected income (ten years from now) are presented in Table 18 (V). The two largest groups are those expecting $5,000–$10,000 and $3,000–$3,900, in that order. The over-all totals for all samples combined show that E mean gradually increases as expected income increases. However, the data for individual samples reveal a more complex state of affairs. The E mean for the three highest income groupings ($4,000 and above) is greater than that for the low income groupings mainly because the ethnocentric Maritime School samples (Forms 45 and 40) form the bulk (50–70 per cent) of these groupings. It will be noted that within each Maritime School sample there is no clear-cut relationship between expected income and E mean. Similarly, there are no consistent trends in the other samples. Thus, for Form 78 the $4,000–$10,000 levels are slightly but not significantly more ethnocentric than the lower levels, but the lowest E mean is for the "above $10,000" level. For Form 60, on the other hand, the variations in E mean are small (2.97 to 3.34) and unrelated to income. Differences among samples are, therefore, much greater than differences among actual or expected income levels.[16] These results have little if any bearing

[16] Similar negative results were obtained in preliminary (unpublished) studies of E in relation to *desired* income.

TABLE 18 (V)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS HAVING VARIOUS LEVELS OF EXPECTED YEARLY INCOME

Group	Expected Income: Below $2,000 N	Mean	$2,000-2,900 N	Mean
Groups taking Form 78:				
U.C. Public Speaking Class Women	6	3.08	26	2.99
U.C. Public Speaking Class Men	0	----	5	3.74
Extension Psychology Class Women	0	----	4	3.80
Professional Women	14	2.91	11	2.65
Totals:	20	2.97	46	3.06
Groups taking Form 60:				
University of Oregon Student Women	2	2.99	9	3.27
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	6	3.90	9	3.30
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	2	1.99	2	3.07
Totals:	10	3.34	20	3.27
Groups taking Form 45:				
Maritime School Men	3	5.17	9	4.16
Psychiatric Clinic Men	0	----	3	3.30
Totals	3	5.17	12	3.94
Group taking Form 40:				
Maritime School Men	1	5.20	16	5.22
Over-all totals:	34	3.34	94	3.37

on the theory that *economic forces* play a basic role in creating a setting for the development of ethnocentrism; but they provide evidence against the hypothesis that economic level and economic motives *per se* operate as major *psychological forces* impelling the individual in an ethnocentric or anti-ethnocentric direction.

A further hypothesis to be considered is that prejudice is determined by the economic level of the parents. Stated most simply: "A person growing up in a rich family is more likely to be prejudiced than one growing up in a middle- or low-income family." In order to make a partial test of this hypothesis, a question regarding father's income was included in the questionnaire, and the mean A-S or E score was obtained for groups representing several income levels. The data are presented in Table 19(V). The number of cases

Expected Income													
$3,000-3,900		$4,000-4,900		$5,000-10,000		Above $10,000		Blank		None		Over-all		
N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
21	3.18	6	4.32	11	3.62	0	----	56	3.45	14	3.11	140	3.32	1.43
9	3.00	10	3.52	22	3.55	1	1.20	5	2.76	0	----	52	3.34	1.48
4	2.10	1	3.80	4	2.35	0	----	29	3.66	0	----	42	3.40	1.36
14	2.84	3	2.07	4	2.10	3	3.07	14	2.04	0	----	63	2.57	1.37
48	2.95	20.	3.56	41	3.31	4	2.60	104	3.28	14	3.11	297	3.18	1.46
6	3.54	1	2.66	1	2.82	0	----	19	3.50	9	3.55	47	3.42	1.38
16	2.91	4	4.03	3	1.91	0	----	8	3.71	8	2.95	54	3.24	1.29
12	2.75	7	2.70	24	3.12	4	3.03	6	3.03	0	----	57	2.93	1.25
34	2.97	12	3.14	28	2.98	4	3.03	33	3.47	17	3.27	158	3.18	1.31
27	4.57	14	4.52	70	4.46	12	4.38	2	3.95	41	3.98	178	4.36	1.60
8	3.59	3	4.73	10	3.45	1	3.40	0	----	25	3.70	50	3.67	1.59
35	4.34	17	4.55	80	4.34	13	4.30	2	3.95	66	3.87	228	4.20	1.62
28	5.23	20	5.05	44	5.06	10	5.60	0	----	45	4.84	164	5.08	1.76
145	3.73	69	4.16	193	4.09	31	4.34	139	3.33	142	4.03	847	3.82	----

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms:

Form 78: A-S Scale (12 items)
Form 60: E Scale (10 items)
Form 45: E Scale (10 items)
Form 40: E Scale (5 items)

in the various income levels provides another indication of the largely middle-class character of the total sample. The $5,000–$10,000 group was the largest, with 205 cases. The $2,000–$2,900 and $3,000–$3,900 groups, which during 1944–46 would probably have been the largest in the general population, had 154 and 186 cases, respectively. A disproportionately large number, 55, were in the "$10,000 and above" group. The interpretation of these data is complicated by the fact that the father's income now may not be what it was

TABLE 19 (V)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS WHOSE FATHERS HAD VARIOUS INCOMES

	Below $2,000		$2,000-2,900	
	N	Mean	N	Mean
Groups taking Form 78:				
U.C. Public Speaking Class Women	8	2.94	17	3.35
U.C. Public Speaking Class Men	2	5.45	6	3.33
Extension Psychology Class Women	1	4.20	2	4.25
Professional Women	2	5.65	6	2.30
Totals:	13	3.84	31	3.20
Groups taking Form 60:				
University of Oregon Student Women	5	3.45	7	3.08
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	0	----	9	3.17
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	6	2.60	11	3.28
Totals:	11	2.99	27	3.19
Groups taking Form 45:				
Maritime School Men	12	3.88	26	4.09
Psychiatric Clinic Men	6	3.62	4	2.88
Psychiatric Clinic Women	5	4.36	4	3.70
Totals:	23	3.92	34	3.90
Groups taking Form 40:				
George Washington University Student Women	2	4.80	7	3.20
Maritime School Men	6	5.57	34	5.48
Middle-Class Women	7	3.46	9	3.29
Middle-Class Men	3	2.87	8	3.35
Working-Class Men	5	4.00	4	5.40
Totals:	23	4.16	62	4.62
Over-all totals:	70	3.84	154	3.92

during the subject's childhood. It should also be noted that almost half of the subjects left this question blank; it is not possible to say how much this has influenced the results.

The E means in Table 19(V) do not vary consistently in relation to father's income. They show negligible and unsystematic variations (from 3·77 to 3.92) among the various levels below $10,000. However, the group whose fathers earned $10,000 per year and above is significantly *less* ethnocentric than the combined lower income levels (means of 3.35 and 3.84

$3,000-3,900		$4,000-4,900		$5,000-10,000		Above $10,000		Blank		Over-all		
N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
28	2.99	9	3.97	22	3.32	11	3.83	45	3.34	140	3.32	1.43
10	3.18	5	3.42	13	3.39	5	3.34	11	3.03	52	3.34	1.48
7	3.17	0	----	4	2.63	1	4.70	27	3.43	42	3.40	1.36
3	2.40	0	----	10	2.23	5	2.34	37	2.59	63	2.57	1.37
48	3.02	14	3.77	49	3.06	22	3.42	120	3.10	297	3.18	1.46
8	3.17	0	----	10	3.03	1	5.31	16	3.80	47	3.42	1.38
9	3.14	4	3.13	11	3.34	0	----	21	3.28	54	3.24	1.29
8	3.17	5	2.56	8	2.66	2	2.49	17	3.01	57	2.93	1.25
25	3.16	9	2.81	29	3.05	3	3.43	54	3.35	158	3.18	1.31
31	4.48	12	4.68	28	4.68	8	3.54	64	4.40	178	4.36	1.60
6	3.03	2	3.25	7	2.97	0	----	25	4.18	50	3.67	1.59
5	1.66	2	3.95	6	2.75	1	1.60	48	3.92	71	3.65	1.60
42	3.94	16	4.41	41	4.11	9	3.32	134	4.19	299	4.07	1.63
13	4.11	10	3.64	35	4.14	7	3.97	58	4.12	132	4.04	1.58
30	5.01	14	4.73	29	5.13	5	4.60	46	4.89	164	5.08	1.76
10	3.30	5	1.84	9	2.64	5	1.72	109	3.96	154	3.64	1.96
6	4.63	5	4.56	10	4.12	4	2.40	33	4.00	69	3.89	2.08
12	4.00	0	----	3	5.67	0	----	35	3.41	59	3.83	1.72
71	4.40	34	3.96	86	4.37	21	3.29	281	4.08	578	4.19	1.90
186	3.77	73	3.88	205	3.82	55	3.35	589	3.84	1332	3.82	-

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms:

Form 78: A-S Scale (10 items)
Form 60: E Scale (12 items)
Form 45: E Scale (10 items)
Form 40: E Scale (5 items)

respectively). Whether this lower mean holds for *all* individuals whose fathers are in this income group, or only for those individuals who get into organized groups such as those tested, is not clear. Further study may reveal that the lower E mean characterizes those individuals who were born in wealthier families but who tend—presumably for emotionally important reasons—to gravitate toward middle- or working-class groups, occupations, and ideologies. We are led to suspect, on the basis of results in numerous areas, that upward class mobility and identification with the *status quo* correlate positively with ethnocentrism, and that downward class mobility and identification go with anti-ethnocentrism.

A final "socioeconomic background" factor studied was father's occupation. Table 20(V) gives the mean E score for various groups based on occupation of father. The most common occupations (N = 136–169) were: Labor (skilled and unskilled), white collar, and big business-managerial. Small business and professional groups were next in size (N = 95 and 90), and in order of decreasing size we find farmers, engineers, government officials, and religious (ministers, etc.). With regard to E mean, there are only three groups which deviate more than 0.3 points from the over-all mean of 3.86. The offspring of engineers are significantly above average, with a mean of 4.36. On the other hand, the offspring of fathers with religious or government occupations are well below average (3.20 and 3.25). For all other occupations differences are minor and even smaller than the differences from sample to sample for any one occupation. No occupational grouping is consistently high or consistently low in every sample. Even in the case of fathers with big business and managerial occupations, the E mean varies considerably; it is sometimes below, sometimes above that for the test group from which it was taken. Thus, we find particularly low E means for this occupational group in the Extension Psychology Class and Professional Women, and a relatively high mean for the George Washington University Women (relative to the other occupational groupings in each sample). These variations suggest, as do the data above, that ethnocentrism in the individual is not significantly correlated with many of the socioeconomic groupings which are commonly assumed (by many social scientists as well as by laymen) to be direct, immediate determinants of ethnocentrism. It is the *meaning* of the group to the individual rather than membership *per se*, that helps us to predict his stand on ethnocentrism and other issues.

On the basis of the group membership data presented in this section (Tables 12(V)–20(V)), certain hypotheses can tentatively be drawn. Perhaps the first lesson to be learned concerns the danger of stereotyped thinking about groups. *No broad grouping in this study showed anything approaching ideological homogeneity*. This is not presented as a startling discovery but rather as a sober reminder to those who assume a close relation

TABLE 20 (V)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES[a] FOR GROUPS WHOSE FATHERS HAVE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS

Groups	Labor (skilled and unskilled)		White collar (including foremen)		Small independent businessmen		Farmer		Religious		Professional		Engineer		Big business and managerial		Government official		Noncategorized (sick, dead, retired, miscellaneous)		Blank		Over-all		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
Groups taking Form 78:																									
U.C. Public Speaking Class Women	23	2.93	25	3.16	12	3.76	9	3.08	3	2.20	16	3.28	10	4.31	36	3.38	0	----	6	3.67	0	----	140	3.32	1.43
U.C. Public Speaking Class Men	16	3.65	5	2.96	10	2.35	0	----	1	2.60	6	3.70	2	4.80	8	3.96	0	----	4	2.78	0	----	52	3.34	1.48
Extension Psychology Class Women	1	4.00	8	3.23	2	4.55	3	4.10	0	----	4	3.13	2	3.20	6	2.72	0	----	16	3.53	0	----	42	3.40	1.36
Professional Women	6	2.80	12	2.23	6	2.75	4	3.05	0	----	9	1.63	1	2.00	10	2.34	0	----	15	3.32	0	----	63	2.57	1.37
Totals:	46	3.19	50	2.92	30	3.15	16	3.26	4	2.30	35	2.91	15	4.07	60	3.22	0	----	41	3.40	0	----	297	3.18	1.46
Groups taking Form 60:																									
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	5	2.94	8	3.37	3	3.54	6	4.08	0	----	4	3.30	0	----	13	3.20	0	----	8	3.58	0	----	47	3.42	1.38
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	1	2.32	14	3.45	4	3.44	8	3.05	3	3.10	2	2.82	2	1.95	13	3.66	0	----	7	2.80	0	----	54	3.24	1.29
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	8	3.24	7	3.69	6	2.35	11	2.54	2	1.99	5	2.97	0	----	7	2.58	0	----	11	3.34	0	----	57	2.93	1.25
Totals:	14	3.07	29	3.49	13	2.96	25	3.07	5	2.68	11	3.06	2	1.95	33	3.25	0	----	26	3.27	0	----	158	3.18	1.31
Groups taking Form 45:																									
Maritime School Men	48	4.16	29	4.29	17	4.32	9	4.82	1	6.30	9	4.08	5	5.22	18	4.58	0	----	30	4.45	12	4.08	178	4.36	1.60
Groups taking Form 40:																									
George Washington University Student Women	14	3.83	20	4.28	10	4.34	1	2.20	1	6.40	25	4.03	9	3.78	18	4.79	12	3.25	18	3.71	4	3.95	132	4.04	1.58
Maritime School Men	47	5.22	16	4.76	25	5.01	10	5.72	0	----	10	5.30	12	5.18	7	5.00	0	----	26	5.09	11	4.20	164	5.08	1.76
Totals:	61	4.90	36	4.49	35	4.82	11	5.40	1	6.40	35	4.39	21	4.58	25	4.85	12	3.25	44	4.53	15	4.13	296	4.61	1.78
Over-all totals:	169	4.07	144	3.70	95	3.95	61	3.81	11	3.20	90	3.62	43	4.36	136	3.71	12	3.25	141	3.95	27	4.11	929	3.86	

[a]The following scales were used in the various forms:

Form 78: A-S Scale (10 items)
Form 60: E Scale (12 items)
Form 45: E Scale (10 items)
Form 40: E Scale (5 items)

between prejudice and membership in certain groups. While certain average differences have been found, the Standard Deviations are large and the overlapping between groups considerable. This does not mean that group memberships and social forces are unimportant in the formation and in the expression of ethnocentrism; indeed, there is a wealth of sociological literature to show that they are. Rather, it would appear that sociological factors play an essential but *complex and indirect* psychological role. Social psychology must, therefore, advance beyond its initial stage of seeking—and expecting to find—simple relationships between ideology and group memberships; it must go on to study the complex processes by which the individual *selectivity assimilates* the manifold pressures from his socio-ideological environment.

While no ideologically homogeneous groupings were found, there were significant relations between ethnocentrism and certain group memberships. The groups which are most differentiated with respect to ethnocentrism—that is, which tend to be predominantly high or predominantly low—have two main properties: They involve membership by choice rather than membership by birth, and they show relatively great homogeneity with respect to various other psychological characteristics. Thus, the political preference or the income-occupation grouping of the father shows no consistent relation to ethnocentrism in the offspring. But the subject's personal political preference (membership by choice), like his socioeconomic aspirations and his tendency to accept or reject his father's political views, is more closely related to E score. Similarly, membership in the exclusive Women's Club or the Labor School is more significant in terms of E than membership in the United Electrical Workers Union or the Parent-Teachers' Association, the latter groups being less homogeneous in all ideological areas.

The group memberships having the greatest significance for ethnocentrism are, then, those which have the greatest *psychological significance* for the individual. They are, it seems, groups which the individual chooses to join because they permit the further development and fuller expression of dispositions existing prior to joining. We are forced to reexamine the notion that the group membership determines the ideology—that, for example, a man is prejudiced *because* he is a Republican or a member of a snobbish club. Not only is the ideology likely to have preceded (in at least a primitive form) the joining of the group but, more important, both the ideology and the group membership seem to express deeper trends in the individual. An example of such a trend is "independence" versus "submission" in relation to parental authority. Thus, high scorers on E demonstrated greater submission and conformity than did the low scorers, both in the content of their ideology (E and PEC) and in their choice of political party (Table 14(V)). The individual's choice of group, like his choice of ideology, appears to be not merely a matter of chance or of simple imitation, but in large part an expres-

sion of important emotional dispositions. Before turning to these issues in more detail we shall, in the next chapter, consider religious ideology and groupings in relation to ethnocentrism.

F. CONCLUSIONS

The study of politico-economic ideology and group memberships has led to a broadening in our conception of the antidemocratic individual. The Anti-Semitism and Ethnocentrism scales, our primary measures of antidemocratic trends, show statistically significant relationships with the right-left dimension of politico-economic ideology. There appears to be an affinity between conservatism and ethnocentrism, liberalism and anti-ethnocentrism. The relationship is, however, quantitatively imperfect (r = approximately .5) and qualitatively complex. It is proposed, in further studies, to break down the right-left dimension into numerous ideological patterns. One of these—perhaps the most significant in terms of potential antidemocracy—is the *pseudoconservative.*

In previous chapters we have seen that anti-Semitism or anti-Negroism, for example, are not isolated attitudes but parts of a relatively unified ethnocentric ideology. The present chapter suggests that ethnocentrism itself is but one aspect of a broader pattern of social thinking and group functioning. Trends similar to those underlying ethnocentric ideology are found in the same individual's politico-economic ideology. In short, ideology regarding each social area must be regarded as a facet of the total person and an expression of more central ("subideological") psychological dispositions.

CHAPTER VI

ETHNOCENTRISM IN RELATION TO SOME RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

R. Nevitt Sanford

A. INTRODUCTION

In approaching the topic of religion, the general question was similar to that raised in connection with politico-economic ideology: What trends in religious thought and practice can be distinguished and what, if any, is their significance for prejudice or its opposite? Categories for the analysis of religious thought were not, however, ready to hand. It seemed that a qualitative study of interview material had to precede any attempt to quantify trends in religious ideology. Such a study was made, and it is reported in Chapter XVIII,[1] but since the collection of interviews and of questionnaires proceeded simultaneously, it was not possible to make use of a completed qualitative analysis in preparing measuring instruments for use with groups of subjects. Only a few hypotheses, suggested during the early stages of the study, were represented in the content of the questionnaire. The present chapter is concerned solely with results obtained through the use of the questionnaire. These results were derived from data on the religious affiliations of the subjects and their parents as set forth on the first page of the questionnaire, from answers to an open-ended question about religion and the church which was used in a preliminary form of the questionnaire, and from responses to three scale items which belong in the general area of religion.

B. RESULTS

1. RELIGIOUS GROUP MEMBERSHIPS

a. ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION OF RELIGION. Data on religious affiliation were obtained by means of the question, "What is your religion?" which

[1] Interview material bearing on certain religious attitudes also appears in Chapters XI and XXI.

appeared on page one of the questionnaire in all four of its forms. In answering this question, subjects gave the name of some religious sect or wrote "none" or left the question blank. The answer "none" is taken as an indication that the subject rejects religion, while answering with the name of some religious group is taken as evidence that he somehow accepts religion. When the question is left blank, no inferences can be made. The data obtained by means of this question from the four forms of the questionnaire are summarized in Table 1(VI).

Attention may first be called to the fact that subjects who answer "none" (last column but one in Table 1(VI)) obtain an over-all mean A-S or E score, 2.71 (last row in Table 1(VI)), that is notably lower than the means for most of the religious groups.[2] The only exceptions appear in the case of the Unitarians, whose over-all mean is 1.99, and the Combined Minor Protestant Sects, whose over-all mean is 2.49. For all the other religious denominations the means are in the range 3.41 (Congregational) to 4.38 (Lutheran). These trends appear in the data for each form of the questionnaire as well as in the over-all totals. If all subjects who professed to some religious affiliation were placed in one group for statistical purposes, their mean score would be very much higher than that of those who claim no religious affiliation. There seems to be no doubt that subjects who reject organized religion are less prejudiced on the average than those who, in one way or another, accept it.

Subjects with religious affiliations are not, however, generally ethnocentric. Although the nonreligious subjects are clearly nonethnocentric on the average, the mean scores for the various religious denominations are, on the whole, very close to the neutral point.

The overwhelming majority of our subjects do profess to some religious affiliation. The nonreligious, nonethnocentric group is relatively small in number and, probably, not very important socially. The variability among the religious subjects seems to be almost as great as it is for our over-all sample. This means that among our religious subjects both extreme high and extreme low scorers are to be found. We must also take note of the fact that among the nonreligious subjects, high as well as low scorers appear. In this latter connection a possible sex difference is to be noted. Nonreligious women seem to obtain lower scores on the average than do nonreligious men. (Note, in the "none" column of Table 1(VI), the means for the groups of women and for the groups of men.) The nonreligious women almost always score definitely low while the nonreligious men are much more variable.

b. Ethnocentrism in Different Religious Denominations. If we ask why some religious people score high and others low on ethnocentrism, we

[2] The estimation of the significance of differences between means in this chapter follows the same rule that was used in Chapter V. Cf. the footnote 12 to Chap. V. If the N's for the groups in question are as large as 50, then a difference of .6 is likely to be significant, at least at the 5 per cent level. Most of the differences discussed in this chapter are much larger than .6 and seem well above the minimum requirements of statistical significance.

TABLE 1 (VI)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES OF VARIOUS RELIGIOUS GROUPS

	I. Catholic		II. Protestant[a]		III. Combined Major Protestant Sects		Presby-terian		Methodist		Lutheran	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Groups taking Form 78:												
Public Speaking Class Women	23	3.15	24	3.35	(80)	(3.52)	18	3.69	19	3.70	6	4.03
Public Speaking Class Men	9	3.66	14	3.73	(18)	(3.04)	5	2.98	4	2.60	1	3.70
Extension Class Women	8	4.38	13	3.99	(9)	(2.80)	2	1.80	1	2.50	0	--
Professional Women	10	2.44	17	2.64	(22)	(3.09)	1	5.10	1	4.80	0	--
Total: Form 78	50	3.29	68	3.37	(129)	(3.33)	26	3.46	25	3.52	7	3.99
Groups taking Form 60:												
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	3	3.36	4	1.85	(26)	(4.12)	8	3.63	4	4.08	1	5.25
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	5	3.40	18	3.15	(20)	(3.60)	3	3.83	3	3.25	2	2.58
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	4	3.98	13	3.15	(19)	(3.11)	2	3.92	3	2.86	2	4.50
Total: Form 60	12	3.58	35	3.05	(65)	(3.66)	13	3.72	10	3.47	5	3.88
Groups taking Form 45:												
Maritime School Men	25	4.36	77	4.59	(46)	(4.51)	3	5.23	12	4.65	9	4.42
Psychiatric Clinic Men	11	3.46	18	3.94	(6)	(4.32)	2	3.30	1	5.50	0	--
Psychiatric Clinic Women	18	4.55	15	4.58	(18)	(3.53)	5	3.58	6	2.90	3	3.80
San Quentin Men	24	4.67	38	4.49	(29)	(4.65)	4	4.35	7	4.83	4	4.98
Total: Form 45[c]	54	4.24	110	4.48	(70)	(4.24)	10	4.02	19	4.14	12	4.27
Groups taking Form 40:												
Geo. Washington Univ. Women	16	4.51	15	3.99	(81)	(4.16)	15	4.53	12	4.52	4	4.15
Maritime School Men	35	5.15	59	5.24	(42)	(5.07)	7	4.09	9	5.07	4	5.80
Middle-Class Women	6	4.57	60	3.98	(61)	(3.59)	9	4.20	3	5.60	1	6.40
Middle-Class Men	3	6.20	29	4.28	(20)	(4.15)	3	4.00	5	4.48	1	5.00
Working-Class Men	14	4.67	16	3.75	(13)	(4.15)	0	--	5	4.12	5	4.20
Total: Form 40	74	4.92	179	4.42	(217)	(4.18)	34	4.31	34	4.69	15	4.81
Over-all total: four forms	190	4.21	392	4.13	(481)	(3.89)	83	3.92	88	4.10	39	4.38

[a] *Protestant* here refers to subjects who answered "Protestant" but did not give the name of any denomination.

[b] The following denominations of sects were combined: Bible, Brethren, Christian, Disciple, Evangelical, Humanist, Moral Rearmament, Natural Law, Nazarene, Quaker, Adventist, Unity, Universalist. The designations of these sects are those employed by the subjects in filling out their questionnaires. The division into major and minor Protestant sects does not conform in every particular with the actual membership figures for the whole United States; it was

naturally turn our attention first to the question of what role the particular religious denomination or sect has to play. Examination of Table 1(VI) shows that there are no differences of any significance between Catholics and Protestants, and this regardless of whether we place in one category those subjects who answered "Protestant" or whether we combine the largest Protestant denominations. Among the Protestant denominations which have been classed as "major," only one group distinguishes itself: the Unitarians[3] have a lower mean score than any of the others. This seems to be in keeping with the generally liberal outlook of this group. The minor Protestant denominations taken together obtain a lower mean score than do any of the other religious groups save the Unitarians. Unfortunately, none of

[3] In terms of membership figures for the United States this body probably should not be classed as "major."

Congregational		Episcopalian		Baptist		Christian Science		Mormon		Unitarian		IV. Combined Minor Protestant Sects[b]		V. None		VI. Blank	
N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
2	2.26	21	3.30	5	3.18	5	3.46	3	4.30	1	1.10	(0)	(--)	10	2.49	0	--
0	--	4	2.60	1	5.60	2	4.00	0	--	1	1.80	(3)	(2.27)	7	3.16	1	5.10
0	--	1	4.70	2	4.50	1	1.60	1	2.60	1	1.20	(0)	(--)	6	1.95	5	3.22
1	2.90	11	3.46	3	1.87	0	--	1	2.70	4	2.18	(0)	(--)	9	1.28	2	1.95
3	2.47	37	3.31	11	3.28	8	3.36	5	3.64	7	1.83	(3)	(2.27)	32	2.19	8	3.14
0	--	8	3.90	2	5.42	2	5.13	1	4.17	0	--	(0)	(--)	3	1.17	1	1.67
1	1.75	7	4.05	1	3.25	3	4.11	0	--	0	--	(0)	(--)	5	2.30	0	--
1	2.08	2	2.71	3	2.97	2	4.00	4	2.31	0	--	(0)	(--)	10	2.27	1	1.58
2	1.92	17	3.82	6	3.83	7	4.37	5	2.68	0	--	(0)	(--)	18	2.09	2	1.63
0	--	4	3.83	10	4.62	4	4.13	4	4.50	0	--	(0)	(--)	23	3.65	5	2.62
0	--	0	--	1	5.70	1	4.50	1	3.60	0	--	(2)	(1.50)	8	3.38	3	3.67
1	3.00	2	3.60	1	6.60	0	--	0	--	0	--	(0)	(--)	15	1.91	2	3.45
0	--	4	5.00	2	5.90	5	4.02	3	3.90	0	--	(0)	(--)	12	4.22	5	5.82
1	3.00	6	3.75	12	4.88	5	4.20	5	4.32	0	--	(2)	(1.50)	46	3.04	10	3.10
3	3.67	30	4.00	10	4.24	4	4.40	1	4.60	2	1.10	(4)	(2.85)	10	2.94	2	2.40
1	1.40	4	6.50	7	5.45	6	4.80	4	5.30	0	--	(0)	(--)	18	4.76	3	4.53
8	4.48	17	2.58	4	5.70	5	3.96	1	6.20	13	2.25	(2)	(2.60)	14	1.37	4	3.50
1	2.40	5	2.92	1	6.60	1	6.60	2	5.90	1	1.60	(0)	(--)	14	2.49	1	1.20
0	--	1	4.60	1	4.20	1	3.60	0	--	0	--	(1)	(3.40)	11	2.24	3	4.00
13	3.89	57	3.67	23	4.99	17	4.49	8	5.52	16	2.06	(7)	(2.86)	67	2.89	13	3.51
19	3.41	117	3.58	111	3.94	37	4.18	23	4.23	23	1.99	(23)	(2.49)	163	2.71	33	3.18

influenced somewhat by the representation of these sects within our over-all sample.

[c]The San Quentin Group was not included in obtaining any of the over-all values: their means were so much higher than those of any other group, for reasons which seemed to have little to do with religion (see Chapter XXI), that the inclusion of this large group would throw the general picture out of focus.

these minor groups was represented by enough subjects to warrant separate statistical treatment, and we have undoubtedly combined groups which have little in common. There is, however, the suggestion that belonging to a minor denomination expresses some measure of dissent or nonconformity, or at least some lack of identification with the *status quo*, and that this is something which works against ethnocentrism. An interesting project would be to obtain representative samples of these groups and to study the specific contents of their beliefs in relation to patterns of response on the present scales.

c. Church Attendance. Another type of difference among people with religious affiliations, a difference that might be significant for prejudice, is in the matter of frequency of church attendance. It might be supposed that those who attend regularly participate more fully in those aspects of formalized religion which seem to favor ethnocentrism, and hence will obtain higher A-S or E scores than those who attend less frequently. The data

TABLE 2 (VI)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES FOR GROUPS SHOWING VARIOUS FREQUENCIES OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

	1. Regular		2. Often		3. Seldom		Combined 1, 2, 3		Never		Blank		Over-all		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
Groups taking Form 78:															
Public Speaking Class Women	45	3.09	39	3.71	47	3.28	131	3.34	6	3.20	3	4.70	140	3.32	1.43
Public Speaking Class Men	11	3.43	10	3.28	23	3.55	44	3.45	7	2.87	1	1.90	52	3.34	1.48
Extension Psychology Class Women	6	4.47	7	3.09	24	3.21	37	3.39	4	3.70	1	2.50	42	3.40	1.36
Professional Women	14	2.70	11	3.04	24	2.76	49	2.81	13	1.76	1	1.70	63	2.57	1.37
Totals:	76	3.20	67	3.47	118	3.21	281	3.27	30	2.37	6	3.37	297	3.18	1.46
Groups taking Form 60:															
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	11	3.36	11	3.59	25	3.39	47	3.45	0	--	0	--	47	3.43	1.38
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	17	3.39	10	3.59	24	3.87	51	3.18	3	4.42	0	--	54	3.25	1.29
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	15	2.99	14	3.30	20	2.97	49	3.07	8	2.19	0	--	37	2.95	1.26
Totals:	43	3.24	35	3.47	69	3.09	147	3.23	11	2.80	0	--	158	3.20	1.32
Groups taking Form 45:															
Maritime School Men	14	4.74	29	4.36	100	4.46	143	4.46	32	3.82	3	4.77	178	4.36	1.60
Psychiatric Clinic Men	7	2.60	9	3.89	22	4.24	38	3.86	10	2.98	2	3.50	50	3.67	1.59
Psychiatric Clinic Women	12	4.35	13	3.65	29	4.20	54	4.10	16	2.28	1	1.30	71	3.65	1.60
Totals:	33	4.15	51	4.09	151	4.38	235	4.28	58	3.25	6	3.77	299	4.07	1.63
Groups taking Form 40:															
Geo. Washington Univ. Women	47	4.34	42	4.43	36	3.44	125	4.11	5	2.32	2	4.20	132	4.04	1.58
Maritime School Men	17	4.67	45	5.42	82	5.09	144	5.14	16	4.66	4	4.40	164	5.08	1.76
Middle-Class Women	35	4.14	38	3.61	57	3.92	130	3.89	17	1.56	7	4.06	154	3.64	1.96
Middle-Class Men	9	3.56	12	5.37	27	4.26	48	4.40	19	2.60	2	3.90	69	3.88	2.08
Working-Class Men	8	4.50	13	4.72	27	3.72	48	4.14	9	2.40	2	3.60	59	3.83	1.72
Totals:	116	4.27	150	4.62	229	4.28	495	4.38	66	2.78	17	4.08	578	4.19	1.90
Over-all Totals:	268	3.79	303	4.14	567	3.94	1138	3.96	165	2.87	29	3.87	1332	3.82	--

obtained by means of the question, "How often do you attend services?" which appeared in all forms of the questionnaire are given in Table 2(VI). Our supposition with respect to those who attend regularly is not borne out. The mean score for subjects in this category is not significantly different from the means of those who attend often or of those who attend seldom. If, however, we combine these three categories, "regularly," "often," "seldom," and compare the mean score of subjects in this broader category with that of subjects who say they never attend, then it appears that the latter score very notably lower. Once again, it appears that those who reject religion have less ethnocentrism than those who seem to accept it. What it is among the latter that makes for high or for low scores has still to be discovered.

d. Religious Affiliations of Parents. It may be inquired whether religious subjects do not differ, in a way that is significant for prejudice, with respect to the manner in which religious pressures have been applied and the manner in which they have been accepted. It has been pointed out earlier that a group membership which the subject chooses for himself may have a different significance than a group membership which he has by virtue of having grown up within it. It may be suggested also that the homogeneity of the religious pattern to which the subject was subjected during his formative years and the consistency with which religious pressures have been applied have a bearing upon prejudice. Some light may be shed upon these matters by examining the data obtained by asking the subjects to state on their questionnaires what was or is the religion of their father and of their mother. This made it possible to consider various relations between father's religion and that of the mother as possible correlates of ethnocentrism score.

The results of this proceeding are shown in Table 3(VI). Here it is worth noting that, with each form of the questionnaire, A-S or E score is slightly higher on the average in those subjects whose father and mother had the same religion than in those whose parents had different religions.[4] The difference which appears in the over-all totals probably approaches statistical significance. In groups taking Forms 78 and 60 the mean score is slightly lower for subjects neither of whose parents was religious than for subjects in either of the first two categories; in the case of the three groups taking Forms 40 and 45 whose responses were analyzed, the number of subjects in the category "neither religious" is so small as to be negligible. These results suggest that ethnocentrism may be higher in subjects whose parents presented

[4] Calculations of this relationship were performed on only one group taking Form 45 and two groups taking Form 40. The relationships with which we were concerned had appeared so consistently in all groups examined up to the time Form 60 was revised, that it seemed we might economize merely by sampling the remaining groups. This, as it turned out, was not very fortunate, in as much as some of the relationships found with Forms 78 and 60 are not confirmed in the groups selected for analysis from among those taking Forms 40 and 45.

TABLE 3 (VI)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES FOR GROUPS SHOWING VARIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN FATHER'S RELIGION AND MOTHER'S RELIGION

	Relation Between Father's and Mother's Religion																	
	Same Religion		Different Religion		M Religious F Not		F Religious M Not		Neither Religious		Blank		Over-all					
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S. D.			
Groups taking Form 78:																		
Public Speaking Class Women	75	3.42	38	3.53	14	2.89	2	1.40	5	2.66	6	3.00	140	3.32	1.43			
Public Speaking Class Men	36	3.40	7	3.19	5	3.66	0	--	2	1.20	2	4.30	52	3.34	1.48			
Extension Psychology Class Women	25	3.43	10	3.20	2	4.55	0	--	2	2.80	3	3.47	42	3.40	1.36			
Professional Women	35	2.73	15	2.37	9	2.37	0	--	2	1.05	2	3.75	63	2.57	1.37			
Totals:	171	3.28	70	3.20	30	2.97	2	1.40	11	2.13	13	3.42	297	3.18	1.46			
Groups taking Form 60:																		
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	22	3.47	9	3.69	8	3.72	2	2.00	2	3.54	4	2.71	47	3.43	1.38			
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	37	3.54	7	2.66	3	3.47	1	3.00	2	2.88	4	1.71	54	3.25	1.29			
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	41	3.17	6	2.94	5	2.10	0	--	2	2.21	3	1.78	57	2.95	1.26			
Totals:	100	3.38	22	3.16	16	3.17	3	2.33	6	2.88	11	2.09	158	3.20	1.32			
Groups taking Form 45:																		
Maritime School Men	120	4.36	30	4.24	9	4.94	0	--	1	4.60	18	4.21	178	4.36	1.60			
Groups taking Form 40:																		
Geo. Washington Univ. Women	78	4.29	45	3.84	3	2.67	0	--	1	3.40	5	2.96	132	4.04	1.58			
Maritime School Men	115	5.20	19	4.80	12	4.47	0	--	2	5.20	16	4.99	164	5.08	1.76			
Totals:	193	4.83	64	4.12	15	4.11	0	--	3	4.60	21	4.51	296	4.61				
Over-all Totals:	584	4.03	186	3.68	70	3.51	5	1.96	21	2.81	63	3.78	929	3.87	--			

a united religious front than in subjects in whose case the religious influence from the parents was inconsistent, partial, or nonexistent. It may be that in the ethnocentric subjects whose mother and father were both religious, we are dealing with submission to ingroup authority and that the effects are the more pronounced the more consistent that authority has been.

But regardless of what might have been the relation between the father's religion and that of the mother, the subject may or may not have accepted the religious pressures of his family. Going on the assumption that in America religion is most largely a "maternal" matter, we have brought together in Table 4(VI) the mean A-S or E scores of groups showing various relations between the subject's religion and the mother's religion. Here it appears that, in general, subjects professing the same religion as the mother have a higher score on A-S or E than do subjects professing a religion different from that of the mother. Where the mother is religious but the subject not, or the subject is religious while the mother is not, the prejudice score is still lower and as we should expect, the lowest means appear when neither the subject nor the mother is religious. Concerning these results as a whole, one might say that whereas religious affiliation goes with higher scores on the scales, this is less likely to be the case if the religion is "one's own," that is to say, if it has been accepted independently of or in revolt against the main carrier of religious influence in the family. Where this has been the case, the chances are that the religion has been fairly well internalized. More than this, we have reason to believe that submission to and dependence upon parental authority is an important determinant of ethnocentrism; subjects, particularly women, who profess a religion that is different from that of the mother have probably been able to free themselves from these attitudes and hence, to a considerable degree, from prejudice.

The results just presented are much more pronounced in women than in men. The explanation here might be that for men the mother is not usually a center of conflict with respect to authority and that men who side with the mother in the matter of religion may gain thereby something of that Christian humanism which works against prejudice.

These results on family relationships in relation to religion and ethnocentrism suggest that in order to understand why some religious people are prejudiced and others are not, it is necessary to explore the deeper psychological aspects of the problem rather than limit ourselves to gross sociological factors.

2. "IMPORTANCE" OF RELIGION AND THE CHURCH

One approach to the psychological aspects of religion was to ask subjects directly, "How important in your opinion are religion and the Church?" This question appeared on the questionnaire form used just prior to Form 78. Answers were obtained from 123 women students in an Introductory Psy-

TABLE 4 (VI)

MEAN A-S OR E SCORES FOR GROUPS SHOWING VARIOUS RELATIONS BETWEEN SUBJECT'S RELIGION AND MOTHER'S RELIGION

	Relation Between Subject's and Mother's Religion														
	Same		Different		M Religious S Not		M Not S Religious		Neither Religious		Blank		Over-all		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean	S.D.
Groups taking Form 78:															
Public Speaking Class Women	82	3.50	41	3.32	9	2.47	6	2.23	0	--	2	3.45	140	3.32	1.43
Public Speaking Class Men	38	3.37	5	3.48	7	3.71	1	1.20	1	1.20	0	--	52	3.34	1.48
Extension Psychology Class Women	19	3.90	10	3.23	10	2.62	1	4.00	1	1.60	1	4.70	42	3.40	1.36
Professional Women	31	2.74	21	2.95	9	1.48	0	--	2	1.05	0	--	63	2.57	1.37
Totals:	170	3.37	77	3.22	35	2.51	8	2.33	4	1.23	3	3.87	297	3.18	1.46
Groups taking Form 60:															
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	21	4.22	16	3.00	1	1.17	4	2.85	2	1.17	3	3.33	47	3.43	1.38
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	28	3.45	18	3.18	4	2.29	2	3.21	1	2.33	1	2.50	54	3.25	1.29
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	25	3.15	22	3.11	5	1.60	1	1.67	1	2.75	3	2.78	57	2.95	1.26
Totals:	74	3.57	56	3.10	10	1.83	7	2.79	4	1.85	7	2.98	158	3.19	1.32
Groups taking Form 45:															
Maritime School Men	129	4.56	16	4.13	22	3.61	0	--	1	4.50	10	3.72	178	4.36	1.60
Psychiatric Clinic Men	24	4.16	14	2.94	6	3.17	0	--	0	--	6	3.88	50	3.67	1.59
Psychiatric Clinic Women	40	4.25	11	3.75	9	2.22	0	--	4	1.18	7	3.30	71	3.65	1.60
Totals:	193	4.44	41	3.62	37	3.20	0	--	5	1.84	23	3.64	299	4.07	1.63
Groups taking Form 40:															
Geo. Washington Univ. Women	85	4.27	33	3.88	8	3.08	0	--	1	3.40	5	2.92	132	4.04	1.58
Maritime School Men	128	5.10	15	5.43	12	4.33	0	--	2	5.20	7	5.17	164	5.08	1.76
Middle-Class Women	84	4.22	47	3.38	10	1.22	1	1.40	1	1.20	11	2.95	154	3.64	1.96
Middle-Class Men	40	4.49	13	3.75	13	2.60	0	--	1	1.00	2	2.70	69	3.89	2.08
Working-Class Men	33	4.16	7	3.83	11	2.62	5	5.00	1	1.00	2	3.40	59	3.83	1.72
Totals:	370	4.56	115	3.86	54	2.80	6	4.40	6	2.83	27	3.53	578	4.19	1.90
Over-all Totals:	807	4.19	289	3.51	136	2.76	21	3.07	19	2.03	60	3.53	1332	3.82	--

chology Class at the University of California.[5] The responses of the subjects were categorized according to the following scheme:

1. Generally and without qualification against both religion and the Church.
2. "Not important," with no qualifications given.
3. Agnostic; emphasis on values, ethics, way of living fostered by religion and the Church.
4. Emphasis on religion as a source of inner strength and satisfaction.
5. Acceptance of religion but rejection of the Church; emphasis on such concepts as faith and God.
6. "Mildly important," with no qualifications given.
7. Religion and the Church both important; acceptance of prayer, church attendance, religious rituals.

Mean A-S score for subjects giving each of these categories of response was calculated. Means for categories 6 and 7 were relatively high, means for all the other categories relatively low. These results were not, however, satisfactory from a statistical point of view, mainly because several of the categories were represented by very few subjects. It seemed justifiable to combine categories 6 and 7, on the basis that both described a favorable attitude toward religion and the church while making no distinction between the two; similarly, all the remaining categories could be combined on the basis that they represented something other than uncritical acceptance of formalized religion. The means for these two higher-order categories appear in Table 5(VI). Subjects who believe that religion and the church are both important have a mean A-S score of 180.7, and the other subjects, those who are against religion and the church generally, those who accept religion but not the church, and those who emphasize the personal, ethical, and rational aspects of religion, have a mean of 115.4. The difference between these two means is 65.3 and the C. R. is 7.3.

TABLE 5 (VI)

MEAN A-S SCORES OF GROUPS GIVING DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF RESPONSE TO THE QUESTION: "HOW IMPORTANT ARE RELIGION AND THE CHURCH?"

Categories of Response	N	Mean A-S Score	S. D.
"High" categories 6 and 7 combined	65	180.7	54.5
"Low" categories 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 combined	58	115.4	41.8

[5] The over-all data for this group were presented in Chapter III.

These data may be taken to mean that for subjects high on A-S, religion is important primarily as a matter of convention. Subjects who are low on A-S may either be against religion or have a religion that is relatively personal and internalized. The fact of acceptance or rejection of religion is not as important as the *way* in which it is accepted or rejected.

3. SCALE ITEMS

Three items pertaining to religious ideology were included in the scale which attempted to measure potentially fascistic trends in the personality. This scale will be described in the next chapter but it seems appropriate to consider here those items which touch upon the topic of religion. The first item was the following: "The modern church with its many rules and hypocrisies, does not appeal to the deeply religious person; it appeals mainly to the childish, the insecure, and the uncritical." The hypothesis here was that disagreement with the item would indicate uncritical acceptance of the church and, hence, ethnocentrism, and that agreement with the item would indicate either an antireligious attitude or a genuinely religious but more intellectual point of view from which the church might be criticized—something which we should expect to go with low scores on the scales for measuring prejudice. The results were disappointing. The mean score on the item for the 295 subjects taking Form 78 of the questionnaire was 4.67 and the D. $P._{AS}$ was —1.18. It appeared in retrospect that the statement was too complex and awkward, and hence, frequently misunderstood. More than this, the high mean score indicates that relatively few people were ready to criticize the church in this way; this, of course, would lower the chances of the item's being discriminating. Needless to say, the item was not retained in the questionnaire after its first trial.

Another item in the scale was the following: "Every person should have a deep faith in some supernatural force higher than himself to which he gives total allegiance and whose decisions he does not question." The hypothesis was that agreement with this statement, which expresses very firm belief in the supernatural and an attitude of submission toward it, would be associated with prejudice. The mean score for the 295 subjects taking Form 78 was 3.97 and the D. $P._{AS}$, 1.26. When the item, slightly revised, was used in Form 60 of the questionnaire ($N = 226$) the mean score was 3.60 and the D. $P._{E}$, 1.38. These D. P.'s are large enough to indicate that the relation of this item to ethnocentrism approaches statistical significance. The item was significantly correlated with the remainder of the scale in which it appeared, and this total scale was highly correlated with ethnocentrism.

The third item was as follows: "Sciences like chemistry, physics, and medicine have carried man very far but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind." It was considered that subjects in agreeing with this item conceived of a mysterious spiritual

realm of things with respect to which investigation was taboo and toward which their attitude was one of reverence. This outlook was expected to correlate with ethnocentrism. The mean in the case of Form 78 was 4.35 and the D. $P._{AS}$, .97. In the case of Form 60, where the item appeared in a slightly revised version, the mean was 4.98 and the D. $P._{E}$, 1.32. Here, once again, is evidence of a relationship between a particular religious idea and ethnocentrism. This item, like the "supernatural force" item discussed above, was significantly correlated with the remainder of the scale for measuring implicit antidemocratic trends and it was employed throughout the course of the study.

These results suggest that had it been possible to express a variety of religious beliefs, ideas, and sentiments in the form of scale items, more impressive quantitative results bearing on the relations of religious ideology to ethnocentrism would have been obtained. This is a matter which might well be the topic of future research.

C. DISCUSSION

Belonging to or identifying oneself with a religious body in America today certainly does not mean that one thereby takes over the traditional Christian values of tolerance, brotherhood, and equality. On the contrary, it appears that these values are more firmly held by people who do not affiliate with any religious group. It may be that religious affiliation or church attendance is of little importance one way or the other in determining social attitudes, that the great majority of middle-class Americans identify themselves with some religious denomination as a matter of course, without thinking much about it. This would be in keeping with the facts that the mean scores and the variability for the large religious denominations are very similar to those found in our sample as a whole. It may be argued, however, that this conventional approach to religion expresses enough identification with the *status quo*, submission to external authority, and readiness to emphasize moralistically the differences between those who "belong" and those who do not, to differentiate, in terms of E score, members of the large denominations from the nonreligious and from the members of those minor groups which actually stand for trends of an opposite character. At the same time, members of the major denominations seem to differ widely among themselves with respect to trends of this kind, and where there are signs that the acceptance of religion has been determined primarily by conventional or external considerations, E score tends to go up. Thus it is that agreement between the parents in the matter of religious affiliation, a circumstance that might lessen the chances of an awakening on the part of the subject to the issues involved, and sameness of the subject's religion and that of the mother, something that might be indicative of submissiveness toward au-

thority, tend to be associated with ethnocentrism. But among the members of the major denominations there are many subjects whose religion would appear to be "genuine," in the sense that it was arrived at more or less independently of external pressure and takes the form of internalized values. These subjects, it seems, tend to score low, often very low, on ethnocentrism. Subjects with this same outlook probably predominate in the low-scoring Protestant denominations and often, no doubt, they profess to no religious affiliation at all.

It seems that we can approach an understanding of the relations between religion and ethnocentrism by paying attention to what the acceptance or the rejection of religion means to the individual. When the problem is approached from this point of view the psychological factors which appear as most important are much the same as those which came to the fore in the preceding chapters: conformity, conventionalism, authoritarian submission, determination by external pressures, thinking in ingroup-outgroup terms, and the like vs. nonconformity, independence, internalization of values, and so forth. The fragmentary data on religious ideology afforded by the scale items lend themselves to the same mode of interpretation. An attitude of complete submissiveness toward "supernatural forces" and a readiness to accept the essential incomprehensibility of "many important things" strongly suggest the persistence in the individual of infantile attitudes toward the parents, that is to say, of authoritarian submission in a very pure form. Psychological variables of the kind discussed here are investigated directly in the next chapter.

D. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Subjects who profess to some religious affiliation express more prejudice than those who do not; but mean A-S or E scores for all the large denominations are close to the theoretical neutral point. The vast majority of our subjects do identify themselves with some religious group, and the variability with respect to ethnocentrism among these subjects is almost as great as it is in our sample as a whole. The factor of religious denomination does not prove to be very significant. Among the largest denominations no differences of any significance appear; but Unitarians, who seem to be distinguished by their liberalism, and a group of minor Protestant groups, in the case of which there might be some spirit of nonconformity or some lack of identification with the *status quo*, score lower than the others. Frequency of church attendance is also not particularly revealing; however, the finding that those who never attend obtain lower E scores than those who do attend is added evidence that people who reject organized religion are less prejudiced than those who accept it.

When the religious affiliation of the subject is considered in relation to that

of his parents, it appears that ethnocentrism tends to be more pronounced in subjects whose parents presented a unified religious front than in cases where the religious influence from the parents was inconsistent, partial, or nonexistent. Furthermore, there is an indication that agreement between the subject and his or her mother in the matter of religion tends to be associated with ethnocentrism, disagreement with its opposite. These results suggest that acceptance of religion mainly as an expression of submission to a clear pattern of parental authority is a condition favorable to ethnocentrism.

A quantitative approach to religious ideology was made by including in one form of the questionnaire an open-ended question concerning the importance, in the subject's mind, of religion and the church. When a categorization of the answers to this question was made and mean A-S scores calculated, it turned out that the subjects who considered both religion and the church important were very considerably more anti-Semitic than were subjects who considered neither important or emphasized the ethical aspects of religion or differentiated between the church and "real" religion and, while rejecting the former, stressed the more personal and the more rational aspects of the latter.

Two scale-items pertaining to religious ideology appeared to be slightly correlated with prejudice. The more agreement with statements to the effect that people should have "complete faith in some supernatural force" and that "there are some things that can never be understood by the human mind," the higher did the A-S score tend to be.

In general, it appeared that gross, objective factors—denomination and frequency of church attendance—were less significant for prejudice than were certain psychological trends reflected in the way the subject accepted or rejected religion and in the content of his religious ideology. These trends —conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and so forth—were generally the same as those which came to the fore in preceding chapters, and we turn now to our attempt to investigate them directly.

CHAPTER VII

THE MEASUREMENT OF IMPLICIT ANTIDEMOCRATIC TRENDS

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A. INTRODUCTION

At a certain stage of the study, after considerable work with the A-S and E scales had been done, there gradually evolved a plan for constructing a scale that would measure prejudice without appearing to have this aim and without mentioning the name of any minority group. It appeared that such an instrument, if it correlated highly enough with the A-S and E scales, might prove to be a very useful substitute for them. It might be used to survey opinion in groups where "racial questions" were too "ticklish" a matter to permit the introduction of an A-S or E scale, e.g., a group which included many members of one or another ethnic minority. It might be used for measuring prejudice among minority group members themselves. Most important, by circumventing some of the defenses which people employ when asked to express themselves with respect to "race issues," it might provide a more valid measure of prejudice.

The PEC scale might have commended itself as an index of prejudice, but its correlations with the A-S and E scales did not approach being high enough. Moreover, the items of this scale were too explicitly ideological, that is, they might be too readily associated with prejudice in some logical or automatic way. What was needed was a collection of items each of which was correlated with A-S and E but which did not come from an area ordinarily covered in discussions of political, economic, and social matters. The natural place to turn was to the clinical material already collected, where, particularly in the subjects' discussions of such topics as the self, family, sex, interpersonal relations, moral and personal values, there had appeared numerous trends which, it appeared, might be connected with prejudice.

At this point the second—and major—purpose of the new scale began to

take shape. Might not such a scale yield a valid estimate of antidemocratic tendencies at the personality level? It was clear, at the time the new scale was being planned, that anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism were not merely matters of surface opinion, but general tendencies with sources, in part at least, deep within the structure of the person. Would it not be possible to construct a scale that would approach more directly these deeper, often unconscious forces? If so, and if the scale could be validated by means of later clinical studies, would we not have a better estimate of antidemocratic *potential* than could be obtained from the scales that were more openly ideological? The prospect was intriguing. And experience with clinical techniques and with the other scales gave considerable promise of success. In attempting to account for the generality of A-S and of E, to explain what it was that made the diverse items of these scales go together, we had been led to the formulation of enduring psychological dispositions in the person —stereotypy, conventionalism, concern with power, and so forth. Study of the ideological discussions of individuals, e.g., Mack and Larry, had had the same outcome: there appeared to be dispositions in each individual that were reflected in his discussion of each ideological area as well as in his discussion of matters not ordinarily regarded as ideological. And when clinical-genetic material was examined, it appeared that these dispositions could frequently be referred to deep-lying personality needs. The task then was to formulate scale items which, though they were statements of opinions and attitudes and had the same form as those appearing in ordinary opinion-attitude questionnaires, would actually serve as "giveaways" of underlying antidemocratic trends in the personality. This would make it possible to carry over into group studies the insights and hypotheses derived from clinical investigation; it would test whether we could study on a mass scale features ordinarily regarded as individualistic and qualitative.

This second purpose—the quantification of antidemocratic trends at the level of personality—did not supersede the first, that of measuring anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism without mentioning minority groups or current politico-economic issues. Rather, it seemed that the two might be realized together. The notion was that A-S and E would correlate with the new scale because the A-S and E responses were strongly influenced by the underlying trends which the new scale sought to get at by a different approach. Indeed, if such a correlation could be obtained it could be taken as evidence that anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism were not isolated or specific or entirely superficial attitudes but expressions of persistent tendencies in the person. This would depend, however, upon how successful was the attempt to exclude from the new scale items which might have been so frequently or so automatically associated with anti-Semitism or ethnocentrism that they might be regarded as aspects of the same political "line." In any case, however, it seemed that the discovery of opinions and attitudes, in various areas

other than the usual politico-socioeconomic one, that were associated with anti-Semitism and ethnocentrism, would give a more comprehensive grasp of the prejudiced outlook on the world. The new instrument was termed the F scale, to signify its concern with implicit prefascist tendencies.

On theoretical grounds it was expected that the correlations of F with A-S and E would not approach unity. It was hoped that the F scale would catch some of the antidemocratic potential that might not be expressed when subjects responded to items which dealt directly with hostility toward minority groups. True, the items of the present A-S and E scales were, for the most part, so formulated as to allow the subject to express prejudice while maintaining the feeling that he was being democratic. Yet it was recognized that a subject might score relatively low on A-S or E and still, in the interview, where a confidential relationship was established and the interviewer was very permissive, reveal that he was prejudiced. More than this, it had to be admitted that a subject might refuse altogether to express hostility against minority groups and yet reveal features, e.g., a tendency to think of such groups in a stereotyped way or a tendency moralistically to reject social groups other than ethnic ones, which had to be taken as susceptibility to antidemocratic propaganda. If the F scale were to be regarded as a measure of antidemocratic potential—something which might or might not be expressed in open hostility against outgroups—then it could not be perfectly correlated with A-S or E. Rather, the demand to be made of it was that it single out individuals who in intensive clinical study revealed themselves to be receptive to antidemocratic propaganda. Although it was not possible within the scope of the study to use the F scale alone as the basis for selecting interviewees, it was possible to relate F scale score to various other indices of antidemocratic personality trends as brought to light by other techniques. Such trends, it seemed, could exist in the absence of high A-S or E scores.

However, the distinction between potential and manifest should not be overdrawn. Given emotionally determined antidemocratic trends in the person, we should expect that *in general* they would be evoked by the A-S and E items, which were designed for just this purpose, as well as by the F scale and other indirect methods. The person who was high on F but not on A-S or E would be the exception, whose inhibitions upon the expression of prejudice against minorities would require special explanation.

B. CONSTRUCTION OF THE FASCISM (F) SCALE

1. THE UNDERLYING THEORY

The 38 items of the original F scale are shown in Table 1 (VII), numbered in the order of their appearance on Form 78. If the reader considers that most of what has gone before in this volume was either known or

thought about before construction of the F scale began, it will be apparent that in devising the scale we did not proceed in a strictly empirical fashion. We did not consider starting with hundreds of items chosen more or less at random and then seeing by trial and error which ones might be associated with A-S and E. For every item there was a hypothesis, sometimes several hypotheses, stating what might be the nature of its connection with prejudice.

The major source of these hypotheses was the research already performed in the present study. Available for the purpose was the following material: results, such as those given in preceding chapters, from the A-S, E, and PEC scales; numerous correlates of E derived from questionnaire studies, that is, from responses to factual and short essay questions pertaining to such topics as religion, war, ideal society, and so forth; early results from projective questions; finally, and by far the most important, material from the interviews and the Thematic Apperception Tests. Another important source of items was research in fields allied to the present one in which the authors had previously had a part. Principal among these were several studies performed at the University of California on personality in relation to war morale and ideology (19, 20, 102, 107, 108, 109), and researches of the Institute of Social Research such as content analyses of speeches of anti-Semitic agitators and a study on anti-Semitic workers (2, 3, 56, 57, 57A, 57B). Finally, there was the general literature on anti-Semitism and fascism, embracing both empirical and theoretical studies.

It will have been recognized that the interpretation of the material of the present study was guided by a theoretical orientation that was present at the start. The same orientation played the most crucial role in the preparation of the F scale. Once a hypothesis had been formulated concerning the way in which some deep-lying trend in the personality might express itself in some opinion or attitude that was dynamically, though not logically, related to prejudice against outgroups, a preliminary sketch for an item was usually not far to seek: a phrase from the daily newspaper, an utterance by an interviewee, a fragment of ordinary conversation was usually ready at hand. (As will be seen, however, the actual formulation of an item was a technical proceeding to which considerable care had to be devoted.)

As to what kinds of central personality trends we might expect to be the most significant, the major guide, as has been said, was the research which had gone before; they were the trends which, as hypothetical constructs, seemed best to explain the consistency of response on the foregoing scales, and which emerged from the analysis of clinical material as the likely sources of the coherence found in individual cases. Most of these trends have been mentioned before, usually when it was necessary to do so in order to give meaning to obtained results. For example, when it was discovered that the anti-Semitic individual objects to Jews on the ground that they violate conventional moral values, one interpretation was that this individual had a

TABLE 1 (VII)
The F Scale: Form 78

2. Although many people may scoff, it may yet be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
3. America is getting so far from the true American way of life that force may be necessary to restore it.
6. It is only natural and right that women be restricted in certain ways in which men have more freedom.
9. Too many people today are living in an unnatural, soft way; we should return to the fundamentals, to a more red-blooded, active way of life.
10. It is more than a remarkable coincidence that Japan had an earthquake on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, 1944.
12. The modern church, with its many rules and hypocrisies, does not appeal to the deeply religious person; it appeals mainly to the childish, the insecure, and the uncritical.
14. After we finish off the Germans and Japs, we ought to concentrate on other enemies of the human race such as rats, snakes, and germs.
17. Familiarity breeds contempt.
19. One should avoid doing things in public which appear wrong to others, even though one knows that these things are really all right.
20. One of the main values of progressive education is that it gives the child great freedom in expressing those natural impulses and desires so often frowned upon by conventional middle-class society.
23. He is, indeed, contemptible who does not feel an undying love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
24. Today everything is unstable; we should be prepared for a period of constant change, conflict, and upheaval.
28. Novels or stories that tell about what people think and feel are more interesting than those which contain mainly action, romance, and adventure.
30. Reports of atrocities in Europe have been greatly exaggerated for propaganda purposes.
31. Homosexuality is a particularly rotten form of delinquency and ought to be severely punished.
32. It is essential for learning or effective work that our teachers or bosses outline in detail what is to be done and exactly how to go about it.
35. There are some activities so flagrantly un-American that, when responsible officials won't take the proper steps, the wide-awake citizen should take the law into his own hands.
38. There is too much emphasis in college on intellectual and theoretical topics, not enough emphasis on practical matters and on the homely virtues of living.
39. Every person should have a deep faith in some supernatural force higher than himself to which he gives total allegiance and whose decisions he does not question.
42. No matter how they act on the surface, men are interested in women for only one reason.
43. Sciences like chemistry, physics, and medicine have carried men very far, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
46. The sexual orgies of the old Greeks and Romans are nursery school stuff compared to some of the goings-on in this country today, even in circles where people might least expect it.

47. No insult to our honor should ever go unpunished.
50. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
53. There are some things too intimate or personal to talk about even with one's closest friends.
55. Although leisure is a fine thing, it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile.
56. After the war, we may expect a crime wave; the control of gangsters and ruffians will become a major social problem.
58. *What* a man does is not so important so long as he does it well.
59. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
60. Which of the following are the most important for a person to have or to be? *Mark* X *the three most important.*

artistic and sensuous
popular, good personality
drive, determination, will power
broad, humanitarian social outlook
neatness and good manners
sensitivity and understanding
efficiency, practicality, thrift
intellectual and serious
emotional expressiveness, warmth, intimacy
kindness and charity

65. It is entirely possible that this series of wars and conflicts will be ended once and for all by a world-destroying earthquake, flood, or other catastrophe.
66. Books and movies ought not to deal so much with the sordid and seamy side of life; they ought to concentrate on themes that are entertaining or uplifting.
67. When you come right down to it, it's human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's own profit.
70. To a greater extent than most people realize, our lives are governed by plots hatched in secret by politicians.
73. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around so much and mix together so freely, a person has to be especially careful to protect himself against infection and disease.
74. What this country needs is fewer laws and agencies, and more courageous, tireless, devoted leaders whom the people can put their faith in.
75. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped.
77. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

particularly strong and rigid adherence to conventional values, and that this general disposition in his personality provided some of the motivational basis for anti-Semitism, and at the same time expressed itself in other ways, e.g., in a general tendency to look down on and to punish those who were believed to be violating conventional values. This interpretation was supported by results from the E and PEC scales, where it was shown that items expressive of conventionalism were associated with more manifest forms of prejudice. Accordingly, therefore, *adherence to conventional values*

came to be thought of as a *variable* in the person—something which could be approached by means of scale items of the F type and shown to be related functionally to various manifestations of prejudice. Similarly, a consideration of E-scale results strongly suggested that underlying several of the prejudiced responses was a general disposition to glorify, to be subservient to and remain uncritical toward authoritative figures of the ingroup and to take an attitude of punishing outgroup figures in the name of some moral authority. Hence, *authoritarianism* assumed the proportions of a variable worthy to be investigated in its own right.

In the same way, a number of such variables were derived and defined, and they, taken together, made up the basic content of the F scale. Each was regarded as a more or less central trend in the person which, in accordance with some dynamic process, expressed itself on the surface in ethnocentrism as well as in diverse psychologically related opinions and attitudes. These variables are listed below, together with a brief definition of each.

a. *Conventionalism.* Rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.
b. *Authoritarian submission.* Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.
c. *Authoritarian aggression.* Tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.
d. *Anti-intraception.* Opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender-minded.
e. *Superstition and stereotypy.* The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.
f. *Power and "toughness."* Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.
g. *Destructiveness and cynicism.* Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.
h. *Projectivity.* The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.
i. *Sex.* Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."

These variables were thought of as going together to form a single syndrome, a more or less enduring structure in the person that renders him receptive to antidemocratic propaganda. One might say, therefore, that the F scale attempts to measure the potentially antidemocratic personality. This does not imply that *all* the features of this personality pattern are touched upon in the scale, but only that the scale embraces a fair sample of the ways in which this pattern characteristically expresses itself. Indeed, as the study went on, numerous additional features of the pattern, as well as variations within the over-all pattern, suggested themselves—and it was regretted that a second F scale could not have been constructed in order to carry these explorations further. It is to be emphasized that one can speak of personality

here only to the extent that the coherence of the scale items can be better explained on the ground of an inner structure than on the ground of external association.

The variables of the scale may be discussed in more detail, with emphasis on their organization and the nature of their relations to ethnocentrism. As each variable is introduced, the scale items deemed to be expressive of it are presented. It will be noted, as the variables are taken up in turn, that the same item sometimes appears under more than one heading. This follows from our approach to scale construction. In order efficiently to cover a wide area it was necessary to formulate items that were maximally rich, that is, pertinent to as much as possible of the underlying theory—hence a single item was sometimes used to represent two, and sometimes more, different ideas. It will be noted also that different variables are represented by different numbers of items. This is for the reason that the scale was designed with first attention to the whole pattern into which the variables fitted, some with more important roles than others.

a. *Conventionalism*

12. The modern church, with its many rules and hypocrisies, does not appeal to the deeply religious person; it appeals mainly to the childish, the insecure, and the uncritical.

19. One should avoid doing things in public which appear wrong to others, even though one knows that these things are really all right.

38. There is too much emphasis in colleges on intellectual and theoretical topics, not enough emphasis on practical matters and on the homely virtues of living.

55. Although leisure is a fine thing, it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile.

58. *What* a man does is not so important so long as he does it well.

60. Which of the following are the most important for a person to have or to be? *Mark* X *the three most important.*

artistic and sensuous
popular, good personality
drive, determination, will power
broad, humanitarian social outlook
neatness and good manners
sensitivity and understanding
efficiency, practicality, thrift
intellectual and serious
emotional expressiveness, warmth, intimacy
kindness and charity

It is a well-known hypothesis that susceptibility to fascism is most characteristically a middle-class phenomenon, that it is "in the culture" and, hence, that those who conform the most to this culture will be the most prejudiced.

Items referring to the holding of conventional values were included in order to gather data bearing on this hypothesis. Many of the early findings of the present study, however, gave evidence that the matter was not quite so simple. The correlation between conventional values and prejudice seemed to be positive but not very high; whereas unconventional people tended to be free of prejudice, it was clear that some conventional people were prejudiced while others were not. It seemed that, among the conventional group, what might make the difference was the deeper source of the conventionality, or rather the type of broader personality structure within which it had a functional role. If the adherence to conventional values was an expression of a fully established individual conscience, then we should expect no necessary connection between these values and antidemocratic potential. The same standards which render the individual easily offended by what he conceives to be the morally loose behavior of unassimilated minority group members or of "lower-class" people, would—if they are well internalized—cause him to resist the violence and delinquency which characterize the advanced stages of fascism. If, on the other hand, adherence to conventional values is determined by contemporary external social pressure, if it is based upon the individual's adherence to the standards of the collective powers with which he, for the time being, is identified, then we should expect a close association with antidemocratic receptivity. It is this latter state of affairs that we wish to call conventionalism—and to distinguish from mere acceptance of conventional values. The conventionalistic individual could in good conscience follow the dictates of the external agency wherever they might lead him and, moreover, he would be capable of totally exchanging one set of standards for another quite different one—as in a conversion from official Communism to Catholicism.

The scale items listed under *Conventionalism* afford the subject an opportunity to reveal whether or not his adherence to conventional values is of the rigid, absolutist character just described. For example, this would seem to be indicated by a mark of +3 on the item, "Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn." However, a sound decision on this matter would depend on the individual's responses to items in the other categories. For example, extreme conventionalism going with a strong inclination to punish those who violate conventional values is a different thing from conventional values associated with a philosophy of live and let live. In other words, the meaning of a high score on this variable, as on any of the others, is to be known from the broader context within which it occurs.

b. *Authoritarian Submission*

20. One of the main values of progressive education is that it gives the child great freedom in expressing those natural impulses and desires so often frowned upon by conventional middle-class society.

23. He is indeed contemptible who does not feel an undying love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

32. It is essential for learning or effective work that our teachers or bosses outline in detail what is to be done and exactly how to go about it.

39. Every person should have a deep faith in some supernatural force higher than himself to which he gives total allegiance and whose decisions he does not question.

43. Sciences like chemistry, physics, and medicine have carried men very far, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.

50. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

74. What this country needs is fewer laws and agencies, and more courageous, tireless, devoted leaders whom the people can put their faith in.

77. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

Submission to authority, desire for a strong leader, subservience of the individual to the state, and so forth, have so frequently and, as it seems to us, correctly, been set forth as important aspects of the Nazi creed that a search for correlates of prejudice had naturally to take these attitudes into account.[1] These attitudes have indeed been so regularly mentioned in association with anti-Semitism that it was particularly difficult to formulate items that would express the underlying trend and still be sufficiently free of logical or direct relations to prejudice—and we cannot claim to have been entirely successful. Direct references to dictatorship and political figures were avoided for the most part, and the main emphasis was on obedience, respect, rebellion, and relations to authority in general. Authoritarian submission was conceived of as a very general attitude that would be evoked in relation to a variety of authority figures—parents, older people, leaders, supernatural power, and so forth.

The attempt was made to formulate the items in such a way that agreement with them would indicate not merely a realistic, balanced respect for valid authority but an exaggerated, all-out, emotional need to submit. This would be indicated, it seemed, by agreement that obedience and respect for authority were the *most important* virtues that children should learn, that a person should *obey without question* the decisions of a supernatural power, and so forth. It was considered that here, as in the case of conventionalism, the subservience to external agencies was probably due to some failure in

[1] E. Fromm (42), E. H. Erikson (25), A. Maslow (79), M. B. Chisholm (18), and W. Reich (96) are among the writers whose thinking about authoritarianism has influenced our own.

the development of an inner authority, i.e., conscience. Another hypothesis was that authoritarian submission was commonly a way of handling ambivalent feelings toward authority figures: underlying hostile and rebellious impulses, held in check by fear, lead the subject to overdo in the direction of respect, obedience, gratitude, and the like.

It seems clear that authoritarian submission by itself contributes largely to the antidemocratic potential by rendering the individual particularly receptive to manipulation by the strongest external powers. The immediate connection of this attitude with ethnocentrism has been suggested in earlier chapters: hostility against ingroup authorities, originally the parents, has had to be repressed; the "bad" aspects of these figures—that they are unfair, self-seeking, dominating—are then seen as existing in outgroups, who are charged with dictatorship, plutocracy, desire to control, and so forth. And this displacement of negative imagery is not the only way in which the repressed hostility is handled; it seems often to find expression in authoritarian aggression.

c. *Authoritarian Aggression*

6. It is only natural and right that women be restricted in certain ways in which men have more freedom.

23. He is indeed contemptible who does not feel an undying love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

31. Homosexuality is a particularly rotten form of delinquency and ought to be severely punished.

47. No insult to our honor should ever go unpunished.

75. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped.

The individual who has been forced to give up basic pleasures and to live under a system of rigid restraints, and who therefore feels put upon, is likely not only to seek an object upon which he can "take it out" but also to be particularly annoyed at the idea that another person is "getting away with something." Thus, it may be said that the present variable represents the sadistic component of authoritarianism just as the immediately foregoing one represents its masochistic component. It is to be expected, therefore, that the conventionalist who cannot bring himself to utter any real criticism of accepted authority will have a desire to condemn, reject, and punish those who violate these values. As the emotional life which this person regards as proper and a part of himself is likely to be very limited, so the impulses, especially sexual and aggressive ones, which remain unconscious and ego-alien are likely to be strong and turbulent. Since in this circumstance a wide variety of stimuli can tempt the individual and so arouse his anxiety (fear of punishment), the list of traits, behavior patterns, individuals, and groups

that he must condemn grows very long indeed. It has been suggested before that this mechanism might lie behind the ethnocentric rejection of such groups as zootsuiters, foreigners, other nations; it is here hypothesized that this feature of ethnocentrism is but a part of a more general tendency to punish violators of conventional values: homosexuals, sex offenders, people with bad manners, etc. Once the individual has convinced himself that there are people who ought to be punished, he is provided with a channel through which his deepest aggressive impulses may be expressed, even while he thinks of himself as thoroughly moral. If his external authorities, or the crowd, lend their approval to this form of aggression, then it may take the most violent forms, and it may persist after the conventional values, in the name of which it was undertaken, have been lost from sight.

One might say that in authoritarian aggression, hostility that was originally aroused by and directed toward ingroup authorities is *displaced* onto outgroups. This mechanism is superficially similar to but essentially different from a process that has often been referred to as "scapegoating." According to the latter conception, the individual's aggression is aroused by frustration, usually of his economic needs; and then, being unable due to intellectual confusion to tell the real causes of his difficulty, he lashes out about him, as it were, venting his fury upon whatever object is available and not too likely to strike back. While it is granted that this process has a role in hostility against minority groups, it must be emphasized that according to the present theory of displacement, the authoritarian *must*, out of an inner necessity, turn his aggression against outgroups. He must do so because he is psychologically unable to attack ingroup authorities, rather than because of intellectual confusion regarding the source of his frustration. If this theory is correct, then authoritarian aggression and authoritarian submission should turn out to be highly correlated. Furthermore, this theory helps to explain why the aggression is so regularly justified in moralistic terms, why it can become so violent and lose all connection with the stimulus which originally set it off.

Readiness to condemn other people on moral grounds may have still another source: it is not only that the authoritarian must condemn the moral laxness that he sees in others, but he is actually driven to see immoral attributes in them whether this has a basis in fact or not. This is a further device for countering his own inhibited tendencies; he says to himself, as it were: "I am not bad and deserving of punishment, he is." In other words the individual's own unacceptable impulses are *projected* onto other individuals and groups who are then rejected. Projectivity as a variable is dealt with more fully below.

Conventionalism, authoritarian submission, and authoritarian aggression all have to do with the moral aspect of life—with standards of conduct, with the authorities who enforce these standards, with offenders against them

who deserve to be punished. We should expect that, in general, subjects who score high on one of these variables will score high on the others also, inasmuch as all three can be understood as expressions of a particular kind of structure within the personality. The most essential feature of this structure is a lack of integration between the moral agencies by which the subject lives and the rest of his personality. One might say that the conscience or superego is incompletely integrated with the self or ego, the ego here being conceived of as embracing the various self-controlling and self-expressing functions of the individual. It is the ego that governs the relations between self and outer world, and between self and deeper layers of the personality; the ego undertakes to regulate impulses in a way that will permit gratification without inviting too much punishment by the superego, and it seeks in general to carry out the activities of the individual in accordance with the demands of reality. It is a function of the ego to make peace with conscience, to create a larger synthesis within which conscience, emotional impulses, and self operate in relative harmony. When this synthesis is not achieved, the superego has somewhat the role of a foreign body within the personality, and it exhibits those rigid, automatic, and unstable aspects discussed above.

There is some reason to believe that a failure in superego internalization is due to weakness in the ego, to its inability to perform the necessary synthesis, i.e., to integrate the superego with itself. Whether or not this is so, ego weakness would seem to be a concomitant of conventionalism and authoritarianism. Weakness in the ego is expressed in the inability to build up a consistent and enduring set of moral values within the personality; and it is this state of affairs, apparently, that makes it necessary for the individual to seek some organizing and coordinating agency outside of himself. Where such outside agencies are depended upon for moral decisions one may say that the conscience is externalized.

Although conventionalism and authoritarianism might thus be regarded as signs of ego weakness, it seemed worthwhile to seek other, more direct, means for estimating this trend in personality, and to correlate this trend with the others. Ego weakness would, it seemed, be expressed fairly directly in such phenomena as opposition to introspection, in superstition and stereotypy, and in overemphasis upon the ego and its supposed strength. The following three variables deal with these phenomena.

d. *Anti-intraception*

28. Novels or stories that tell about what people think and feel are more interesting than those which contain mainly action, romance, and adventure.

38. There is too much emphasis in colleges on intellectual and theoretical topics, not enough emphasis on practical matters and on the homely virtues of living.

53. There are some things too intimate or personal to talk about even with one's closest friends.

55. Although leisure is a fine thing, it is good hard work that makes life interesting and worthwhile.

58. *What* a man does is not so important so long as he does it well.

66. Books and movies ought not to deal so much with the sordid and seamy side of life; they ought to concentrate on themes that are entertaining or uplifting.

Intraception is a term introduced by Murray (89) to stand for "the dominance of feelings, fantasies, speculations, aspirations—an imaginative, subjective human outlook." The opposite of intraception is extraception, "a term that describes the tendency to be determined by concrete, clearly observable, physical conditions (tangible, objective facts)." The relations of intraception/extraception to ego weakness and to prejudice are probably highly complex, and this is not the place to consider them in detail. It seems fairly clear, however, that *anti*-intraception, an attitude of impatience with and opposition to the subjective and tender-minded, might well be a mark of the weak ego. The extremely anti-intraceptive individual is afraid of thinking about human phenomena because he might, as it were, think the wrong thoughts; he is afraid of genuine feeling because his emotions might get out of control. Out of touch with large areas of his own inner life, he is afraid of what might be revealed if he, or others, should look closely at himself. He is therefore against "prying," against concern with what people think and feel, against unnecessary "talk"; instead he would keep busy, devote himself to practical pursuits, and instead of examining an inner conflict, turn his thoughts to something cheerful. An important feature of the Nazi program, it will be recalled, was the defamation of everything that tended to make the individual aware of himself and his problems; not only was "Jewish" psychoanalysis quickly eliminated but every kind of psychology except aptitude testing came under attack. This general attitude easily leads to a devaluation of the human and an overevaluation of the physical object; when it is most extreme, human beings are looked upon as if they were physical objects to be coldly manipulated—even while physical objects, now vested with emotional appeal, are treated with loving care.

e. *Superstition and Stereotypy*

2. Although many people may scoff, it may yet be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.

10. It is more than a remarkable coincidence that Japan had an earthquake on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, 1944.

39. Every person should have a deep faith in some supernatural force higher than himself to which he gives total allegiance and whose decisions he does not question.

43. Sciences like chemistry, physics, and medicine have carried men very far, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.

65. It is entirely possible that this series of wars and conflicts will be ended once and for all by a world-destroying earthquake, flood, or other catastrophe.

Superstitiousness, the belief in mystical or fantastic external determinants of the individual's fate, and stereotypy,[2] the disposition to think in rigid categories, have been mentioned so frequently in the foregoing chapters and are so obviously related to ethnocentrism that they need little discussion here. A question that must be raised concerns the relations of these trends to general intelligence—and the relations of intelligence to ethnocentrism. Probably superstition and stereotypy tend to go with low intelligence, but low intelligence appears to be correlated with ethnocentrism to only a slight degree (see Chapter VIII). It appears likely that superstition and stereotypy embrace, over and above the mere lack of intelligence in the ordinary sense, certain dispositions in thinking which are closely akin to prejudice, even though they might not hamper intelligent performance in the extraceptive sphere. These dispositions can be understood, in part at least, as expressions of ego weakness. Stereotypy is a form of obtuseness particularly in psychological and social matters. It might be hypothesized that one reason why people in modern society—even those who are otherwise "intelligent" or "informed"—resort to primitive, oversimplified explanations of human events is that so many of the ideas and observations needed for an adequate account are not allowed to enter into the calculations: because they are affect-laden and potentially anxiety-producing, the weak ego cannot include them within its scheme of things. More than this, those deeper forces within the personality which the ego cannot integrate with itself are likely to be projected onto the outer world; this is a source of bizarre ideas concerning other peoples' behavior and concerning the causation of events in nature.

Superstitiousness indicates a tendency to shift responsibility from within the individual onto outside forces beyond one's control; it indicates that the ego might already have "given up," that is to say, renounced the idea that it might determine the individual's fate by overcoming external forces. It must, of course, be recognized that in modern industrial society the capacity of the individual to determine what happens to himself has *actually* decreased, so that items referring to external causation might easily be realistic and hence of no significance for personality. It seemed necessary, therefore, to select items that would express ego weakness in a nonrealistic way by making the individual's fate dependent on more or less fantastic factors.

[2] Although no items pertaining specifically to stereotypy appear in Form 78 of the F scale, several such items do find a place in the later forms; hence, it seems well to introduce this concept into the discussion at this point.

f. *Power and "Toughness"*

9. Too many people today are living in an unnatural, soft way; we should return to the fundamentals, to a more red-blooded, active way of life.

35. There are some activities so flagrantly un-American that, when responsible officials won't take the proper steps, the wide-awake citizen should take the law into his own hands.

47. No insult to our honor should ever go unpunished.

70. To a greater extent than most people realize, our lives are governed by plots hatched in secret by politicians.

74. What this country needs is fewer laws and agencies, and more courageous, tireless, devoted leaders whom the people can put their faith in.

This variable refers, in the first place, to overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego. The underlying hypothesis is that overdisplay of toughness may reflect not only the weakness of the ego but also the magnitude of the task it has to perform, that is to say, the strength of certain kinds of needs which are proscribed in the subject's culture. The relations of ego and impulse, then, are at least as close as the relations of ego and conscience. Nevertheless, they may be separated for purposes of analysis, and other variables of the F scale refer to the deeper strata of the individual's emotional life.

Closely related to the phenomenon of exaggerated toughness is something which might be described as a "power complex." Most apparent in its manifestations is overemphasis on the power motif in human relationships; there is a disposition to view all relations among people in terms of such categories as strong-weak, dominant-submissive, leader-follower, "hammer-anvil." And it is difficult to say with which of these roles the subject is the more fully identified. It appears that he wants to get power, to have it and not to lose it, and at the same time is afraid to seize and wield it. It appears that he also admires power in others and is inclined to submit to it—and at the same time is afraid of the weakness thus implied. The individual whom we expected to score high on this cluster readily identifies himself with the "little people," or "the average," but he does so, it seems, with little or no humility, and he seems actually to think of himself as strong or to believe that he can somehow become so. In short, the power complex contains elements that are essentially contradictory, and we should expect that sometimes one feature and sometimes another will predominate at the surface level. We should expect that both leaders and followers will score high on this variable, for the reason that the actual role of the individual seems to be less important than his concern that leader-follower relations shall obtain. One solution which such an individual often achieves is that of alignment with

power figures, an arrangement by which he is able to gratify both his need for power and his need to submit. He hopes that by submitting to power he can participate in it. For example, a man who reports that the most awe-inspiring experience for him would be "to shake hands with the President" probably finds his gratification not in submission alone but in the idea that some of the big man's power has, as it were, rubbed off onto him, so that he is a more important person for having "shook his hand" or "known him" or "been there." The same pattern of gratification can be obtained by acting in the role of "the lieutenant" or by functioning in a middle position in some clearly structured hierarchy where there is always somebody above and somebody below.

The power complex has immediate relations with certain aspects of ethnocentrism. An individual who thinks of most human relations in such terms as strong versus weak is likely to apply these categories in his thinking about ingroups and outgroups, e.g., to conceive of "superior" and "inferior races." And one of the psychologically least costly devices for attaining a sense of superiority is to claim it on the basis of membership in a particular "race."

g. *Destructiveness and Cynicism*

3. America is getting so far from the true American way of life that force may be necessary to restore it.

9. Too many people today are living in an unnatural, soft way; we should return to the fundamentals, to a more red-blooded, active way of life.

14. After we finish off the Germans and Japs, we ought to concentrate on other enemies of the human race such as rats, snakes, and germs.

17. Familiarity breeds contempt.

24. Today everything is unstable; we should be prepared for a period of constant change, conflict, and upheaval.

30. Reports of atrocities in Europe have been greatly exaggerated for propaganda purposes.

35. There are some activities so flagrantly un-American that, when responsible officials won't take the proper steps, the wide-awake citizen should take the law into his own hands.

42. No matter how they act on the surface, men are interested in women for only one reason.

56. After the war, we may expect a crime wave; the control of gangsters and ruffians will become a major social problem.

59. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.

67. When you come right down to it, it's human nature never to do anything without an eye to one's own profit.

According to the present theory, the antidemocratic individual, because he has had to accept numerous externally imposed restrictions upon the satisfaction of his needs, harbors strong underlying aggressive impulses. As we have seen, one outlet for this aggression is through displacement onto outgroups leading to moral indignation and authoritarian aggression. Undoubtedly this is a very serviceable device for the individual; yet, the strong underlying aggression seems at the same time to express itself in some other way—in a nonmoralized way. It was assumed, of course, that primitive aggressive impulses are rarely expressed with complete directness by adults, but must instead be sufficiently modified, or at least justified, so that they are acceptable to the ego.

The present variable, then, refers to rationalized, ego-accepted, nonmoralized aggression. The supposition was that a subject could express this tendency by agreeing with statements which though thoroughly aggressive were couched in such terms as to avoid his moral censorship. Thus, some items offered justifications for aggression, and were formulated in such a way that strong agreement would indicate that the subject needed only slight justification in order to be ready for all-out aggression. Other items dealt with contempt for mankind, the theory being that here the hostility is so generalized, so free of direction against any particular object, that the individual need not feel accountable for it. Still another guiding conception was that a person can most freely express aggression when he believes that everybody is doing it and, hence, if he wants to be aggressive, he is disposed to believe that everybody *is* doing it, e.g., that it is "human nature" to exploit and to make war upon one's neighbors. It goes without saying that such undifferentiated aggressiveness could easily, by means of propaganda, be directed against minority groups, or against any group the persecution of which was politically profitable.

h. *Projectivity*

46. The sexual orgies of the old Greeks and Romans are nursery school stuff compared to some of the goings-on in this country today, even in circles where people might least expect it.

56. After the war, we may expect a crime wave; the control of gangsters and ruffians will become a major social problem.

65. It is entirely possible that this series of wars and conflicts will be ended once and for all by a world-destroying earthquake, flood, or other catastrophe.

70. To a greater extent than most people realize, our lives are governed by plots hatched in secret by politicians.

73. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around so much and mix together so freely, a person has to be especially careful to protect himself against infection and disease.

The mechanism of projection was mentioned in connection with authoritarian aggression: the suppressed impulses of the authoritarian character tend to be projected onto other people who are then blamed out of hand. Projection is thus a device for keeping id drives ego-alien, and it may be taken as a sign of the ego's inadequacy in carrying out its function. Indeed, in one sense most of the items of the F scale are projective: they involve the assumption that judgments and interpretations of fact are distorted by psychological urges. The subject's tendency to project is utilized, in the present group of items, in an attempt to gain access to some of the deeper trends in his personality. If the antidemocratic individual is disposed to see in the outer world impulses which are suppressed in himself, and we wish to know what these impulses are, then something may be learned by noting what attributes he most readily, but unrealistically, ascribes to the world around him. If an individual insists that someone has hostile designs on him, and we can find no evidence that this is true, we have good reason to suspect that our subject himself has aggressive intentions and is seeking by means of projection to justify them. A notorious example is Father Coughlin's referring to anti-Semitism as a "defense mechanism," i.e., a protection of Gentiles against the supposed aggressive designs of the Jews. Similarly, it seemed that the greater a subject's preoccupation with "evil forces" in the world, as shown by his readiness to think about and to believe in the existence of such phenomena as wild erotic excesses, plots and conspiracies, and danger from natural catastrophes, the stronger would be his own unconscious urges of both sexuality and destructiveness.

i. *Sex*

31. Homosexuality is a particularly rotten form of delinquency and ought to be severely punished.

42. No matter how they act on the surface, men are interested in women for only one reason.

46. The sexual orgies of the old Greeks and Romans are nursery school stuff compared to some of the goings-on in this country today, even in circles where people might least expect it.

75. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped.

Concern with overt sexuality is represented in the F scale by four items, two of which have appeared in connection with authoritarian aggression and one other as an expression of projectivity. This is an example of the close interaction of all the present variables; since, taken together they constitute a totality, it follows that a single question may pertain to two or more aspects of the whole. For purposes of analysis, sex may be abstracted from the totality as well as any of the other variables. Which of these variables are most basic must be determined by clinical study. In any case, it seemed that

countercathexis (repression, reaction formation, projection) of sexual wishes was well qualified for special study.

The present variable is conceived of as ego-alien sexuality. A strong inclination to punish violators of sex mores (homosexuals, sex offenders) may be an expression of a general punitive attitude based on identification with ingroup authorities, but it also suggests that the subject's own sexual desires are suppressed and in danger of getting out of hand. A readiness to believe in "sex orgies" may be an indication of a general tendency to distort reality through projection, but sexual content would hardly be projected unless the subject had impulses of this same kind that were unconscious and strongly active. The three items pertaining to the punishment of homosexuals and of sex criminals and to the existence of sex orgies may, therefore, give some indication of the strength of the subject's unconscious sexual drives.

2. THE FORMULATION OF SCALE ITEMS

The considerations which guided the formulation of items in the scales described in previous chapters held as well for the F scale. There were several principles which, though a part of our general approach to scale construction, had particular significance for the present scale. In the first place, the item should have a maximum of *indirectness*, in the sense that it should not come close to the surface of overt prejudice and it should appear to be as far removed as possible from our actual interest. From this point of view, items such as 2 (Astrology) and 65 (Flood) were regarded as superior to items such as 74 (Tireless leaders) and 3 (Force to preserve). The latter two items, admittedly, could very well express certain aspects of an explicit fascist ideology, yet, as indicated above, statements touching upon the leader idea and the idea of force were definitely called for on theoretical grounds. More than this, there was a question of whether the aim of constructing a scale to correlate with E would be better served by the most indirect items or by the more direct ones, and in this first attempt it seemed the better part of wisdom to include some items of both kinds.

A second rule in item formulation was that each item should achieve a proper balance between irrationality and objective truth. If a statement was so "wild" that very few people would agree with it, or if it contained so large an element of truth that almost everyone would agree with it, then obviously it could not distinguish between prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects, and hence was of no value. Each item had to have some degree of rational appeal, but it had to be formulated in such a way that the rational aspect was not the major factor making for agreement or disagreement. This in many cases was a highly subtle matter; e.g., social historians might conceivably agree that Item 46 (Sex orgies) is probably quite true, yet it was here regarded as a possible index of projected sexuality, the argument being that most subjects would have no basis on which to judge its truth and would

respond in accordance with their feelings. Since each item contained an element of objective truth or rational justification, an individual's response to a particular item might conceivably be determined by this fact alone. Hence, no item taken by itself could be regarded as diagnostic of potential fascism. The item's worth to the scale would have to be judged mainly in terms of its discriminatory power, and the meaning of an individual's response to it would have to be inferred from his total pattern of response. If a man marks +3 on Item 46 (Sex orgies) but marks —3 or —2 on Items 31 (Homosexuality) and 75 (Sex Crimes), it might be concluded that he is a man of knowledge and sophistication; but a +3 on Item 46, accompanying agreement with Items 31 and 75 would seem to be a fairly good indication of concern with sexuality.

Finally, it was required of each item that it contribute to the structural unity of the scale as a whole. It had to do its part in covering the diverse personality trends that entered into the broad pattern which the scale purported to measure. While it was granted that different individuals might give the same response to a given item for different reasons—and this apart from the matter of objective truth—it was necessary that the item carry sufficient meaningfulness so that any response to it could, when responses on all items were known, be interpreted in the light of our over-all theory.

C. RESULTS WITH SUCCESSIVE FORMS OF THE F SCALE

1. STATISTICAL PROPERTIES OF THE PRELIMINARY SCALE (FORM 78)

The preliminary F scale, made up of the 38 items listed above, was administered as a part of questionnaire Form 78 to four groups of subjects in the spring of 1945. These groups were described in Chapter III, and they are listed in Table 11 (III).

The scoring of the scale followed the procedures used with the A-S, E, and PEC scales. Except in the case of negative items, a mark of +3 was scored 7, +2 was scored as 6, and so on. Items 12, 20, and 28 are negative (they state the unprejudiced position), and here, of course, a mark of +3 was scored 1, and so on. Table 2 (VII) gives the reliability coefficients, mean scores per item, and Standard Deviations for these four groups. The mean reliability of .74 is within the range ordinarily regarded as adequate for group comparisons, but well below what is required of a truly accurate instrument. It might be said that, considering the diversity of elements that went into the F scale, the degree of consistency indicated by the present figure is all that could be expected of this preliminary form of the scale. The question was whether by revision of the scale it might be possible to attain the degree of reliability that characterizes the E scale, or whether we might be dealing

here—as seemed to be the case in the PEC scale—with areas of response in which people are simply not very consistent.

It may be noted that the Professional Women show considerably more consistency than do the other groups of subjects, their reliability coefficient of .88 being in the neighborhood of that regularly obtained with the E scale. Since these women are considerably older, on the average, than our other subjects, it may be suggested that the higher reliability is due to their greater consistency of personality.

There appears to be no ready explanation for the low reliability found in the case of the Public Speaking Men. It may be noted that the Standard Deviation and the range for this group were also unusually small. Adequate explanation would require data from a larger sample of men and from an improved F scale.

Examination of Table 2 (VII) shows that there are no extremely high and no extremely low scores in any of the groups and that the obtained

TABLE 2 (VII)

RELIABILITY OF THE F SCALE (FORM 78)[a]

Property	Group				Over-all[b]
	A	B	C	D	
Reliability	.78	.56	.72	.88	.74
Mean (total)	3.94	3.72	3.75	3.43	3.71
Mean (odd half)	3.80	3.59	3.60	3.22	3.55
Mean (even half)	4.08	3.87	3.91	3.64	3.88
S.D. (total)	.71	.57	.70	.86	.71
S.D. (odd half)	.87	.71	.85	.94	.84
S.D. (even half)	.69	.65	.76	.84	.74
N	140	52	40	63	295
Range	2.12–5.26	2.55–4.87	2.39–5.05	1.68–5.63	1.68–5.63

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are:
Group A: U. C. Public Speaking Class Women.
Group B: U. C. Public Speaking Class Men.
Group C: U. C. Extension Psychology Class Women.
Group D: Professional Women.

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

means are near the neutral point. The relatively narrow distribution of scores—narrow as compared with those obtained from the other scales—may be in part a result of lack of consistency within the scale: unless the items are actually expressive of the same general trend, we could hardly expect an individual to respond to the great majority of them with consistent agreement or consistent disagreement. On the other hand, it is possible that the

present sample does not contain subjects who are actually extreme with respect to the pattern which the F scale was designed to measure. This circumstance (lowered "range of talent") would tend to lower the reliability coefficients.

The F scale correlated .53 with A-S and .65 with E, in Form 78.

2. ITEM ANALYSIS AND REVISION OF THE PRELIMINARY SCALE

Data obtained from the initial four groups of subjects were used in attempting to improve the F scale—to increase its reliability and to shorten it somewhat, without loss in its breadth or meaningfulness. As with the other scales, the Discriminatory Power of an item provided the major statistical basis for judging its worth. Since it was intended that the F scale should not only have internal consistency but should also correlate highly with overt prejudice, attention was given both to the item's relation to the total F scale and to its ability to discriminate between high and low scorers on the A-S scale. An item's Discriminatory Power in terms of A-S (D. $P._{A-S}$) is simply the difference between the mean score of the high A-S quartile on that item and the mean score of the low A-S quartile on the item. Table 3 (VII) gives for each item the mean score, the Discriminatory Power in terms of high vs. low scorers on F (D. $P._{F}$), the D. $P._{F}$'s order of merit, the D. $P._{A-S}$, the latter's order of merit and, finally, the item's rank in a distribution of the sums of the D. $P._{F}$ plus the D. $P._{A-S}$. This final rank order was a convenient index of the item's statistical "goodness" for our over-all purpose.

The average D. $P._{F}$, 1.80, is considerably below that found in the case of the A-S or E scales. Yet it indicates that, in general, the items yield statistically significant differences between the high and the low quartiles. Sixteen D. P.'s are above 2, 18 fall in the range 1–2, and only 4 are below 1. The means are, in general, fairly satisfactory; they average 3.71, which is near the neutral point of 4.0, and only 9 means are definitely too extreme, i.e., above 5.0 or below 3.0. As is to be expected, only 2 of the items with extreme means yield D. P.'s as great as 2.0.

The D. P.'s in terms of A-S are, of course, much lower; yet there are 17 items which appear to be significantly related to A-S, i.e., have a D. $P._{A-S}$ greater than 1.0. Since it is the total F pattern that we expect to correlate with A-S and E, it is not necessary that each single F item by itself be significantly related to the latter. In general, items which are most discriminating in terms of F tend to discriminate best in terms of A-S, though there are some striking exceptions. In deciding whether to retain an item for use in a revised scale most weight was given to the D. $P._{F}$ and to the general principles guiding our scale construction; these things being equal, the greater an item's D. $P._{A-S}$, the greater its chances of being included in the revised scale.

TABLE 3 (VII)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE F-SCALE ITEMS (FORM 78)[a]

Item	Mean	D.P.$_F$[b]	Rank D.P.$_F$	D.P.$_{AS}$[c]	Rank D.P.$_{AS}$	Final Rank[d] (D.P.$_F$+D.P.$_{AS}$)
2. (Astrology)	2.60	1.74	(22)	1.24	(11)	(18)
3. (Force to preserve)	3.04	1.98	(18)	1.05	(17)	(15)
6. (Women restricted)	2.93	1.75	(21)	0.41	(32)	(26)
9. (Red-blooded life)	3.99	2.04	(15)	-0.08	(35)	(29)
10. (Pearl Harbor Day)	2.22	2.20	(9)	1.37	(6)	(8)
12. (Modern church)	4.67	0.19	(38)	-1.18	(38)	(38)
14. (Rats...germs)	4.44	1.60	(26.5)	0.85	(24)	(23.5)
17. (Familiarity)	3.33	1.86	(19)	1.56	(4)	(10)
19. (One should avoid)	3.63	0.76	(36)	0.70	(27)	(35)
20. (Progressive education)	3.28	1.07	(33)	-0.25	(37)	(37)
23. (Undying love)	3.62	2.61	(4)	1.17	(13)	(5)
24. (Things unstable)	5.01	0.79	(35)	0.88	(22)	(33)
28. (Novels or stories)	3.02	1.29	(30)	0.76	(26)	(27)
30. (Reports of atrocities)	4.20	0.43	(37)	0.66	(28)	(36)
31. (Homosexuals)	3.22	2.16	(10)	1.18	(12)	(13)
32. (Essential for learning)	3.31	1.67	(24)	1.10	(16)	(20)
35. (Law in own hands)	2.50	1.42	(29)	0.62	(29.5)	(28)
38. (Emphasis in college)	3.91	1.20	(31)	1.14	(15)	(25)
39. (Supernatural force)	3.97	2.54	(6)	1.26	(9.5)	(4)
42. (For one reason)	2.06	1.05	(34)	0.59	(31)	(34)
43. (Sciences like chemistry)	4.35	2.79	(3)	0.97	(18)	(6)
46. (Sex orgies)	3.64	2.11	(12.5)	0.93	(20)	(14)
47. (Honor)	3.00	2.09	(14)	1.65	(3)	(7)
50. (Obedience and respect)	3.72	3.09	(1)	1.55	(5)	(2)
53. (Things too intimate)	4.82	1.99	(17)	-0.23	(36)	(32)
55. (Leisure)	5.20	2.11	(12.5)	1.26	(9.5)	(11)
56. (Crime wave)	4.60	1.16	(32)	0.62	(29.5)	(31)
58. (What a man does)	3.48	1.70	(23)	0.87	(23)	(22)
59. (Always war)	4.26	2.59	(5)	1.91	(2)	(3)
60. (Important values)	4.17	1.60	(26.5)	0.31	(34)	(30)
65. (World catastrophe)	2.58	1.55	(28)	0.90	(21)	(23.5)
66. (Books and movies)	4.10	2.48	(7)	0.38	(33)	(19)
67. (Eye to profit)	3.71	2.21	(8)	0.78	(25)	(17)
70. (Plots by politicians)	3.27	1.85	(20)	1.15	(14)	(16)
73. (Infection and disease)	4.79	2.02	(16)	1.34	(8)	(12)
74. (Tireless leaders)	5.00	1.66	(25)	0.94	(19)	(21)
75. (Sex crimes)	3.26	2.81	(2)	2.07	(1)	(1)
77. (No sane person)	4.12	2.12	(11)	1.36	(7)	(9)
Mean/Person/Item	3.71	1.80		0.89		

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are: *Group A:* U.C. Public Speaking Class Women (N = 140); *Group B:* U.C. Public Speaking Class Men (N = 52); *Group C:* U.C. Extension Psychology Class Women (N = 40); *Group D:* Professional Women (N = 63). In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[b]D.P.$_F$ is based on the difference between the high quartile and the low quartile on the F scale distribution.

[c]D.P.$_{AS}$ is based on the difference between the high quartile and the low quartile on the A-S scale distribution. E.g., the D.P.$_{AS}$ of 1.24 on Item 2 indicates that the mean of the low quartile on A-S was 1.24 points lower than the mean of the high quartile on A-S.

[d]For each item the sum of D.P.$_F$ + D.P.$_{AS}$ is obtained. The final rank of an item is the rank of this sum in the distribution of sums for the whole scale.

We may now inquire what it is that distinguishes the items which turned out well statistically from those that turned out poorly. Can any general statements be made about each of these two groups of items that can serve as guides in the formulation of new items? The first question concerns the nine groups of items chosen to represent the variables that entered into the conceptualization of F. Do most of the items with high D. P.'s pertain to a few of the variables? Are there some variables which simply do not belong to the pattern we are considering? Three of the clusters, Sex, Authoritarian Aggression, and Authoritarian Submission, had mean D. P.'s above 2.0, the remaining clusters having mean D. P.'s in the range 1.26–1.80. Projectivity (1.70), Destructiveness and Cynicism (1.56), and Conventionalism (1.26) were the least satisfactory. However, it is to be noted that every cluster has within it at least one item with a D. P. above 2.0. At this stage, therefore, it seemed best not to eliminate any of the variables but to give attention to improving or replacing the poorer items found in each cluster.

Turning to a consideration of items which proved to be outstandingly good in the statistical sense, we note that Item 75 (Sex crimes) leads all the rest, i.e., has the highest sum of D. $P._F$ plus D. $P._{A-S}$. This item represents rather well the ideal to which we aspired in formulating items for the F scale. Not only is there a wide distribution of responses, with a mean fairly near the neutral point, but the item combines, apparently in a very effective way, several ideas which according to theory have crucial roles in prejudice: the underlying interest in the more primitive aspects of sex, the readiness for all-out physical aggressiveness, the justification of aggression by an appeal to moralistic values. More than this, the item seems to be sufficiently free of any logical or automatic connection with overt prejudice. That the next best item, 50 (Obedience and respect), should be outstandingly differentiating is not surprising since this kind of authoritarianism is a well-known aspect of the fascist outlook. The device of putting the authoritarianism in a context of child training seems to remove it from the surface of ethnocentrism; but whether or not this is true, the item pertains to an aspect of the fascist philosophy that could in no case be left out of account.

Third in the rank order of goodness is Item 59, "Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict." This item, from the Destructiveness and Cynicism cluster, expresses several ideas which are particularly important in the F syndrome. In addition to an element of overt antipacifist opinion, there is contempt for men and acceptance of the "survival of the fittest" idea as a rationalization for aggressiveness. The next item, 39 (Supernatural force), seems to express very well the tendency to shift responsibility to outside forces beyond one's own control. This is a manifestation of what has been termed ego weakness; the item has also been placed in the Authoritarian Submission cluster on the ground that faith in a supernatural force is related to faith in ingroup authorities. It was not expected that the presence

of religious feeling and belief would by itself be significant for prejudice; the aim in devising the present item was to compose a statement which was so extreme that not too many subjects would agree with it and which placed enough emphasis upon "total allegiance" and obedience "without question" so that the uncritically submissive person could distinguish himself. The mean of 3.97 and the D. $P._F$ of 2.54 indicate that this aim was largely realized. Item 23 (Undying love), which ranked fifth in order of goodness, expresses extreme moral conventionality and ingroup feeling related to the family. It has a place in both the Authoritarian Submission and the Authoritarian Aggression clusters, because it includes both allegiance to the ingroup and a punishing attitude ("He is indeed contemptible") toward those who violate this value. The statement is so exaggerated, so expressive, as it seems, of the "protesting too much" attitude that we may wonder if strong agreement with it does not mask underlying but inhibited rebellious hostility against parents and parent figures.

Concerning all five of these items it may be said that they are highly diverse in their surface content, that they pertain to various aspects of the underlying theory—superego, ego, and id are expressed—and that with the possible exception of Item 50 (Obedience and respect) they are highly indirect in the present sense of the term. Indeed, as one examines further the ranking of the items in terms of their Discriminatory Powers—(Sciences like chemistry), (Honor), (Pearl Harbor Day), (No sane person), (Familiarity), (Leisure), (Infection and disease)—he may note that, in general, items which are best in the statistical sense are those which seem best in their formulation and in terms of our over-all theory and method of approach.

Items which turned out to be poor in the statistical sense are, in retrospect, easy to criticize. In some instances there was a failure in formulation: the statement was so unclear or ambiguous that many of the subjects, apparently, drew from it different implications from those intended. This would seem to have been true particularly of Items 12 (Modern church) and 20 (Progressive education). In other instances, e.g., Items 24 (Things unstable), 74 (Tireless leaders), and 58 (Crime wave), the statements contained too large an element of truth or rational justification and so appealed, as shown by the high mean scores, to both high and low scorers. Again, some of the items were too crude or openly aggressive, so that most of the high scorers as well as the low scorers tended to disagree. For example, Items 42 (For one reason) and 35 (Law in own hands) have both low means and low D. P.'s.

3. THE SECOND F SCALE: FORM 60

In preparing the new form of the questionnaire, the E and PEC scales were shortened so drastically that a comparatively long F scale (34 items) could still be used without allowing the total number of scale items to go above 60. Since we were still faced with the task of producing a reliable F scale, with-

TABLE 4 (VII)
THE F SCALE: FORM 60

a. *Conventionalism:* Rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.
   1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
   6. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people.
   53. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little.

b. *Authoritarian Submission:* Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.
   1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
   7. Science has carried man very far, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
   11. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
   23. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
   29. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
   32. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
   44. In order for us to do good work, it is necessary that our bosses outline carefully what is to be done and exactly how to go about it.

c. *Authoritarian Aggression:* Tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.
   6. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to be liked and accepted by decent people.
   17. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
   19. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
   22. The trouble with letting everybody have a say in running the government is that so many people are just naturally stupid or full of wild ideas.
   34. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
   39. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
   49. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.
   53. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little.
   58. Homosexuals are nothing but degenerates and ought to be severely punished.

d. *Anti-intraception:* Opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender-minded.

16. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
30. Some cases of feeblemindedness are caused by overstudy.
45. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
53. One main trouble today is that people talk too much and work too little.

e. *Superstition and Stereotypy:* The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.

7. Science has carried man very far, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
11. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
18. It is more than just chance that Japan had an earthquake on Pearl Harbor Day, December 7, 1944.
24. Some people are born with the urge to jump from high places.
30. Some cases of feeblemindedness are caused by overstudy.
35. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
40. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
46. It is possible that wars and social troubles will be ended once and for all by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
50. It's a mistake to trust anybody who doesn't look you straight in the eye.

f. *Power and "Toughness":* Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.

2. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
5. Any red-blooded American will fight to defend his property.
17. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
19. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
32. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
35. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
57. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret by politicians.

g. *Destructiveness and Cynicism:* Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.

10. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.

a slightly revised form, Item 65 (World catastrophe) despite its relatively low D. P. (R. O. 23.5), because it expressed a theoretically important idea and appeared on the surface to be almost completely removed from "race" prejudice and fascism. In the name of *breadth*, Item 67 (Eye to profit), whose D. P. was not low (R. O. 21), was eliminated because of its too great similarity to the highly discriminating Item 59 (Always war). To cover a great variety of ideas as efficiently as possible, two or more of them were combined in the same statement, e.g., "Any *red-blooded American* will *fight* to defend his *property*" or ". . . people *think* too much and *work* too little." With attention to these criteria, and to *meaningfulness*, *contribution to the structural unity of the scale*, and proper degree of *rational justification*, 4 items from the F scale (Form 78) whose D. P. rank orders were lower than 19, were revised and 11 new items were formulated to complete the new form. The 34 items, grouped according to the variables which they were supposed to represent, are shown in table 4 (VII).

Reliability of the scale, mean score per item, S. D., and the range of scores for each of the five groups to whom the F scale (Form 60) was given are shown in Table 5 (VII). The reliability of the scale is a considerable improvement over that obtained with Form 78 (.87 as compared with .74); it

TABLE 5 (VII)

RELIABILITY OF THE F SCALE (FORM 60)[a]

Property	Group I	Group II	Group III	Group IV	Group V	Over-all[b]
Reliability	86	.91	.89	.87	.81	.87
Mean (total)	3.32	3.39	3.82	3.74	3.25	3.50
Mean (odd half)	3.41	3.42	4.09	3.78	3.19	3.58
Mean (even half)	3.24	3.36	3.56	3.73	3.28	3.43
S.D. (total)	.86	.96	.93	.81	.71	.85
S.D. (odd half)	.97	1.03	.99	.77	.83	.92
S.D. (even half)	.75	.96	.97	.93	.76	.87
N	47	54	57	68	60	286
Range	1.00–5.50	1.24–5.50	1.82–4.38	2.24–5.62	1.97–5.35	1.82–5.62

[a]The five groups on which these data are based are:
Group I: University of Oregon Student Women.
Group II: University of Oregon and University of California Student Women.
Group III: University of Oregon and University of California Student Men.
Group IV: Oregon Service Club Men.
Group V: Oregon Service Club Men (A Part only).

[b]In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

25. Familiarity breeds contempt.
41. The true American way of life is disappearing so fast that force may be necessary to preserve it.

h. *Projectivity:* The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outward of unconscious emotional impulses.

36. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around so much and mix together so freely, a person has to be especially careful to protect himself against infection and disease.
45. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
46. It is possible that wars and social troubles will be ended once and for all by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
52. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
57. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret by politicians.

i. *Sex:* Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."

34. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse.
52. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
58. Homosexuals are nothing but degenerates and ought to be severely punished.

out sacrificing breadth or meaningfulness, it seemed the better part of wisdom not to undertake much shortening of it at this stage.

The 19 items from the F scale (Form 78) that ranked highest in order of goodness were retained, in the same or slightly revised form, in the new scale. Thus, statistical differentiating power of the item was the main basis of selection. As stated above, however, the items which came out best statistically were, in general, those which seemed best from the point of view of theory, so that retaining them required no compromise with the original purpose of the scale. Of these items, 5 were changed in no way; revision of the others involved change in wording but not in essential meaning, the aim being to avoid too much uniformity of agreement or disagreement and, hence, to produce mean scores as close as possible to the neutral point.

Given 19 items of known dependability, the task was to formulate 15 additional ones which, singly, met the requirements of good items and which, taken together, covered the ground mapped out according to our theory. Here, criteria other than statistical ones played an important role. In attempting to achieve a maximum of *indirectness* we not only eliminated items which were too openly aggressive (they had low D. P.'s anyway) but retained, in

is as high as that of the shortened E scale (.87 as compared with .86) and much better than the reliability of .70 for the shortened PEC scale. The mean scores are not quite so close to the neutral point as was the case with Form 78 (over-all mean of 3.5 as compared with 3.7); the range and the variability, however, are somewhat greater.[3]

Inspection of the Discriminatory Powers of the items, as shown in Table 6 (VII), shows once again considerable improvement over Form 78. The mean D. $P._F$ is now 2.15 as compared with 1.80 for Form 78. Three D. P.'s are above 3.0, 18 fall in the range 2.0–3.0, 12 are in the range 1.0–2.0, and only 1 is below 1.0. The mean D. P. in terms of E, 1.53, is notably greater than the mean D. $P._{A-S}$, .89, found with Form 78. There are 28 items with a mean D. $P._E$ greater than 1.0; these F items are significantly related to ethnocentrism at the 5 per cent level of confidence or better. Each of the variables that entered into the F scale—Conventionalism, Superstition, etc.—is represented by items that are satisfactorily differentiating.

The correlation between the F scale (Form 60) and E is, on the average, .69. This is a considerable improvement over the results obtained with Form 78, where F correlated .53 with A-S and .65 with E, though it is still not quite as high as its intended functions require.

4. THE THIRD F SCALE: FORMS 45 AND 40

Although the F scale (Form 60) might be described as a fairly adequate instrument, it still had some obvious shortcomings, and it was hoped that these might be removed before the scale was used with numerous groups of subjects. It still contained a number of items so poor statistically that they contributed almost nothing to the purpose of the scale. Also, there were two items (numbers 12 and 18) which, despite their ranking 1 and 9 in order of

[3] It may be reported here that in the case of the University of Oregon Student Women Form 60 of the questionnaire was administered in two parts: Part A contained the F scale and one half of the PEC scale and Part B, administered a day later, contained the E scale and the other half of the PEC scale. The purpose of this proceeding was to test whether responses to the items of one scale were affected by the presence within the same questionnaire of items from other scales. Apparently this variation in the manner of administration made little or no difference. When the results for the University of Oregon Student Women (Group 1) are compared with those for the University of Oregon and University of California Student Women (Group 2)—a fairly similar group—the differences in reliability, mean score, and S.D. appear to be insignificant. The same is true in the cases of the E and PEC scales, and reference to Table 14 (IV) and to Table 5 (V) will show. The mean for the group of Oregon Service Club Men (Group V) who received only the A part of Form 60 does seem to be somewhat lower than that of the other group of Oregon Service Club Men. This difference cannot, however, be attributed to the difference in the form of the questionnaire. More important, probably, is the fact that Group V, in contrast to the other group, received the questionnaire *after* having listened to a talk on "What to do with Germany." There was at least an implicit connection between the content of the talk and the content of the F scale; as one of the subjects who sensed this connection said afterwards to our staff member, "You should have given the questionnaire before your talk."

TABLE 6 (VII)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE F-SCALE ITEMS (FORM 60)[a]

Item	Mean	D.P.$_F$[b]	Rank D.P.$_F$	D.P.$_E$[c]	Rank D.P.$_E$	Final Rank[d] (D.P.$_F$+D.P.$_E$)
1. (Obedience & respect)	4.86	2.39	(14)	1.52	(17)	(13)
2. (Will power)	4.44	2.50	(11)	1.46	(19)	(12)
5. (Red blooded American)	5.49	1.46	(29.5)	1.18	(25.5)	(27)
6. (Bad manners)	5.30	1.80	(23)	1.56	(13.5)	(22)
7. (Science)	4.98	1.71	(24)	1.32	(23)	(25)
10. (War & conflict)	4.46	1.67	(26)	1.70	(10)	(21)
11. (Supernatural power)	3.60	2.91	(4)	1.38	(21)	(10)
12. (Germans & Japs)	3.71	3.16	(3)	2.83	(1)	(1)
16. (Cheerful things)	3.15	2.08	(20.5)	1.18	(25.5)	(23)
17. (Honor)	3.14	2.46	(12)	2.34	(4)	(7)
18. (Pearl Harbor Day)	2.19	2.51	(10)	1.83	(9)	(9)
19. (Discipline & determination)	3.68	3.17	(2)	2.28	(6.5)	(3)
22. (Not everybody in gov't.)	2.74	1.46	(29.5)	1.17	(27)	(28)
23. (Rebellious ideas)	4.30	2.70	(7)	2.29	(5)	(5)
24. (Born with urge)	2.87	2.60	(8)	2.28	(6.5)	(6)
25. (Familiarity)	3.30	2.08	(20.5)	1.33	(22)	(20)
29. (No sane person)	3.55	2.82	(6)	1.95	(8)	(8)
30. (Feebleminded)	1.84	1.43	(32.5)	0.91	(30)	(30)
32. (Devoted leaders)	4.49	2.42	(13)	1.43	(20)	(15)
34. (Sex crime)	3.43	2.83	(5)	2.52	(3)	(4)
35. (Two classes)	1.44	0.73	(34)	0.38	(34)	(34)
36. (Infection & disease)	4.80	1.68	(25)	1.03	(28)	(26)
39. (Love for parents)	3.16	3.28	(1)	2.56	(2)	(2)
40. (Astrology)	2.56	2.15	(17)	1.66	(11)	(16)
41. (Force to preserve)	2.48	2.31	(15)	1.56	(13.5)	(14)
44. (Bosses outline)	2.46	1.60	(27)	0.50	(33)	(33)
45. (Prying)	3.48	2.52	(9)	1.56	(13.5)	(11)
46. (Flood)	2.15	1.43	(32.5)	0.94	(29)	(29)
49. (Rid of immoral people)	2.74	2.12	(19)	1.56	(13.5)	(18)
50. (Mistake to trust)	2.12	1.45	(31)	0.84	(31)	(31)
52. (Sex life)	3.18	2.13	(18)	1.50	(18)	(19)
53. (Talk too much)	3.87	1.83	(22)	1.24	(24)	(24)
57. (Plots)	4.24	1.55	(28)	0.63	(32)	(32)
58. (Homosexuals)	2.29	2.20	(16)	1.54	(16)	(17)
Mean/Person/Item	3.42	2.15		1.53		

[a]The four groups on which these data are based are:
Group I: University of Oregon Student Women (N = 47)
Group II: University of Oregon and University of California Student Women (N=54)
Group III: University of Oregon and University of California Student Men (N = 57)
Group IV: Oregon Service Club Men (N = 68)

In obtaining the over-all means, the individual group means were not weighted according to N.

[b]D.P.$_F$ is based on the difference between the high quartile and the low quartile of the F scale distribution.

[c]D.P.$_E$ is based on the difference between the high quartile and the low quartile of the E scale distribution. e.g., the D.P.$_E$ of 1.52 on Item 1 indicates that the mean of the low quartile on E was 1.52 points lower than the mean of the high quartile on E.

[d]For each item the sum of D.P.$_F$+D.P.$_E$ is obtained. The final rank of an item is the rank of this sum in the distribution of sums for the whole scale.

goodness, had to be dropped in the early fall of 1945 because they had lost their war-period timeliness. More than this, experience had shown that when it came to working with highly diverse groups outside the University, a questionnaire shorter than Form 60 was highly desirable. The other scales having already been reduced to an absolute minimum, the F scale had now to bear some of the pruning. Yet, such pruning had to be extremely judicious if the scale was not to lose in comprehensiveness and if, as was hoped, its reliability and its correlation with E were to be raised. Thirty was the number of items decided upon.

Revision consisted mainly in discarding seven items and adding three new ones. Two excellent items were discarded because, as mentioned above, they were no longer timely. Five items were taken out because they had relatively very low D. P.'s and because other items seemed to fulfill the same functions better: 44 (Bosses outline, R. O. 33), 50 (Mistake to trust, R. O. 31), 30 (Feebleminded, R. O. 30), 22 (Not everybody in government, R. O. 28), and 5 (Red-blooded American, R. O. 27). Several items which ranked low in terms of D. P. were thoroughly revised and kept in the new scale: 35 (Two classes, R. O. 34), 57 (Plots, R. O. 32), and 46 (Flood, R. O. 29).

One of the three new items was the following: "The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor." This is a slightly revised version of an item which appeared in the earlier forms of the PEC scale, where it had proved to be discriminatory both in terms of PEC and in terms of E. Since this item expresses rather well both conventionalism and anti-intraception, it appeared to be a promising addition to the F scale.

A second new item was, "It is best to use some prewar authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos." At the time this item was formulated —late summer 1945—General Patton had been accused of using German Nazis and extremely conservative bigwigs to help carry out certain phases of the occupation. His critics argued that this was a poor way to secure the cooperation of democratic elements in Germany; his defenders pointed to the necessity for promoting efficiency and preventing chaos. The issue was a lively one; and it appeared that an item bearing upon it might give the high scorer a chance to express his admiration for military authority, his means-centeredness, his preoccupation with order vs. chaos. (That the item did not work very well is probably due to inadequate wording: we had not dared to be sufficiently explicit about *which* prewar authorities were to be used, so that "prewar" could be taken to mean "pre-Nazi.")

"Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering," was the third of the new items. Here the temptation—constantly present during each revision of the F scale—to test a new hypothesis, or better, to obtain quantitative data bearing upon a phenomenon which in clinical study had appeared in relation to the general pattern of potential fascism, became

TABLE 7 (VII)

F-Scale Clusters: Forms 45 and 40

a. *Conventionalism:* Rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values.
   1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
   12. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
   37. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
   41. The business man and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.

b. *Authoritarian Submission:* Submissive, uncritical attitude toward idealized moral authorities of the ingroup.
   1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.
   4. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
   8. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
   21. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
   23. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
   42. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
   44. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

c. *Authoritarian Aggression:* Tendency to be on the lookout for, and to condemn, reject, and punish people who violate conventional values.
   12. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.
   13. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
   19. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
   25. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
   27. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.
   34. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.
   37. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
   39. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.

d. *Anti-intraception:* Opposition to the subjective, the imaginative, the tender-minded.

9. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.
31. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
37. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
41. The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.

e. *Superstition and Stereotypy:* The belief in mystical determinants of the individual's fate; the disposition to think in rigid categories.

4. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.
8. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.
16. Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.
26. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
29. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
33. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.

f. *Power and "Toughness":* Preoccupation with the dominance-submission, strong-weak, leader-follower dimension; identification with power figures; overemphasis upon the conventionalized attributes of the ego; exaggerated assertion of strength and toughness.

2. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.
13. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
19. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
22. It is best to use some prewar authorities in Germany to keep order and prevent chaos.
23. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
26. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
38. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

g. *Destructiveness and Cynicism:* Generalized hostility, vilification of the human.

6. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.
43. Familiarity breeds contempt.

h. *Projectivity:* The disposition to believe that wild and dangerous things go on in the world; the projection outwards of unconscious emotional impulses.
   18. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
   31. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
   33. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
   35. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
   38. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
i. *Sex:* Exaggerated concern with sexual "goings-on."
   25. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse.
   35. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.
   39. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.

too strong. The item was taken from an editorial in a prominent picture magazine, where it had appeared in a context of political reaction. It seemed well adapted to bring out the sado-masochistic theme believed to be prominent in the personality of the high scorer: he believes that he *has* suffered and, therefore, knows the important things and that those who have not succeeded in raising their status, i.e., the underprivileged, should suffer more if they hope to improve their lot. The item did not work very well, its rank in order of goodness for men being 29. (Its D. P., 1.70, is still significant at the 5 per cent level, however.) It seems that this was partly because many subjects thought it unreasonable (the mean was 2.54), and partly because, where it was agreed with, it probably appealed to different subjects for different reasons: if it tapped the deep-lying sado-masochistic structures in some high scorers, it also appealed to the surface masochism, and perhaps to the intraceptiveness, of some low scorers.

The final F items, grouped according to the variables to which they pertain, are presented in Table 7 (VII).

Reliability of the scale, mean score per item, S. D., and range for each of the fourteen groups (total N = 1518) taking Form 40 and/or 45 are given in Table 8 (VII). The average of the reliability coefficients is .90, their range .81 to .97. Not only is there a slight improvement in reliability over Form 60 (av. $r = .87$) and a very marked improvement over the original Form 78

TABLE 8 (VII)

RELIABILITY OF THE F SCALE (FORMS 40 AND 45)

Group	N	Reliability	Mean	S. D.	Range
Form 40:					
George Washington Univ. Women	132	.84	3.51	.90	1.2 – 5.4
California Service Club Men	63	.94	4.08	1.03	1.8 – 7.0
Middle-Class Men	69	.92	3.69	1.22	1.3 – 6.7
Middle-Class Women	154	.93	3.62	1.26	1.1 – 6.7
Working-Class Men	61	.88	4.19	1.18	1.8 – 6.9
Working-Class Women	53	.97	3.86	1.67	1.3 – 6.6
Los Angeles Men	117	.92	3.68	1.17	1.1 – 6.0
Los Angeles Women	130	.91	3.49	1.13	1.2 – 5.8
Mean[a]	779	.91	3.76	1.20	1.3 – 6.4
Form 45:					
Testing Class Women	59	.89	3.62	.99	1.3 – 5.9
San Quentin Men Prisoners	110	.87	4.73	.86	2.0 – 6.8
Psychiatric Clinic Women[b]	71	.94	3.69	1.30	1.0 – 6.3
Psychiatric Clinic Men[b]	50	.89	3.82	1.01	1.7 – 5.9
Mean	290	.90	3.96	1.04	1.5 – 6.2
Form 40 and Form 45:					
Employment Service Men Veterans	106	.89	3.74	1.04	1.2 – 5.8
Maritime School Men	343	.81	4.06	.77	1.6 – 6.1
Mean[a]	449	.85	3.90	.90	1.4 – 5.9
Over-all mean	1518	.90	3.84	1.10	1.4 – 6.3

[a]In obtaining the combined group means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[b]Due to a substitution of forms, the F scale for the Psychiatric Clinic subjects contained only 28 items.

(av. $r = .74$), but the scale has now been developed to a point where it meets rigorous statistical requirements. A reliability of .90 may be interpreted to mean that the scale can place individuals along a dimension—in this case a broad and complex dimension—with a small margin of error. In other words, the score attained by an individual can be relied upon in the sense that chance errors of measurement have been minimized, so that in a repetition of the scale, at a time when political-socioeconomic conditions were generally the

same as before, his new score would either be the same as his first or fall within narrow limits above or below it. The degree of reliability attained here is within the range which characterizes acceptable intelligence tests.

The means, though they vary from one group to another (a matter to be discussed later), are fairly close, on the whole, to the neural point. As is to be expected from administration of the scale to a great variety of subjects, the range and the S. D. are greater than in previous forms. While no distribution curves have actually been made, the scatter diagrams indicate that they would be fairly normal in form (symmetrical but slightly platykurtic).

a. INTERNAL CONSISTENCY. The Discriminatory Powers of the scale items, as shown in Table 9 (VII), are considerably higher on the average (2.85) than in the case of Form 60 (2.15). All of the items differentiate significantly between the high and the low quartiles. It is to be noted that numerous items taken over without change from Form 60 work much better here than in that instance. This is probably due in part to the fact that the diverse groups given Form 45-40 included more extreme scorers and in part to improvement of the scale as a whole: a good item differentiates the more sharply between the upper and lower quartiles the more successfully the total scale distinguishes individuals who are actually extreme with respect to the trends being measured.

The fact that the D. P.'s are somewhat higher, on the average, for women than for men is deserving of some comment. This phenomenon would seem to be connected with the fact that there were three groups of men—Maritime School, San Quentin Inmates, and Working-Class Men—in whose cases the reliability of the scale was relatively low (.81–.88). Since these groups of men were less educated than most of our subjects, there is considerable likelihood that they failed to understand some of the scale items, a circumstance that would work against high D. P.'s as well as against reliability. Moreover, these are the three groups who, of all those studied, obtained the highest mean scores. It can be inferred from this that there was too much general agreement with some of the items, something which, as we have seen, tends to lower the D. P. This raises the question of whether we did not encounter in these groups not only more extreme manifestations of potential fascism than had been anticipated but also patterns of prefascist personality trends that the F scale did not adequately cover. Most of the work that went into the construction and revision of the scale was performed with groups of subjects in which the high scorers were, in the main, highly conventional. The procedure of retaining items which differentiated best within these groups was probably not the best one for constructing an instrument which would work with maximum efficiency in groups where tendencies to psychopathy and delinquency were much more pronounced. This is a matter to be discussed in more detail later.

Despite the absolute differences in the D. P.'s between men and women,

TABLE 9 (VII)

MEANS AND DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE F-SCALE ITEMS (FORMS 40 AND 45)[a]

	Item	Men's Groups				Women's Groups				Men and Women Combined			
		Mean	Rank	D.P.	Rank	Mean	Rank	D.P.	Rank	Mean	Rank	D.P.	Rank
1.	(Obedience & respect)	5.41	(1)	2.70	(15)	4.67	(4)	3.91	(4)	5.04	(2)	3.31	(6.5)
2.	(Will power)	5.16	(4)	2.48	(20.5)	4.94	(1)	2.67	(23)	5.05	(1)	2.58	(22)
4.	(Science)	4.20	(15)	2.55	(16)	4.32	(6)	2.89	(19)	4.26	(11)	2.72	(17)
6.	(War and conflict)	4.69	(7)	2.32	(22.5)	4.26	(8)	2.98	(16)	4.48	(6)	2.65	(19)
8.	(Supernatural power)	3.47	(22)	3.19	(5)	3.43	(18)	3.92	(3)	3.45	(20)	3.56	(4)
9.	(Cheerful things)	3.80	(18)	2.52	(19)	3.71	(15)	3.14	(12)	3.76	(17)	2.83	(16)
12.	(Bad manners)	5.22	(2)	1.77	(27)	4.80	(3)	2.60	(24)	5.01	(3.5)	2.19	(26.5)
13.	(Discipline & determination)	4.59	(8)	3.60	(3)	4.03	(11)	4.03	(2)	4.31	(10)	3.82	(2)
16.	(Born with urge)	3.75	(19)	2.54	(17.5)	3.25	(19)	2.47	(26)	3.50	(19)	2.51	(24)
18.	(Infection and disease)	4.53	(10)	2.82	(12)	4.13	(10)	3.52	(7)	4.33	(9)	3.17	(8.5)
19.	(Honor)	3.50	(21)	2.74	(14)	3.11	(25)	3.12	(13)	3.31	(22)	2.93	(14)
21.	(Rebellious ideas)	4.71	(6)	3.04	(7)	4.14	(9)	3.72	(5)	4.43	(7)	3.38	(5)
22.	(Germany)	4.26	(14)	1.98	(24)	3.74	(14)	2.40	(27)	4.00	(14.5)	2.19	(26.5)
23.	(Devoted leaders)	5.18	(3)	2.32	(22.5)	4.84	(2)	2.87	(20)	5.01	(3.5)	2.60	(21)
25/24.	(Sex crimes)	4.54	(9)	3.68	(2)	4.29	(7)	4.32	(1)	4.41	(8)	4.00	(1)
26/25.	(Weak and strong)	3.05	(26)	2.94	(9)	2.48	(29)	3.39	(8)	2.77	(26)	3.17	(8.5)
27/26.	(Undying love)	4.09	(16)	3.76	(1)	3.21	(20)	3.66	(6)	3.65	(18)	3.71	(3)
29/27.	(Astrology)	3.31	(24)	2.79	(13)	3.16	(22.5)	3.33	(10)	3.24	(24)	3.06	(11)
30/28.	(Force to preserve)	2.92	(27)	2.54	(17.5)	2.47	(27.5)	2.73	(22)	2.70	(27)	2.64	(20)
31/29.	(Prying)	4.34	(12)	2.98	(8)	3.66	(16)	3.02	(15)	4.00	(14.5)	3.00	(12)
33/30.	(Earthquake)	2.58	(28)	1.76	(28)	2.59	(26)	2.19	(29)	2.59	(28)	1.98	(29)
34/31.	(Immoral people)	3.38	(23)	2.90	(10)	3.16	(22.5)	2.85	(21)	3.27	(23)	2.88	(15)
35/32.	(Wild sex life)	4.04	(17)	2.48	(20.5)	3.60	(17)	2.93	(17)	3.82	(16)	2.71	(18)
37/33.	(Talk less)	4.88	(5)	2.84	(11)	4.59	(5)	3.10	(14)	4.74	(5)	2.97	(13)
38/34.	(Plots)	4.32	(13)	1.97	(26)	3.99	(12)	2.54	(25)	4.16	(12)	2.26	(25)
39/35.	(Homosexuals)	3.10	(25)	3.25	(4)	2.67	(24)	3.36	(9)	2.89	(25)	3.31	(6.5)
41/36.	(Artists-businessmen)	2.36	(30)	1.58	(30)	1.88	(30)	1.88	(30)	2.12	(30)	1.73	(30)
42/37.	(No sane person)	4.42	(11)	3.13	(6)	3.85	(13)	3.18	(11)	4.14	(13)	3.16	(10)
43/38.	(Familiarity)	3.56	(20)	2.20	(25)	3.20	(21)	2.90	(18)	3.38	(21)	2.55	(23)
44/39.	(Suffering)	2.54	(29)	1.70	(29)	2.47	(27.5)	2.29	(28)	2.51	(29)	2.00	(28)
Mean/person/item		4.00		2.64		3.63		3.08		3.81		2.85	

[a]These data are based on all fourteen groups taking Forms 40 and 45 (see Table 8 (VII)).

items which work well for one sex tend, in general, to work well for the other. The correlation between the D. P. rank orders for the men and those for the women is .84. This is sufficient justification for averaging the D. P.'s of the two groups to obtain an over-all "order of goodness" for each item. Since the differences between men and women, in the present context, are probably as great as the differences between any two groups of the same sex in the present sample, it is highly probable that a correlation between the D. P. rankings of any two such groups would be in the neighborhood of .84. There appear to be no general or systematic differences between the items which work better for men and those which work better for women.

Mean scores for the men's groups are somewhat higher on the average than mean scores for the women's groups. This phenomenon would seem to be due primarily to the three male groups discussed above whose scores are particularly high. If men and women of the same socioeconomic class are compared, the means are not significantly different. Moreover, items which appeal most strongly to the men are much the same as those which appeal most strongly to the women, the rank-order correlation between the means for men and those for women being .95.

b. Correlational Analysis. As a part of an independent investigation, the E, PEC, and F scales (from Forms 40 and 45) were administered to 900 students in an Elementary Psychology Class at the University of California. It was decided not to include the data from this new college group among the general results of the present study because the total sample of subjects was already weighted too heavily on the side of young and relatively well-educated people. However, the 517 women from this psychology class constitute the only group in whose case the scales were subjected to an item-by-item correlational analysis.[4] The results of this analysis will be summarized here.

Each item of the F scale was correlated with every other item. The average of the 435 coefficients was .13, the range —.05 to .44.[5] In addition, each item was correlated with the remainder of the scale, the mean r here being .33, the range .15 to .52. In the case of the E scale the mean interitem r was .42, and the mean item-total score r, .59. Whereas the E scale has about the same degree of unidimensionality as do acceptable intelligence tests (in the case of the 1937 Stanford-Binet Revision the average interitem r is about .38, the average item-total score r, .61), the F scale rates considerably lower in this regard. Despite the scale's relative lack of surface homogeneity, however, we are justified in speaking of an F pattern or syndrome, for the items do "hang together" in the sense that each is significantly correlated with the

[4] This analysis was made possible by a Grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council.

[5] Fisher's Z_r was used in computing the average r.

scale as a whole. It will be recalled in this connection that in constructing the F scale two purposes were held in mind: (a) to seek over a wide area for diverse responses that belonged to a single syndrome, and (b) to construct an instrument which would yield a reliable prediction of scores on E. It is clear that the first purpose has been in large part realized, although the search for additional items that would help characterize the F syndrome could be continued with profit. The fact that the individual F items correlate .25 on the average with the total E scale augurs well for the fulfillment of the second purpose—a matter to which we shall turn in a moment.

Proof that the variables or groups of items used in thinking about the F scale are not clusters in the statistical sense, is contained in the data from the present group of 517 women. Although the items within each of the Form 45 F-clusters tend to intercorrelate (.11 to .24), the items in any one cluster correlate with one another no better than they do with numerous items from other clusters. We are justified in using these clusters, therefore, only as *a priori* aids to discussion.

D. CORRELATIONS OF THE F SCALE WITH E AND WITH PEC

Correlations of F with the E and PEC scales, based on the three questionnaire forms and derived from all the groups used in the study, are shown in Table 10 (VII). The major result expressed in this table is that the correlation between E and F has increased with the successive revisions of the scale until it has reached a point (about .75 on the average in Forms 40, 45) where scores on the former can be predicted with fair accuracy from scores on the latter.

The correlation between F and E varies rather widely from one group to another, a matter that seems to depend mainly upon the reliability of the scales themselves.[6] Thus, in the San Quentin group, where the reliability of F is .87 and that of E only .65, the correlation between the two scales is at the lowest, .59; while in the case of the Working-Class Women, where the reliability of F climbs to .97,[7] the correlation is at its maximum, .87. It is obvious, therefore, that if the reliabilities of the two scales were increased (which can be done by increasing the number of items within each) the

[6] The correlation between E and F does not seem to depend upon whether the two scales are administered at different times, or at the same time with items from the one scale interspersed among those of the other. The correlation obtained in the case of the Universiy of Oregon Student Women, who were given Form 60 in two parts, is not only similar to that obtained, with the use of the regular Form 60, in the case of the University of Oregon and University of California Student Women, but it is virtually the same as the mean E.F correlation for all groups of subjects.

[7] The reliability of the "A" half of the E scale, which was given as a part of Form 40 to that group, was not calculated.

TABLE 10 (VII)

CORRELATIONS OF THE F SCALE WITH THE A-S, E, AND PEC SCALES IN THE SEVERAL FORMS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

	N	F. A-S	F. E	F. PEC
Groups taking Form 78:				
Public Speaking Class Women	140	.55	.58	.52
Public Speaking Class Men	52	.52	.56	.45
Extension Class Women	40	.49	.74	.54
Professional Women	63	.57	.73	.65
Over-all[a]: Form 78	295	.53	.65	.54
Groups taking Form 60:				
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	47	.72	.29	
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	54	.78	.49	
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	57	.58	.43	
Oregon Service Club Men	68	.69	.29	
Oregon Service Club Men[b]	60		.22	
Over-all: Form 60	286	.69	.34	
Groups taking Form 45:				
Testing Class Women	59	.79	.54	
San Quentin Men Prisoners	110	.59	.23	
Psychiatric Clinic Women	71	.86	.62[c]	
Psychiatric Clinic Men	50	.76	.57[c]	
Working-Class Men and Women	50	.85	.70	
Employment Service Men Veterans	51	.67	.62[d]	
Maritime School Men	179	.56	.39[d]	
Over-all: Form 45	570	.73	.52	
Groups taking Form 40[e]:				
George Washington Univ. Women	132	.69	.53	
California Service Club Men	63	.80	.59	
Middle-Class Men	69	.81	.71	
Working-Class Men	61	.76	.60	
Middle-Class Women	154	.83	.70	
Working-Class Women	53	.87	.72	
Los Angeles Men	117	.82	.58	
Los Angeles Women	130	.75	.61	
Employment Service Men Veterans	55	.72	.62	
Maritime School Men	165	.62	.39	
Over-all: Form 40	999	.77	.61	
Over-all: All Forms	2150	.53	.73	.52

[a] In obtaining the over-all group means, the individual group means were not weighted by N.

[b] This group of Oregon Service Club Men received a short questionnaire form containing only the F scale and half of the PEC scale.

[c] For the correlations of F with PEC in the Psychiatric Clinic groups, the number of women was 45, the number of men 29, due to a substitution of forms.

[d] These F-PEC correlations are based on both Forms 40 and 45. Since it was considered highly unlikely that the presence or absence of 5 E items would affect the correlation of F and PEC, the two forms are taken together in order to have the advantage of the larger N's. The total N is 106 for the Employment Service Men Veterans, 343 for the Maritime School Men.

[e] In Form 40, it will be recalled, only the "A" half of the 10-item E scale was used.

correlation between E and F would be very high indeed.[8] This is not to say, however, that E and F for all practical purposes measure the same thing. A correlation of .775 means that about two-thirds of the subjects who score in the high quartile on the one scale, score in the high quartile on the other, and that there are practically no reversals, i.e., cases in which a subject is high on one scale but low on the other. If one wished to use the F scale alone in order to single out subjects who were practically certain to be highly ethnocentric, i.e., in the high quartile on the present E scale, it would be necessary for him to limit himself to those scoring at the very highest extreme on F, perhaps the top 10 per cent. As pointed out earlier, there are reasons why some discrepancy between the two scales should be expected. Surely there are some individuals who have the kind of susceptibility to fascist propaganda with which the F scale is concerned but who for one reason or another tend to inhibit expressions of hostility against minority groups (subjects high on F but low on E). And we have good reason to believe that there are other people who rather freely repeat the clichés of ethnocentrism—perhaps in accordance with the climate of opinion in which they are living—without this being expressive of deep-lying trends in their personalities (subjects high on E but low on F). Such "exceptions" will be taken up in more detail later.

It is to be noted that the correlation between F and E is slightly higher on the average in the case of groups taking Form 40 than for groups taking Form 45. This means that F correlates slightly better with the A half of the E scale than with the total E scale, and that the correlation must be still lower in the case of the B half of the scale. In several groups taking Form 45 the correlations of E_A and of E_B with F were calculated, in addition to the correlation of total E with F. The results appear in Table 11 (VII). In each

TABLE 11 (VII)

CORRELATIONS OF THE F SCALE WITH EACH HALF AND WITH THE WHOLE OF THE E SCALE

Group	N	Correlations		
		E_A. F	E_B. F	E_{A+B}. F
San Quentin Men Prisoners	110	.56	.45	.59
Employment Service Men Veterans	51	.66	.61	.67
Maritime School Men	179	.61	.40	.56
Testing Class Women	59	.77	.66	.79
Mean		.65	.53	.65

[8] The correlation coefficient which, theoretically, would result if two scales were perfectly reliable, i.e., if the average obtained *r* were corrected for attenuation, is about .9. This indicates a striking correspondence, though not a complete identity, of what is measured by the two scales.

group E_A.F is notably higher than E_B.F, and about the same as E_{A+B}.F. It may be recalled that the A half of the scale refers to highly generalized ethnocentrism and contains no A-S items, while the B half is made up of four A-S items and one Negro item. It happened that this Negro item was a relatively poor one in the statistical sense (rank order, 5 for men, 10 for women), but this is not enough to account for the superiority of the E_A.F correlations. It seems, rather, that the F syndrome is actually more closely related to general ethnocentrism than to anti-Semitism. This is in keeping with the finding, reported earlier, that in Form 78 the F scale correlated more highly with the E scale than with the A-S scale. Although anti-Semitism is still to be understood primarily as an aspect of general ethnocentrism, there can be no doubt but that it has some special features of its own. Some of these features are described in Chapter XVI.

The F syndrome bears only a moderately close relation to politico-economic conservatism, the average correlation for Forms 45 and 40 being .57. Our interpretation is that high scores on PEC may proceed either from genuine conservatism or from pseudoconservatism, and that it is the latter which is most expressive of the personality trends which the F scale measures. This is in keeping with the finding that E, which is closely related to F, also shows only moderate correlation with PEC. The E.PEC correlation is about the same as the F.PEC correlation. It would appear that general ethnocentrism, as measured by the present scales, is mainly an expression of those personality structures which the F scale measures; politico-economic conservatism, while it may have this same source, may be more dependent than E upon factors in the individual's contemporary situation.

E. DIFFERENCES IN MEAN F-SCALE SCORE AMONG VARIOUS GROUPS

We may turn now to a consideration of the mean F-scale scores of different groups. These means have been set forth in Table 12 (VII). It is well to recall here what was stated at the beginning (Chapter I, C), that since no steps were taken to insure that each group studied was actually representative of a larger section of the population, we are in no position to generalize from the present results on mean scores, however suggestive they might be. (A large-scale community study would be necessary in order to produce a sound estimate of the relative amounts of fascist potential in different sections of the general population. The F scale, we believe, is worthy to be used in such a study, though it would have to be modified somewhat in order to be suitable for groups with little education.) It seems well to recall, too, that the group with which a subject filled out the questionnaire does not necessarily represent a group membership that is significant for the present study. The differences with which we are here concerned are not very large,

TABLE 12 (VII)

MEAN F-SCALE SCORES OF GROUPS TAKING THE SEVERAL FORMS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Group	N	Mean	S. D.
Form 78:			
Public Speaking Class Women	140	3.94	.71
Public Speaking Class Men	52	3.72	.57
Extension Class Women	40	3.75	.70
Professional Women	63	3.43	.86
Over-all mean, Form 78	295	3.71	.71
Form 60:			
Univ. of Oregon Student Women	47	3.32	.86
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Women	54	3.39	.96
Univ. of Oregon and Univ. of California Student Men	57	3.82	.93
Oregon Service Club Men	68	3.74	.81
Oregon Service Club Men (A Form only)	60	3.25	.71
Over-all mean, Form 60	286	3.50	.85
Form 45:			
Testing Class Women	59	3.62	.99
San Quentin Men Prisoners	110	4.73	.86
Psychiatric Clinic Women	71	3.69	1.30
Psychiatric Clinic Men	50	3.82	1.01
Over-all mean, Form 45	290	3.96	1.04
Form 40:			
George Washington Univ. Women	132	3.51	.90
California Service Club Men	63	4.08	1.03
Middle-Class Women	154	3.62	1.26
Middle-Class Men	69	3.69	1.22
Working-Class Women	53	3.86	1.67
Working-Class Men	61	4.19	1.18
Los Angeles Women	130	3.49	1.13
Los Angeles Men	117	3.68	1.17
Over-all mean, Form 40	779	3.76	1.20
Forms 40 and 45:			
Employment Service Men Veterans	106	3.74	1.04
Maritime School Men	343	4.06	.77
Over-all mean, Forms 40 and 45	449	3.90	.90
Over-all mean, Four Forms (78, 60, 45, 40):	2099	3.78	

while the variability within each group is marked. Only rarely is the difference between two groups greater than one S. D. In our view, we should find large group differences in mean F score only when membership in a group has some psychological significance, and this does not seem to be true of most of the present groups. (A study of the F-scale score in relation to group membership factors such as those covered by page 1 of the questionnaire [income, religion, etc.] would probably be rewarding. In view of the high correlation between F and E we should expect results generally similar to those found in the case of the latter scale, but discrepancies would be particularly interesting.) Nevertheless, some important sociological and psychological differences among the present groups are known to exist—indeed some of these groups have been described as "key" groups—and, if the F scale is valid, we should expect differences in mean score that are intelligible in the light of our general theory.

Of all the fourteen groups taking Form 40-45, the San Quentin Inmates obtained the highest mean score, 4.73. This mean is significantly different (C. R. = 3.2) from that of the next highest scoring group, the Working-Class Men, whose mean is 4.19. Between the San Quentin group and the lowest scoring group of men (Los Angeles Men, M = 3.68) the difference is very marked (C. R. = 7.8). In view of all that has been written concerning the close affinity of criminality and fascism, these results should not be surprising. Since the findings on the "key" San Quentin group are analyzed in detail in Chapter XXI, further discussion here is unnecessary.

Service Club Men and Working-Class Men do not differ significantly in mean F score. This will come as a surprise only to those who have become accustomed to explaining all important differences in social attitudes on the basis of socioeconomic group membership, and who look to the working man as the main carrier of liberal ideas. It is true, of course, as a matter of economic and social fact, that the crucial role in the struggle against increasing concentration of economic power will have to be played by the working people, acting in accordance with their self-interest, but it is foolhardy to underestimate the susceptibility to fascist propaganda within these masses themselves. For our part, we see no reason to suppose that the authoritarian structures with which we are concerned would be any less well developed in the working class than in other segments of the population. If it be argued that our sample of working-class men might be an unusually reactionary one, the answer is that approximately half of this sample come either from the militantly "liberal" United Electrical Workers Union (C.I.O.) or from classes at the California Labor School, and that there is no reason to suppose that men from the United Seaman's Service or new members of the I.L.W.U. —who constitute the remainder of the sample—are more conservative than working men generally. For that matter, the extremely high scoring San Quentin Inmates come in very large part from the working class, and there

is good reason to suppose that their general outlook depends upon their background as well as upon the circumstance of their being in prison.

It appears that differences among the present groups of men depend more upon the factor of contact with liberal organizations and liberal thought than upon socioeconomic group membership. This is the basis on which we would explain the relatively low means of the Middle-Class Men (3.69) and the Los Angeles Men (3.68), both of which are significantly different (beyond the 5 per cent level) from that of the Service Club Men (4.08). The Middle-Class Men and the Service Club Men are quite similar with respect to economic and occupational status; the difference between them that is reflected in their F-scale mean lies, most probably, in whatever it is that disposes the former to appear at a meeting of the P.T.A. or the layman's league of a Presbyterian Church or at evening classes at the California Labor School, and the latter at a Service Club luncheon. This, in our opinion, is primarily a psychological matter; the difference lies in the degree of something which may be labeled, for the moment, a disposition toward liberalism or progressivism or humanitarianism. The Los Angeles Men, it will be recalled, were recruited primarily from the University and the movie communities. Thus, though their socioeconomic status was certainly no lower than that of the Service Club Men in the San Francisco area, the setting in which they were found was one of greater liberalism. The Maritime School Group, made up predominantly of men with working-class and lower middle-class antecedents who are out to raise their status, belongs on the basis of its mean (4.06) with the Service Club Men and the Working-Class Men, while the Psychiatric Clinic Men ($M = 3.82$) and the Employment Service Veterans ($M = 3.74$), who probably are more heterogeneous with respect to either class status or liberal affiliations, have intermediate positions in the rank order of means.

It has been pointed out that the fact of the men in our total sample having a higher mean than the women is due primarily to the presence in the male sample of the outstandingly high scoring groups that have just been considered. The present data show that where social group membership is constant, the means for men are not significantly different from those of women. Thus, in the case of the Working-Class Women and the Working-Class Men, the C. R. is only 1.22, while the differences between men and women in the Psychiatric Clinic, the Los Angeles and the Middle-Class groups are practically negligible. It is to be noted, however, that in each case the men are slightly higher, and that in a larger sample the difference might become significant.

Among the women's groups, the only difference that approaches significance is that existing between the Working-Class Women ($M = 3.86$), on the one hand, and the George Washington University Women ($M = 3.51$) and Los Angeles Women ($M = 3.49$) on the other. If a true difference exists,

the explanation would seem to be the same as that advanced in the case of some of the men's groups: that the latter groups of women have been in closer touch with liberal trends.

It is of some interest to consider group differences in mean F score in relation to the mean E score of these same groups. In general, groups that score highest on F tend to score highest on E also. The most notable discrepancies occur in the cases of the George Washington Women, who are relatively much higher on E ($M = 4.04$) than on F ($M = 3.51$), and the Working-Class Men, who are slightly higher on F ($M = 4.19$) than on E ($M = 3.92$). It seems probable that in the case of this group of women, we have to deal with a regional difference: many observers have noted that there is more prejudice in the East than in the West. It may be, therefore, that although these college women were relatively liberal as a group, they were led by the prevailing climate of opinion to go fairly high on E. This is in keeping with the fact that the correlation between F and E in this group was one of the lowest obtained.

The group of Working-Class Men is the only one in which the mean E score is lower than the mean F score. This is probably attributable to the success of indoctrination in antidiscrimination which occurs in the "liberal" unions to which a majority of these subjects belong. Apparently, however, this indoctrination did not go so far as to modify those attitudes centering around authoritarianism, which are more pronounced in this group than in most others. One might say that if this indoctrination were dispensed with, or if propaganda having an opposite direction were substituted for it, then the results from this group would fall into line with all the others.

It has often been suggested that working-class people are relatively uninhibited in expressing the prejudice that they have and that this does not go very deep, while middle-class people are more restrained in giving vent to their—often deeper—prejudice. That nothing to support this formulation is to be found in the present data may be due most largely to the fact that our ethnocentric statements were for the most part fairly restrained, i.e., formulated in such a way that a pseudodemocratic person could agree with them and still maintain the illusion that he was not prejudiced.

F. VALIDATION BY CASE STUDIES: THE F-SCALE RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY

The responses of Mack and Larry on the F scale may now be compared with their remarks in the interview. In Table 13 (VII) are shown the scores of Mack and Larry, the group mean, and the D. P. for each of the 38 items in the F scale (Form 78), the items having been grouped according to the scheme of F-scale variables.

The mean F-scale scores of the two men seem to be in keeping with the

TABLE 13 (VII)

RESPONSES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE F SCALE (FORM 78)

Item	Mack	Larry	Group Mean[a] (N = 295)	Group D.P.[a]
Conventionalism				
12. (Modern church)	5	7	4.67	0.19
19. (One should avoid)	2	1	3.63	0.76
38. (Emphasis in the colleges)	5	2	3.91	1.20
55. (Leisure)	7	6	5.20	2.11
58. (What a man does)	6	1	3.48	1.70
60. (Important values)	5	5	4.17	1.60
Cluster mean	5.00	3.66	4.18	1.26
Authoritarian Submission				
20. (Progressive education)	3	1	3.28	1.07
23. (Undying love)	6	7	3.62	2.61
32. (Essential for learning)	7	6	3.61	1.67
39. (Supernatural force)	1	1	3.97	2.54
43. (Sciences like chemistry)	1	2	4.35	2.79
50. (Obedience and respect)	6	2	3.72	3.09
74. (Tireless leaders)	2	1	5.00	1.66
77. (No sane, normal person)	6	5	4.12	2.12
Cluster mean	4.00	3.13	3.96	2.19
Authoritarian Aggression				
6. (Women restricted)	2	1	2.93	1.75
23. (Undying love)	6	7	3.62	2.61
31. (Homosexuals)	6	6	3.22	2.16
47. (Honor)	5	2	3.00	2.09
75. (Sex crimes)	6	1	3.26	2.81
Cluster mean	5.00	3.40	3.21	2.28
Anti-intraception				
28. (Novels or stories)	5	1	3.02	1.29
38. (Emphasis in colleges)	5	2	3.91	1.20
53. (Things too intimate)	3	5	4.82	1.99
55. (Leisure)	7	6	5.20	2.11
58. (What a man does)	6	1	3.48	1.70
66. (Books and movies)	6	2	4.10	2.48
Cluster mean	5.33	2.83	4.09	1.80
Superstition				
2. (Astrology)	5	6	2.60	1.74
10. (Pearl Harbor Day)	1	1	2.22	2.20
39. (Supernatural force)	1	1	3.97	2.54
43. (Sciences like chemistry)	1	2	4.35	2.79
65. (World catastrophe)	1	1	2.58	1.55
Cluster mean	1.80	2.20	3.78	1.70

TABLE 13 (VII) (CONT'D)

Item	Mack	Larry	Group Mean[a] (N = 295)	Group D.P.[a]
Power and "Toughness"				
9. (Red-blooded life)	1	2	3.99	2.04
35. (Law in own hands)	1	1	2.50	1.42
47. (Honor)	5	2	3.00	2.09
70. (Plots)	7	2	3.27	1.65
74. (Tireless leaders)	2	1	5.00	1.66
Cluster mean	3.20	1.60	3.55	1.77
Destructiveness and Cynicism				
3. (Force to restore)	3	5	3.04	1.98
9. (Return to fundamentals)	1	2	3.99	2.04
14. (Rats...germs)	6	5	4.44	1.60
17. (Familiarity)	3	1	3.33	1.86
24. (Things unstable)	5	5	5.01	0.79
30. (Reports of atrocities)	6	5	4.20	0.43
35. (Law in own hands)	1	1	2.50	1.42
42. (For one reason)	1	1	2.06	1.05
56. (Crime wave)	5	5	4.60	1.16
59. (Always war)	7	1	4.26	2.59
67. (Eye to profit)	7	3	3.71	2.21
Cluster mean	4.09	3.09	3.74	1.56
Projectivity				
46. (Sex orgies)	5	2	3.64	2.11
56. (Crime wave)	5	5	4.60	1.16
65. (World catastrophe)	1	1	2.58	1.55
70. (Plots)	7	2	3.27	1.65
73. (Infection and disease)	5	1	4.79	2.02
Cluster mean	4.60	2.20	3.78	1.70
Sex				
31. (Homosexuality)	6	6	3.22	2.16
42. (For one reason)	1	1	2.06	1.05
46. (Sex orgies)	5	2	3.64	2.11
75. (Sex crimes)	6	1	3.26	2.81
Cluster mean	4.50	2.50	3.05	2.03
Over-all mean[b]	4.31	2.95	3.71	1.80

[a]The group means and D.P.'s are based on all four groups taking Form 78 (see Table 3 (VII), note[a])

[b]Over-all means are based on the sum of the 38 individual items, with no overlap.

earlier observation that they do not represent the most extreme cases found in the study. Mack's mean score, 4.31, is just inside the high quartile for the group of Public Speaking Men in which he was tested; it is only slightly above the average score of the Working-Class Men (4.19) and well below that of the San Quentin Group (4.73). Larry's mean score, 2.95, is barely low enough to be included in the low quartile for the Public Speaking Men. It is, however, well below any of the group means obtained in the study.

Turning to the 9 variables within the scale, it may be noted that on 7 of them Mack's mean score is above the group mean. He deviates from the group most markedly in the case of Authoritarian Aggression. This is consistent with what was set down as one of the outstanding features of his interview, that is, his tendency to blame and to condemn on moral grounds a wide variety of individuals, groups, and agencies—F.D.R., the New Deal, the O.W.I., the Civil Service, in addition to various ethnic minorities. That homosexuals, sex criminals, those who insult "our honor," and anyone who does not have undying love for his parents should be regarded in the same way is not surprising. It is to be noted, however, that he does not agree that "women should be restricted in certain ways." This inconsistency may be interpreted in the light of the following quotation from the clinical section of his interview:[9]

"I hope to get married to the girl I'm going with now. She is an awfully nice companion. Most girls are interested only in a good time and want fellows with lots of money to spend. I didn't have the money for giving them a swell time. The girl I'm in love with now lived nine miles from me. She attended a rival high school. I dated her once in high school. When I got back from the army, I worked in a lumber mill. This girl had graduated from ——— and started teaching. Her uncle is the vice-president of the bank. I talked to him about buying an automobile that she was interested in. I looked it over for her, since I knew something about cars, and told her it was in good condition. I got started going with her that way. I found out that she wasn't interested in money, but was interested in me in spite of my discharge from the army, my poor health, and prospects. She's just very good —not beautiful, but a tremendously nice personality. She is French with some Irish in her. She has a nice figure and is very wholesome. When we get married depends on circumstances. It's quite a responsibility. She wants to get married now; she is teaching in ———. I'm under the GI Bill. If I get assurance of four years in college, I might get married this spring. We're well suited; I know she's interested in me, because I have so little to offer. We're both at the proper age. I intend to work part time. I don't like her teaching; I like to support my wife. I've always had that idea. But maybe under the circumstances, that won't be fully possible. She is a good cook and that is an asset, what with my stomach condition. When I tell her that you approve of our marriage, she will be pleased, but, of course, I'm always a man to make my own decisions."

It seems that Mack does believe that "a woman's place is in the home," but

[9] Throughout the book, the interviewer's report of the interview is given in small type. Quotation marks within this material indicate a verbatim record of the subject's statements.

was prevented by the logic of his situation at the time from saying so in his questionnaire.

Sex, Anti-intraception, Conventionalism, and Projectivity, in the order named, are the other variables on which Mack is well above the group mean. Sex was not mentioned in the interview protocol given in Chapter II. The following quotation from the clinical part of Mack's interview may, however, throw some light on his responses to the Sex items in the scale:

(Where did you get your sex instruction?) "I never had any from my parents, though I did get some suggestions from my aunt; no real instruction. What I know I have picked up from reading. I've listened to men talk, but accepted little of it; I weighed it in the light of what I have read."

(What was your first sex experience?) "It was in 1940–'41, the aftermath of a New Year's party in Washington. There was liquor. I was always a backward boy."

According to well-supported theory, it is precisely the kind of sexual inhibition and "backwardness" described here, and further expressed in the extreme conventionalism of the passage about plans for marriage, that lies behind the moralistic and punitive attitude toward the supposed sexuality of other people which is the main theme of the Sex items in the scale. The inconsistency seen in Mack's disagreement with the statement that "men are interested in women for only one reason" might be explained in the same way as was his response to Item 6 (Women restricted): agreement would contradict too sharply the facts of his present situation. It is to be noted, however, that the item (For one reason) has a very low group mean and a low D. P.

Mack's interview could serve well as a model of Anti-intraception. His emphasis upon practicality, efficiency, and diligence as ends in themselves, his tendency to ignore social and psychological determinants of human characteristics and human events, his failure to take into account possible inner sources of his opinions, the discrepancies between his expressed values and what appear to be his real motives, were outstanding features of his interview. The several Anti-intraception items of the F scale seem to have afforded him an excellent opportunity to express these same tendencies. An interesting discrepancy occurs in the case of Item 53 (Things too intimate), where his score of 3 is well below the group mean. This response is not very consistent with the pattern of values that he sets forth in his interview, but it seems quite consistent with what he *does* in the interview: as the above passage in which he discusses his approaching marriage well illustrates, he is able within the space of an hour to come to a rather free discussion of certain intimate matters with a stranger. True, his generally deferential behavior in the interview is probably an aspect of his Authoritarian Submission, but, more than this, there is a strong indication that however much Mack may assert his independence he is really a rather lonesome and troubled young man who would like to talk with someone who understood him.

One familiar with Mack's interview might have expected him to go higher on Conventionalism. One of his major reasons for rejecting so many groups is that they violate conventional values, and his positive evaluations of ingroups are in the same terms—honesty, charity, thrift, diligence, etc. His ideas about work and about love and marriage seem to be utterly conventional. True, his mean score for Conventionalism is as high as it is for any other variable save Anti-intraception, and one reason why he does not stand out more sharply from the group is that the group mean itself is high—higher than for any of the other variables. Furthermore, the Conventionalism items, as a group, were not very discriminating, the mean D. P., 1.26, being the lowest of those obtained for the several variables. Item 19 (One should avoid), on which Mack's score is below the group mean, does not discriminate between the high and low quartiles; that he should not agree with it seems consistent with his expressed value for independence. It is interesting that despite his rejection of religion in the interview, he refuses to criticize the modern church when invited to do so by Item 12. His conventionalism will not allow him to attack so well-established an institution.

From Mack's interview (Chapter II) we inferred that one reason he accuses various groups and agencies of wishing to establish a closely cohesive and selfishly exploitive ingroup was that he wished to do the same thing himself; unable to justify such antisocial wishes, he sees them as existing not in himself but in the world around him. This is projectivity in a rather extreme form, and if Mack had not gone above the group mean on this variable, in his scale responses, we should have had to conclude that something was radically wrong with the scale. His score of 7 on Item 70 (Plot) seems perfectly in keeping with what he had to say about politics in his interview. His responses to Items 46 (Sex orgies) and 73 (Infection and disease) are consistent with the picture of sexual inhibition given above. That he is well below the group mean on Item 65 (World catastrophe) seems attributable to the value for hard-headed scientificness which he expressed both in his interview and in his response to items under the heading of Superstition. It is notable that his scientific "realism" does not insure that he keeps his feet on the ground when it comes to interpreting social events. (Indeed, it seems to have the opposite effect, and one might inquire if this is not generally true.)

Mack stands only slightly above the group mean on Destructiveness and Cynicism. This is a reminder of the fact that his interview leaves the impression of a relatively "mild case"; he makes no rabid statements, nor does he show any taste for violence. Attention to the individual items of the Destructiveness and Cynicism group shows that it is those pertaining to open or all-out aggression on which he scores at or below the mean, while he goes well above the mean on items that have to do primarily with cynicism. It is interesting to recall, in this connection, his outstandingly high score on

Authoritarian Aggression. One might say that Mack cannot express aggression directly unless it is done in the name of some moral authority or unless it is against some group that has been rejected on moral grounds.

It might be suggested that another way in which Mack handles aggression is by means of cynicism. There was certainly no want of cynicism in his interview—the bureaus grab power, the civil servants think only of themselves, Roosevelt selfishly seeks a fourth term, etc.—and he obtains top scores on the items most expressive of this trend: 30 (Reports of atrocities), 59 (Always war), 67 (Eye to profit). This is, of course, hypothesizing that Mack has unconscious aggressive tendencies which are projected onto human nature and the world. Something like a high-water mark in cynicism is reached by Mack when he agrees, rather emphatically, with both Item 30 (Reports of atrocities are exaggerated) and Item 48 (Germans and Japs should be wiped out) of the E scale: in agreeing with the former he is saying that the Germans were not as bad as they were pictured; in agreeing with the latter he is saying that nevertheless we ought to wipe out as many of them as possible.

On the strength of Mack's interview, we should expect him to obtain one of his highest mean scores on Authoritarian Submission. Glorification of such ingroup authorities as General Marshall, the War Department, the big capitalists, and God as "strictly a man," was one of the interview's outstanding features. Yet his scale score on this variable (4.0) is at the group mean. Consideration of the items which pertain to this variable can effect some reconciliation of scale and interview, but it also reveals certain weaknesses in the Form 78 scale. The items on which Mack scores well above the mean —23 (Undying love), 32 (Essential for learning), 50 (Obedience and respect), and 77 (No sane, normal person)—are those which express Authoritarian Submission in its purest form: three of them have to do with family loyalty and the third with authoritarian education. When it comes to the items which have to do with religion, however—39 (Supernatural force) and 43 (Sciences like chemistry)—and in which ideas and feelings first experienced, presumably, in relationships with parents are now represented on a cosmic plane, his value for the objective-scientific comes to the fore and his scores are as low as they could be. One might say that Mack's submissive tendencies are insufficiently sublimated to permit their expression in abstract religious terms; the forces which are important for him are more tangible; they have concrete existence either in men or in physical objects. In this light, it is surprising that he does not agree with Item 74 (Tireless leaders). This item, be it noted, has a very high group mean and a relatively low Discriminatory Power. It seems likely that for some of the truly submissive subjects, like Mack, the item is too open, comes too close home, so that in responding they go contrary to their strongest feeling, while the great majority of the subjects, for whom the item was not emotionally involving,

responded in accordance with the element of objective truth in the statement. Rephrasing of this item in later forms seems to have improved it by minimizing the rational aspect and by putting the emphasis more squarely on leadership. Another poor item, it seems, is 20 (Progressive education). Liberals and potential fascists alike, very probably, are attracted by the word "progressive." That Mack is no real supporter of progressive education is attested to by his enthusiastic endorsement of Item 32 (Essential for learning) which is about as clear a statement of educational reactionism as could be found.

Mack is below the group mean on the rather unsatisfactory Power and "Toughness" cluster. All the items of this cluster have been discussed above. The correspondence between interview and scale lies in the fact that in neither place does he show any strong inclination to be a tough and aggressive fellow. It is in his admiration for power and in his willingness to submit to it, rather than in any wish to be an aggressive leader, that his potentiality for fascism lies.

Enough has been said about Mack's extraceptive outlook, as seen both in his interview and in the scale responses discussed above, so that his very low score on Superstition is no more than is to be expected. The surprising thing, perhaps, is that he should agree with Item 2 (Astrology), when the great majority of the subjects do not. His agreement here suggests that his relative lack of superstition is not based upon a genuine identification with science as a way of life, but rather upon his general need to appear hard-headed and realistic and unlikely to be "taken in."

In general, there is rather close correspondence between Mack's interview and his scale responses. Discrepancies appear chiefly when the scale, which concentrates upon things thought to be generally significant, fails to catch something which is relatively specific and unique, and, more commonly, when the particular scale item is deficient and fails to discriminate between high and low scorers. There is reason to believe that the latter difficulty has been largely overcome in the revisions of the scale.

Turning to a consideration of Larry's case, it may be noted first, that he scores below the group mean on all the F scale variables save one, Authoritarian Aggression. He deviates most widely from the mean, in the low direction, on Power and "Toughness," Projectivity, and Anti-intraception; then come Superstition and Authoritarian Submission; and he comes close to the mean on Destructiveness and Cynicism, Sex, and Conventionalism.

Less can be said about the relative lack of these tendencies in Larry than about their operation in Mack. Larry agrees with none of the statements in the Power and "Toughness" cluster, and this accords with the interview's picture of him as a rather soft and agreeable young man. He agrees with only one of the Projectivity statements, Item 56 (Crime wave), and even here his score is barely above the group mean on a statistically poor item. His lack of this tendency was commented upon in the discussion of his interview,

where his willingness to admit his—not too lofty—motives and his inclination to find the origins of his own views were noteworthy. A low score on Anti-intraception is certainly to be expected from a man who gives considerable attention to his own feelings, makes a positive value of pleasure, says he likes to "philosophize," and discusses psychological determinants of prejudice—as Larry did in his interview. Inconsistencies appear in the case of Items 55 (Leisure) and 53 (Things too intimate), where he goes somewhat above the mean; the former may be taken as an expression of his conventionality, while the latter would appear to be connected with his special problem—"that disease" (tuberculosis) that he had.

There was nothing in Larry's interview to suggest that he was superstitious and, hence, it is to be expected that he should obtain a low score on the Superstition variable. Why he should agree with the astrology item is a question. Perhaps it should not be surprising to find an element of mysticism in this weak and rather passive character. Authoritarian Submission was rather prominent in Larry's interview. He made it clear that he has a great deal of respect for his family and that he has had little occasion to rebel against them either in deed or in thought. That he is still below the mean makes it clear that in order to be high on this variable something more than ordinary respect for proper authority is required: the submission must be exaggerated or overdone, and it must be generalized to include other objects besides family members. Two of the three items on which Larry goes above the mean—23 (Undying love) and 77 (No sane, normal person)—refer specifically to ingroup feelings in regard to the family; the third, 32 (Essential for learning), gives him an opportunity to express his conventionality.

Larry is below the group mean on Destructiveness and Cynicism, but the naive optimism and friendliness toward the world which he showed in his interview is enough to raise the question of why he is not still lower. One thing to note is that the items on which he goes up have, in general, high group means and low D. P.'s. It seems that these items approach close enough to being clichés so that most people agree with them, and Larry is enough of a conformist to go along.

In connection with Larry's score on Sex, which is .55 below the group mean, the following quotation from the clinical section of his interview is enlightening.

(Sex?) "No great problem. I thought about girls all the time, as boys will, and I looked at them. I started out with them at about 15. I liked them a lot and associated with them at school and in the neighborhood. You know, you have the usual sexual desires, but you don't let them bother you."

(Sex morals?) "I feel a girl should remain a virgin until 21 or 22 anyway. If she expects to marry soon after that, she should wait until after marriage, but if she is a career girl or doesn't want to get married, then an affair with an unmarried man is OK if they keep it quiet and secluded so the moral standards of others are not

lowered. She should pick out one fellow to have a sex relation with, not carry on with several."

(You?) "Not until after I came out of the hospital, when I was 23 or 24. Since then I've had several affairs, lasting a few weeks or a month. I won't marry until I have more security. She almost has to be a virgin, though not necessarily. I lost respect for the women I slept with. I know that's selfish, but I guess that's the way most fellows are."

Although this is conventional enough—"the way most fellows are," as Larry says—it does not bespeak the kind of inhibition which we conceive to lie behind high scores on the Sex items. Actually, Larry's score on this variable would have been very low were it not for his score of 6 on Item 31 (Homosexuality). It is possible that he is not free of worry in this area—but this is a matter that had best be left until it is time to discuss the clinical material itself.

Enough has been said about Larry's conventionalism to make it appear reasonable that he should be close to the mean on this variable. A problem is presented by the fact that he is actually above the mean on Authoritarian Aggression. True, his score is still far below that of Mack, but Larry's interview gave the impression of a young man who would hardly want to punish anybody, and it is a criticism of the scale that it fails to confirm this impression. The two items on which his score goes up are 31 (Homosexuals), which was discussed above, and 23 (Undying love). This latter item, though it has an element of punishment in it, also expresses Authoritarian Submission, and Larry's response is probably to be explained on the basis of his family loyalty. The group means and D. P.'s of the Authoritarian Aggression items are, relatively, quite satisfactory. It seems that in regard to the present variable, the F scale was not a fine enough instrument to give the true picture in Larry's case.

The differences between Larry and Mack seem to be reflected fairly well in their F-scale responses. Mack scores higher than Larry on all the variables save one, Superstition. Mack is more than 2 points higher on Anti-intraception, Projectivity, and Sex, more than 1 point higher on Power and "Toughness," Authoritarian Aggression, and Conventionalism, and 1.00 and .87 higher, respectively, on Destructiveness and Cynicism, and Authoritarian Submission. It is particularly interesting that the variables which are most differentiating, that is, Anti-intraception, Projectivity, and Sex, are those which seem to be at the greatest distance from the overt content of fascist ideology. They are variables that seem to have their sources deep within the personality and to be relatively impervious to superficial changes in the external situation. It will remain for later chapters to show that as we go deeper into the person the differentiation between high and low scorers becomes more clear-cut and dependable.

G. CONCLUSION

The attempt to construct a scale that would measure prejudice without appearing to have this aim and without mentioning the name of any minority group seems to have been fairly successful. The correlation of .75 between the E and the F scale means that scores on the former may be predicted with fair accuracy from scores on the latter. That we have achieved the second purpose underlying the F scale—to construct an instrument that would yield an estimate of fascist receptivity at the personality level—has still to be demonstrated.

Numerous variables in areas not ordinarily covered by studies of political, economic, and social ideology have been attacked directly; and they have been found to form a syndrome and to correlate significantly with antidemocratic trends in areas covered by the A-S, E, and PEC scales. This means, at the least, that the conception of a potentially fascistic pattern can be considerably extended, and that the hypothesis of central personality dispositions which give rise to this pattern is lent considerable support. It remains to be shown conclusively, however, that the variables with which the F scale has been concerned are, in reality, variables of personality. If it is true that they are, then they will be exposed directly as we consider findings from procedures designed especially for the investigation of personality and in which the individual is allowed to express himself spontaneously. If our major hypothesis is correct, then the clinical investigations soon to be reported should not only substantiate the findings of the present chapter, but give a deeper understanding of the potentially fascistic pattern and of its development within the individual.

CHAPTER VIII

ETHNOCENTRISM IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE AND EDUCATION

Daniel J. Levinson

There are several reasons why one might expect intelligence and education to be related to ethnocentrism. One reason is primarily methodological: since all of the E-scale items (and most of the items in the E-F-PEC series) are negative, i.e., agreement represents a pro-ethnocentric stand, perhaps some of the less intelligent individuals make high scores not out of real conviction but simply out of suggestibility and lack of discernment. In answer to this point, it may be noted that we were primarily interested in measuring both active receptivity as well as a more passive suggestibility to anti-democratic ideology. Nevertheless, we should expect suggestibility to be but one—and far from the most important one—of the many factors showing some association with high scores on the E scale.

Various hypotheses and interpretations presented in other chapters have implied, directly or indirectly, that intelligence and ethnocentrism are negatively correlated, i.e., that the high scorers on E are somewhat less intelligent on the average than the low scorers. Thus, the analysis of the ideological as well as of the clinical material has suggested that ethnocentrism is related to stereotypy, rigidity, and concreteness in thinking (also see Rokeach (98)), to narrowness of the ego bounds, and to difficulty in grasping psychosocial explanations of social phenomena. Since these variables are at best only partial components of intelligence, and since they are only imperfectly (though significantly) related to ethnocentrism, we might expect a relatively low but consistent negative correlation between intelligence and ethnocentrism.

The correlation may be brought closer to zero by the operation of another factor: it has often been observed that an individual may function in a highly complex, abstract, and flexible manner in one area of life (e.g. in his occupation as a physical scientist, mechanic, or businessman), and in a completely contrasting—less intelligent—manner in his social outlook or in his family life. It is as if the basic intellectual capacity can express itself only in accord-

ance with certain emotional-motivational principles; it is free, indeed stimulated, to act along certain lines, impeded and distorted to varying degrees along other lines. Whatever the reasons, it is a matter of fact that many individuals are inconsistent in their actual intellectual performance, and may show certain "nonintelligent" (stereotyped, rigid) qualities in their social thinking despite having a relatively high intelligence as it is ordinarily measured. Conversely, individuals of moderate or low "basic" intelligence may be able to function realistically and flexibly in their social thinking. To the extent that intelligence tests measure something more basic—unfortunately it is not entirely clear what specific psychological functions they do measure —their correlation with ethnocentrism may be lower than initially expected. If the correlation were very high, above .4–.5, say, we should be inclined to suspect that the scales are inadequate; it does not seem likely, on theoretical grounds, that intelligence per se plays so large a role in ideology.

The relation between ethnocentrism and education is also likely to be significant but low. One of the main stated aims of our educational system is the teaching of democratic values as expressed in our Constitution and in other great documents. To the extent that we are succeeding in aims such as these, ethnocentrism and years of education ought to be negatively correlated, that is, the more the education the less the ethnocentrism.

The above hypotheses are consistent with the results of previous studies of prejudice and general liberalism-conservatism.[1]

On the average, "liberals" (with respect to ideology regarding group relations, politics, religion, etc.) have been shown to be slightly more intelligent, to receive better grades in college, to read more and to have greater intellectual curiosity. While the differences are significant, there is of course much overlap between the two extreme groups.

It was not feasible within the scope of the present research to administer intelligence tests to the groups taking the questionnaire. Fortunately, such tests had already been administered to some or all of the members of four groups: Maritime School Men, Employment Service Men, Psychiatric Clinic Men and Women, and San Quentin Men. No information was obtained in our questionnaire regarding years of education; this question was omitted partly because of the probable unreliability of the answers and partly because of the fear that it might make the less educated subjects defensive about the entire questionnaire. In some cases, e.g., the college students and the professionals, the amount of schooling was relatively constant for the entire group. For two groups, the Psychiatric Clinic patients and the Maritime School, the years of schooling had been determined in a way that seemed fairly (though not entirely) reliable.

The data on intelligence are presented in Tables 1–3 (VIII), on education in Tables 4 (VIII) and 5 (VIII). We may consider intelligence first.

[1] For reports and summaries see: Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb (85); Kerr (63).

For all three groups in Tables 1–3(VIII), namely the Maritime School Men, Employment Service Men, and Psychiatric Clinic Men and Women, the average IQ is significantly above the general population average (usually by about one sigma); indeed, even the lowest scorer is, except in the third group, above the population mean. This fact, namely the restriction in the "range of talent," must be considered in evaluating the results. The correlations for the Maritime School Men, obtained with the AGCT (Army General Classification Test), are very similar to those obtained with the Otis Higher Form A Intelligence Test on the Employment Service Veteran Men. The correlations of these tests with the Ethnocentrism scale, Forms 45 and

TABLE 1 (VIII)

CORRELATIONS OF THE E AND F SCALES WITH VARIOUS ABILITY TESTS (MARITIME SCHOOL MEN)

Ability Test	Test Properties			Correlation with:[b]			
	Mean[a]	S.D.	Range	AGCT	E_A	E_{A+B}	F
AGCT	126.7	8.98	102–153	--	-.02	-.20	-.20
Mechanical Comprehension	126.5	14.61	66–166	.25	-.17	.00	-.13
Reading Comprehension	92.5	13.04	57–121	.55	-.08	-.06	-.20
Arithmetical Comprehension	81.2	8.88	61–105	.59	-.06	-.16	-.16

[a]The present means may be compared with the following population means: For the general population, the AGCT and Mechanical Comprehension Tests have means of 100. For the "high school graduate" population the Reading Comprehension and Arithmetical Comprehension Tests have means of 79. On all but the last-named test, therefore, the present sample is considerably above average.

[b]The number of cases (N) involved in the correlations are as follows: Of the 343 subjects in the total sample, 342 received all of the ability tests, with the exception of four individuals who omitted the Reading Comprehension Test. The correlations involving AGCT and F, then, are based on an N of 342. The E_A Scale, contained in Form 40, has an N of 168, while E_{A+B} has an N of 178.

40, range between —.02 and —.32, averaging above —.2. The correlations of E with the Mechanical, Reading and Arithmetical Comprehension Tests[2] (Table 1 (VIII)) are slightly lower, averaging about —.1. These correlations, taken together, are statistically significant, that is, dependably above zero, at the 5 per cent level. It may be noted also that there are no positive correlations. Table 3 (VIII) gives the mean (Wechsler-Bellevue Intelligence

[2] The Bennett Mechanical Aptitude Test, the Iowa Silent Reading Test, the Stanford Adult Arithmetical Reasoning Test.

TABLE 2 (VIII)

CORRELATIONS OF THE E, F, AND PEC SCALES WITH THE OTIS HIGHER FORM A INTELLIGENCE TEST (EMPLOYMENT SERVICE VETERAN MEN)

Otis Test Properties	Mean[a]	Range	Correlation of Otis with:[c]	
Otis Raw Score	56.5	34–75	E_A:	-.32
Otis IQ	114.5	92–133	E_{A+B}:	-.22
Stanford-Binet	129.5	108–140	F:	-.48
IQ[b]			PEC:	-.16

[a]The mean Otis IQ of 114.5 is significantly above the population average of 100.0 (population S.D. is 10.0).

[b]The conversion of the Otis scores into Stanford-Binet IQ scores was done by means of a table prepared by Dr. E. E. Ghiselli. For the general population the Stanford-Binet has a mean of 100, an S.D. of 16.

[c]Otis Test data were available for 104 of the 105 cases in this sample. The N is, then, 104 for the correlations with F and PEC. The N is also 104 for E_A, since the E_A scores of the subjects taking Form 45 as well as of those taking form 40 were used. The N is 50 in the case of E_{A+B} (Form 45).

TABLE 3 (VIII)

MEAN WECHSLER-BELLEVUE IQ SCORE FOR EACH QUARTILE[a] OF THE ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE (PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC MEN AND WOMEN)

Form 45 E-Scale Quartiles	Range on E	N	Mean IQ
Low quartile	10–24	8	125.3
Low middle quartile	25–36	5	117.8
High middle quartile	37–50	13	113.9
High quartile	51–70	11	107.3
		37	114.9

[a]The subjects represent only a part of each quartile. In all, 15 of the 50 men, and 22 of the 71 women, had received Wechsler-Bellevues. The men and women were similar with respect to proportion in each quartile, identical with respect to mean IQ. It is not clear why more upper-half than lower-half subjects have been tested. The mean of 114 approximates that for the patients generally.

Test) IQ for the four E scale quartiles, and we find the equivalent of a low negative correlation.

Tables 1–3 (VIII) indicate that, for individuals with IQ's of approximately 100 and above, there is a very low but dependable negative relationship between intelligence and ethnocentrism: *the most ethnocentric subjects are, on the average, less intelligent than the least ethnocentric, while the middle scorers on E are intermediate in IQ.*

Data on the San Quentin Men, not presented in the above tables, suggest a similar relation between E and IQ in groups having a wider intellectual range. Wechsler-Bellevue Test Scores were available on 77 of the 110 subjects in the San Quentin sample. This subsample had a mean E score of 4.68 and a Standard Deviation of 1.28, as compared with the total-sample mean of 4.61 and S. D. of 1.28. The mean Wechsler-Bellevue IQ (full scale) was 109.0, the S. D. 13.8, and the range 78–132. This subsample is, then, almost identical with the total (questionnaire) sample in E mean and S. D.; it is slightly more intelligent than the total prison population, whose mean IQ is just under 100. The obtained *r* between E and IQ was —.28. This value is of the same order of magnitude as those reported above for samples in which the IQ range was more constricted. It is, of course, not conclusive, since the tested sample may have been systematically biased in its selection. In addition, other factors such as educational and class level are probably contributing to this correlation, since they seem to be at least slightly related to both E and IQ. A conclusive study of the relation between IQ and E would have to partial out, or to keep constant, these other factors. Nevertheless, the series of negative *r*'s, on a variety of groups and by means of a variety of intelligence tests, provides substantial evidence of a significant relation between E and IQ. That the correlation is greater than zero, and in a negative direction, is in keeping with previous studies as well as with the results of the present study regarding the role of stereotypy and rigidity in ethnocentrism. That the correlation is only moderately close—apparently in the range of —.2 to —.4—is evidence that intelligence is only one of many variables which determine E-scale scores.

Correlations between the Ability Tests and the F scale were computed for the Maritime School Men (Table 1 (VIII)) and the Employment Service Veterans (Table 2 (VIII)). In the former group the correlations range between —.13 and —.20 while in the latter the extremely high value of —.48 was obtained. It appears, then, that IQ is more closely related to F than to E although, except for the Veterans, the correlation is relatively small. Further study is required to determine whether or not the *r* of —.48 is spurious or exceptional. The higher correlations with F than with E might be explained on the basis of certain of the F clusters, e.g., superstition and stereotypy; correlations between IQ and the individual F items might well be obtained

in future research. The correlation of —.16 between IQ and the PEC scale (Table 2 (VIII)) is consistent with other findings.

That the relation between intelligence and ethnocentrism is not very close is suggested also by the over-all group data. Thus, while the three groups in Tables 1–3 (VIII) are very similar in average IQ, they vary greatly in average E score. The Psychiatric Clinic patients have an E mean of 3.7, a full point below the means for the Maritime School and Veteran Men. Moreover, the latter groups, while extremely high in average IQ, are also among the most ethnocentric of all groups tested. It would seem, therefore, that high tested intelligence is no guarantee against the overall authoritarian pattern of ideology and personality.

Data on the relation of ethnocentrism to amount of education are presented in Tables 4 (VIII) and 5 (VIII). One of the most striking results is

TABLE 4 (VIII)

MEAN NUMBER OF YEARS OF EDUCATION FOR EACH QUARTILE OF THE ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE (PSYCHIATRIC CLINIC MEN AND WOMEN)

Form 45 E Scale Quartiles	Range on E	N[a]	Mean Yrs. Education[b]
Low quartile	10–24	29	13.8
Low middle quartile	25–36	28	12.7
High middle quartile	37–50	27	11.8
High quartile	51–70	28	11.2
		112	12.4

[a]These data are based on 45 of the 50 men, 66 of the 71 women. The means for men and women separately were so similar that they were combined in order to increase the N.

[b]One year has been added to the number of years of education in five cases where the individual had specialized training such as secretarial or accounting school.

that these two variables are much more closely related in the Psychiatric Clinic group than in the Maritime School group. The average number of years of education drops gradually but consistently (from 13.8 to 11.2) in the Clinic group as score on the E scale increases (Table 4 (VIII)). However, in the Maritime School data, computed in another manner, the changes are not so consistent. On the basis of the combined Forms 45 and 40 data subjects with less than 12 years of education (i.e., not high school graduates) have the highest E mean, 4.9, while those with 12–14 years (there were no college graduates) had almost identical E means of about 4.6. However

TABLE 5 (VIII)

MEAN E SCORE FOR GROUPS HAVING VARIOUS YEARS OF EDUCATION (MARITIME SCHOOL MEN)

Years Education	Form 45 (E_{A+B})		Form 40 (E_A)		Total Group	
	N	Mean	N	Mean	N	Mean
Less than 12	36	4.38	60	5.21	96	4.90
12 years	104	4.28	91	5.04	195	4.63
13 years	13	4.75	7	4.40	20	4.63
14 years	18	4.34	6	5.17	24	4.55
Blank	7	4.63	0	--	7	4.63
Over-all	178	4.36	164	5.08	342	4.68

there is some question as to whether the results for the two Forms should be combined, since the results for each Form separately are not so clear-cut. In the Form 45 group there is no consistent trend, the subjects with 13 years of education having the highest E mean and the other educational levels varying only within a range of 0.1 points. In the Form 40 group, on the other hand, the 13-year level is the least ethnocentric, while the 14-year group vies with the less-than-12 for the most ethnocentric position. The only difference that holds up for both Forms is that between the 12 and the less-than-12 year levels, and this difference borders on the 5 per cent level of statistical significance.

Why is the relation between ethnocentrism and education more consistent in the Psychiatric Clinic group? One possibility is that the Maritime School members who had one or two years of college and then dropped out are systematically atypical, and that an unselected group of college students might be less ethnocentric. To the extent that this is true, a clear-cut relationship between ethnocentrism and education does exist. However, the relation in the case of the Psychiatric Clinic may be spuriously high, since the college students and college graduates in this sample are not a random sample of these educational levels. It is possible—though not yet demonstrated—that the college-trained patients are, to a greater degree than those who did not attend college, selected for willingness to recognize the need for, and to seek, psychological aid. To the extent that this is true, the relationship between ethnocentrism and education is less clear-cut than these results indicate.

One might venture the hypothesis that ethnocentrism is at least as closely related to the *desired* amount of education as to the *actual* amount. Thus the two Extension Classes (Forms 78 and 45), most of whose members were

adults having only 12 years or less of schooling, but trying to "learn something on the side" and perhaps even to obtain a college degree, had E means as low as those of the University of California students. There is also some clinical evidence to support this hypothesis. At any rate, examination of the various group means shows that two groups may have similar educational levels and very different E means, as well as similar E means and very different educational levels. For example, the University of California students and the George Washington University Students, with similar educational levels, are significantly different in E means (Form 78, A-S scale, and Form 40, E scale). Again, the Working-Class group, though similar in socioeconomic and educational background to the San Quentin group, is significantly less ethnocentric (Form 45).

We may tentatively conclude that ethnocentrism shows a slight negative correlation with amount of education. It is likely, though far from a demonstrated fact, that college graduates are less ethnocentric than high school graduates, who are in turn less ethnocentric than those who did not complete high school. It is not clear which is more important: that the correlation is greater than zero, or that it is at best not far from zero. To those who urge education per se as a kind of panacea, the smallness of the correlation ought probably to be stressed. But this is not to deny the importance of education. It is, rather, to emphasize that our educational system, college as well as public school, is still far from realizing its potential strength as a social force in the service of democratic values. The reasons for this are outside the scope of the present research. It may also be pointed out that, even under the best educational conditions, *exposure* to the classroom is not enough, and that motivation to learn and receptivity to new ideas provide the only psychological soil in which democratic education can develop effectively.

In summary, ethnocentrism seems to have a low but statistically significant relation to both intelligence and education, the most educated and intelligent subjects being, on the average, the least ethnocentric. However, these variables were studied only secondarily in the present research, and convincing determination of their relation to ethnocentrism requires more extended sampling, particularly of the lower educational and intellectual levels. It is also necessary to control more adequately the operation of other variables such as class level, educational opportunity and educational motivation. Nevertheless, the present results do contradict seriously one of the commonly held theories of prejudice and fascism, namely, that they are supported out of simple stupidity, ignorance or confusion. It would seem, rather, that an autocratic social structure is best suited to the particular type of rationality exercised by the authoritarian personality. A promising field of future research is the study of what might be called "the dynamics of intelligence." For example, the intellectual functioning of ethnocentric individuals, even those with above-average IQ's, seems to be relatively *rigid*,

to work better in relation to *things* than to people, to be primarily *extraceptive*, and to become disrupted when required to deal with more psychological issues, especially those involving personal needs and emotions (*anti-intraceptive*).

As has been noted elsewhere (particularly in Chapter IV), the average IQ and the educational level of the entire sample used in the present research are probably somewhat above those of the general population, or, rather, above those of the urban middle class (our primary reference population). This sampling bias, together with that of age—our sample being somewhat younger than a representative sample would be—has probably resulted in our obtaining over-all means for the various scales which are slightly biased in the direction of being too low. However, the error seems to be less than might have at first been suspected. In addition, it is not likely that such sampling factors have distorted to any appreciable degree the relationships among the variables of ideology, personality, and group membership under investigation. Since we were primarily concerned with the causes and correlates of antidemocratic trends, that is, with correlations and differences, rather than with the average amount of any single trend *per se*, the diverse groups comprising the total sample provide, it would seem, an adequate basis for study.

PART II

Personality as Revealed through Clinical Interviews

CHAPTER IX

THE INTERVIEWS AS AN APPROACH TO THE PREJUDICED PERSONALITY

Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. INTRODUCTION: COMPARISON OF GROUPS

Reference to the interviews has so far been limited to the discussion of two individual cases, with emphasis mainly on the pattern of social and political issues (Chapter II). A series of five chapters beginning with the present will show the purpose and value of the interviews in their own right, covering in a systematic fashion a variety of topics; furthermore, analysis will be in terms of groups rather than of single individuals (Chapters IX to XIII). Some special individuals or groups as well as some special issues will be taken up once more in later chapters, bringing in additional material from the interviews (Chapters XX to XXII). The problem of ideology as revealed through the interviews is not being considered in the series of chapters which makes up the present Part II; this problem will be taken up in Chapters XVI to XIX.

The major advantage of the interview technique lies in the scope and freedom of expression it offers to the person being studied. Thus we may learn what he thinks about himself, about his hopes, fears and goals, about his childhood and his parents, about members of the other sex, and about people in general. It is through careful and critical evaluation of sources of this kind that an adequate view of the total personality can perhaps best be approximated.

Rather than making an attempt to establish the dynamic interrelationships of the significant factors for each single individual, however, we shall look for a basis of generalizations within groups which will permit us, it is hoped, to come to grips with the social and psychological trends typical of the highly prejudiced and of the unprejudiced. Does the family constellation differ in the typical prejudiced home as compared with the typical unprejudiced home? Do prejudiced individuals tend to have different images of their parents than do unprejudiced ones? How does the handling of discipline vary

in this respect? Do prejudiced and unprejudiced individuals differ in their sex life, their way of choosing friends, their values, their general cognitive and emotional approach to life? These are some of the questions which will be the prime concern of the present series of chapters. By virtue of its specificity and unique character, the interview may be called upon to yield, in the first place, information of this broader kind on the personality of those scoring high or low on anti-Semitism.

In fact, it was a preliminary review of some of the crucial factors of this kind in a set of exploratory interviews which led to the construction of the F scale (Chapter VII). However, it was this and other scales, consisting of given statements calling for indications of agreement or disagreement only, upon which group comparisons between the personalities and the attitudes of prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects—now to be extended to the richer and more flexible type of evidence as given by an interview—have been thus far exclusively based in the present volume. On this comparatively limited basis, marked differences between these two groups were established.

Questions as to the specific meaning and connotation of the various statements for the individuals concerned, however, had to be left open to a considerable extent. Further validation of the questionnaire data can be effected by probing in greater detail into the spontaneous elaborations a subject may be willing to make on the topics covered by the questionnaire. To obtain such additional information on results gathered by other techniques is a further goal in the subsequent analysis of the interviews.

While the importance of the interview as source material is generally agreed upon in the social sciences, there are specific difficulties in evaluating such material. This is due mainly to the fact that interview material is highly diversified and unstructured. At the same time, the richness, flexibility, and spontaneity of this material are the features which constitute its major asset; room is left for unanticipated variations. To preserve all of this uniqueness and flavor, we should have to reproduce all, or at least the most outstanding, protocols in full—allowing the reader to form his own impressions and draw his own conclusions.

Presentation in full, though doing maximal justice to the material, has its serious drawbacks. It would not be easy to survey and would of necessity leave to the reader much of the burden of interpretation, or else introduce a potentially arbitrary distribution of emphasis in the process of interpretation. In the same manner, if we were to limit presentation itself to a few select protocols we might easily be criticized on grounds of possible arbitrariness in selection.

For these reasons it was decided to attempt some kind of quantification within groups, rather than to present only clinical results based on intensive but more impressionistic case studies as was originally planned. For the kind of evaluation chosen, hypotheses were already formulated on an empirical

basis, giving "hunches" for potential validation. The procedure consisted of a careful evaluation of the interview material in terms of an extensive set of scoring categories. These categories had been designed to encompass as much as possible of the richness and intricacy of the material at hand. (See E. Frenkel-Brunswik (31, 32, 36).) They were a product of intensive study of the interviews with full consideration of all the other evidence obtained from the individuals in question, especially their standing on the prejudice scales. The result was establishment of a Scoring Manual comprising about ninety categories and subcategories (see below).

Evaluation of the interview protocols was by raters unfamiliar with the specific ideology of the subject, the Scoring Manual serving as a guide for ratings in terms of the various categories.

In order to offer to the reader as much direct contact with the raw material of the interviews as possible, numerous quotations are inserted into the subsequent chapters. The raw material is arranged through the medium of the scoring categories, and the relationship of the latter to, or even their dependence on, the original material will become evident there. Many of the quotations presented were directly instrumental in designing the categories employed in their evaluation. Actually, the system of scoring categories reflects the theory or the interrelationships between personality and prejudice which was empirically developed in the course of the exploratory study of the bulk of the interviews, individual by individual. This exploratory study preceded the more elaborate checking procedure in which the individual lost his identity in a mass of statistical evidence organized in terms of the scoring categories and evaluated in terms of larger groups. It is only through such a statistical procedure that the original hypotheses can be, and in fact have to a considerable extent been, verified.

It was hoped that use of the variables defined by the scoring categories would help to bridge the existing gap between the studies of groups and of individuals and perhaps contribute to the establishment of a mutual give and take of facts and concepts. Indeed, some of the variables and relationships which were originally conceived of in the course of the generalized, statistical establishment of personality patterns in samples of prejudiced vs. unprejudiced people, were at the same time found to be crucial in the intensive study of single individuals or small groups (see Chapters XX, XXI, XXII).

The subject's view of his own life, as revealed in the course of the interview, may be assumed to contain real information together with wishful —and fearful—distortions. Known methods had to be utilized, therefore, and new ones developed to differentiate the more genuine, basic feelings, attitudes, and strivings from those of a more compensatory character behind which are hidden tendencies, frequently unknown to the subject himself, which are contrary to those manifested or verbalized on a surface level. To cope with such distortions cues are available or may be developed to guide

interpretations. The methodological safeguarding of such interpretations is one of the central problems in the approach to the interviews. The subsequent analysis of the interview data will include discussion of this point. In general, it endeavors to add to our knowledge of the relationship of surface cues and underlying strivings, with special reference to the problems raised by the personality of the ethnically prejudiced.

In the present chapter the securing of the interview material and the technical aspects of its analysis will be discussed. The sample of the subjects interviewed as compared with the total sample will be described first. A characterization of the interviewers in terms of their background, training, and psychological point of view will also be given. Next, the Interview Schedule used and the technique employed in interviewing will be presented. This will be followed, in the concluding sections of this chapter, by a discussion of the methods used in the evaluation of the interview data.

In the four following chapters a statistical analysis and discussion of the results gained from the study of the interviews will be presented, first in terms of a detailed set of rating categories (Chapters X to XII), and then in terms of over-all ratings and comprehensive description (Chapter XIII).

B. SELECTION OF SUBJECTS FOR THE INTERVIEWS

1. BASIS OF SELECTION

The selection of the subjects to be interviewed was determined, in the first place, by their responses on the A-S or the E scale. With few exceptions (see below), all interviewees belonged either to the uppermost or to the lowermost quartile in this respect, the proportions of high-scoring and low-scoring subjects being approximately equal.

Secondly, consideration was given to the response to the three scales of the questionnaire. Thus, an effort was made to include in the sample interviewed not only the most "typical" high scorers and low scorers, i.e., subjects with correspondingly high or low scores on the PEC and F scales, but also some of those more atypical subjects who obtained a high score on the first scales but a relatively low score on one or both of the others.

Thirdly, an effort was made to balance our samples of high-scoring and low-scoring subjects in terms of age, sex, political and religious affiliation, as well as national or regional background.

Of the thirty to forty different socioeconomic groups to which the questionnaire had been administered (see Chapter IV), subjects for interviews were selected from the following twelve: Psychiatric Clinic Patients from the Langley Porter Clinic of the University of California (men and women, abbreviated *LPC*); University of California Public Speaking Class (men

and women, *PSM* and *PSW*); Alameda School for Merchant Marine Officers (men, *Maritime*); San Quentin State Prison Inmates (men, *SQ*); University of California Extension Testing Class (men and women, *TC*); University of California Extension Psychology Class (men and women, *EG*); University of California Summer Session Education Class (men, *EdPs*); Students at the Pacific School of Religion (men, *PSR*); Employment Service Veterans (men, *Vets*); Professional Women—public school teachers, social workers, public health nurses (*N* and *RW*); University of Oregon Summer Session Students (women, *OG*); Students at the University of California Medical School (women, *Med*).

In all, approximately one hundred persons were interviewed. Some of the interviews could not be used in the final scoring, however. One reason for this was that some of the subjects scoring at the very extreme ends of the F scale distribution had been used by the scorers in a last checkup on the scoring manual and had therefore to be excluded later from the main analysis which was to be a "blind" one (see below). Other records had to be discarded because of their brevity or barrenness.

The results to be reported in the subsequent chapters are based on the records of 80 interviewees, 40 men and 40 women. Of the men, 20 were high extremes on the E scale; and 20 were low extremes. For the women, the corresponding numbers were 25 and 15. The survey presented in Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX) shows for each interviewee the code number, group extraction, standing on responses to the various scales of the questionnaire, with parentheses used to designate membership in one of the middle quartiles.

The rater's "blind" diagnosis of the interview responses makes up the right half of the tables. It is to receive full discussion in Chapter XIII.

2. REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE INTERVIEWEES

A breakdown with respect to further characteristics of the interviewees, and a comparison of the samples interviewed—approximately one-tenth of the total of the groups mentioned above—with the entire upper and lower quartiles of our over-all samples, will show that our interview samples are fairly representative of the extreme quartiles defined in terms of overt anti-Semitism or ethnocentrism. A quantitative comparison is given in Table 3 (IX). Inspection of the means of all the subjects falling into the upper and lower quartiles with those of corresponding groups of interviewees reveals a sufficiently close agreement. The interviewee samples are, more often than not, somewhat farther to the extreme end of the scale than the corresponding total extreme quartiles. This trend holds in spite of the fact that, as seen from Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX), in a few instances interviewees had to be taken from the extreme ends of the middle quartiles of the E scale.

A further breakdown has been undertaken with respect to age, religion,

TABLE 1 (IX)

SURVEY OF 20 PREJUDICED AND 20 UNPREJUDICED MEN INTERVIEWED[a]

Code No.	Group[b]	Standing on Questionnaire[c] A-S	E	F	PEC	Interview Scores[d] "High"	"Low"	Composite Standing on 72 Categories	Intuitive Over-all Rating of Interviews
M1	LPC	h	h	(h)	l	27	1	H	H
M4	PSM	h	h	l	h	47	2	H	H
M6	PSM	h	h	h	h	41	2	H	H
M7	PSM	h	h	(l)	l	6	32	L	L
M11	PSM	h	h	h	h	52	2	H	H
M13	PSM	h	h	h	(h)	52	1	H	H
M14	PSM	h	h	(h)	(l)	8	32	L	L
M17	PSM	h	(h)	l	h	25	4	H	H
M18	LPC	h	h	h	h	33	3	H	H
M20	Maritime	-	h	l	l	5	40	L	L
M40	SQ	h	h	(h)	h	55	2	H	H
M41	SQ	h	h	h	h	49	2	H	H
M43	SQ	h	h	h	l	43	3	H	H
M45	SQ	h	h	h	h	48	2	H	H
M46	TC	h	h	l	h	42	6	H	H
M47	SQ	h	h	h	h	44	2	H	H
M51	SQ	h	h	h	h	36	5	H	H
M52	SQ	h	h	h	h	51	4	H	H
M57	SQ	h	h	h	h	56	0	H	H
M58	TC	h	h	h	h	54	2	H	H
Means of 20 prejudiced men interviewees						38.7	7.3		
M2	EG	l	l	l	l	5	52	L	L
M3	PSM	l	l	(l)	l	0	53	L	L
M5	PSM	l	l	l	l	3	34	L	L
M8	PSM	l	(l)	l	h	5	44	L	L
M9	PSM	l	l	l	(h)	39	2	H	H
M10	EdPs	l	l	l	l	33	7	H	H
M12	EdPs	l	l	l	l	2	45	L	L
M15	LPC	l	l	l	l	2	43	L	L
M16	LPC	l	l	l	l	6	44	L	L
M19	PSM	l	l	(l)	(h)	35	0	H	H
M42	Maritime	-	l	l	l	1	57	L	L
M44	PSR	l	l	l	l	2	54	L	L
M48	Vets	l	l	l	l	6	37	L	L
M49	TC	l	l	l	l	4	42	L	L
M50	SQ	l	l	l	h	10	34	L	L
M53	Vets	l	l	l	l	1	52	L	L
M54	SQ	l	l	l	h	12	24	L	L
M55	TC	l	l	l	l	4	56	L	L
M56	SQ	l	l	l	l	5	41	L	L
M59	SQ	l	l	l	h	14	39	L	L
Means of 20 unprejudiced men interviewees						9.4	38.0		

[a]For discussion of the evaluation of the interviews and of the results shown in this table, see Section F of the present chapter, and Chapter XIII.

[b]For key to abbreviations, see text, p. 294/95.

[c]The upper and lower middle quartiles are indicated by the use of parentheses with the letters h and l.

[d]Number of ratings other than "Neutral." Number of Neutrals is obtained by subtracting that of "High" and of "Low" from 72 (on Table 1 (IX)) or 65 (on Table 2 (IX)). For selection of categories, see p. 335.

TABLE 2 (IX)[a]

SURVEY OF 25 PREJUDICED AND 15 UNPREJUDICED WOMEN INTERVIEWED

Code No.	Group	Standing on Questionnaire				Interview Scores		Composite Standing on 65 Categories	Intuitive Over-all Rating of Interviews
		A-S	E	F	PEC	"High"	"Low"		
F22	PSW	h	(h)	h	(h)	28	1	H	H
F24	PSW	h	h	h	h	37	4	H	H
F25	LPC	h	h	h	h	20	7	H	H
F26	N	h	h	(l)	h	9	22	L	L
F28	RW	h	h	h	h	19	7	H	H
F31	PSW	h	h	(h)	h	51	0	H	H
F32	N	h	h	h	h	34	3	H	H
F33	TC	h	h	h	h	3	32	L	L
F36	TC	h	h	(h)	(l)	27	5	H	H
F37	EG	h	(h)	h	h	21	10	H	H
F38	PSW	h	h	h	h	25	14	H	H
F39a	N	h	h	h	(l)	24	5	H	H
F60	RW	h	h	h	(h)	30	6	H	H
F61	LPC	h	h	l	l	23	8	H	H
F64	RW	h	h	h	h	0	26	L	L
F66	PSW	h	h	h	l	35	7	H	H
F67	RW	h	h	h	h	3	28	L	L
F68	N	h	(h)	l	h	32	4	H	H
F69	PSW	h	h	h	h	37	7	H	H
F71	PSW	h	h	h	h	47	2	H	H
F72	LPC	h	h	h	h	17	26	H	L
F74	PSW	h	h	h	h	45	4	H	H
F77	LPC	h	h	h	l	37	4	H	H
F78	PSW	h	h	h	(h)	44	1	H	H
F79	OG	h	h	h	(h)	36	4	H	H
Means of 25 prejudiced women interviewees						27.4	9.5		
F21	PSW	l	l	l	h	24	0	H	H
F23	TC	l	l	(l)	l	2	46	L	L
F27	PSW	l	(l)	l	l	0	53	L	L
F29	LPC	l	l	l	l	7	36	L	L
F30	RW	l	l	l	l	3	44	L	L
F34	PSW	l	l	(l)	l	1	49	L	L
F35	TC	l	l	l	l	1	42	L	L
F39	PSW	l	l	l	l	38	5	H	H
F62	PSW	l	l	l	h	1	44	L	L
F63	LPC	l	l	l	l	4	42	L	L
F65	PSW	l	l	h	l	6	44	L	L
F70	Med	l	l	l	l	0	38	L	L
F73	PSW	l	(l)	l	l	1	35	L	L
F75	PW	l	(l)	(h)	l	3	43	L	L
F76	PSW	l	(l)	(h)	(l)	14	22	L	L
Means of 15 unprejudiced women interviewees						7.0	36.2		

[a]See footnotes to Table 1 (IX).

TABLE 3(IX)

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF INTERVIEWEES IN TERMS OF SCORES ON THE ETHNOCENTRISM SCALE[a]

Questionnaire form		Total of all subjects taking Forms 78 or 45			High-quartile	High-scoring interviewees		Low-quartile	Low-scoring interviewees	
		Range	Mean	N	Mean	Mean	N	Mean	Mean	N
78:	Men	17–82	46.4	52	64.6	66.5	7	29.1	30.3	6
	Women	14–86	46.2	243	69.5	70.6	18	28.2	33.6	10
45:	Men	10–70	43.2	390	59.7	58.6	12	25.0	15.8	11
	Women	10–70	35.4	130	54.8	59.0	6	15.6	13.6	5

[a]Since 75 out of the 80 interviewees are from among the subjects tested by Form 78 or Form 45, comparisons are here limited to these two groups.

and politics. To maintain anonymity, these data are not included in the tables just mentioned which deal with individual subjects, but are presented in a statistical manner in Tables 4 (IX) to 6 (IX). For men, a few data on religion and politics are missing; hence the discrepancies in the sums relating to the total quartiles.

On the whole, the distributions of the interviewees and of corresponding extreme quartiles are not at too great odds with one another, considering the difficulties in finding subjects with the exact combination of qualifications. The more striking deviations from close correspondence may be listed as follows:

With respect to age (Table 4 (IX)), there are no low-scoring women interviewees in the age bracket of "46 and over"; the share of this bracket

TABLE 4 (IX)

AGE DISTRIBUTION IN TOTAL EXTREME QUARTILES AND INTERVIEWEES (NUMBERS OF THE LATTER ARE SPECIFIED IN PARENTHESES)

Age Groups	High Quartile		Low Quartile	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
16 - 22	59 (6)	70 (8)	60 (4)	60 (9)
23 - 30	88 (8)	55 (5)	90 (10)	61 (3)
31 - 45	78 (5)	59 (6)	93 (4)	75 (3)
46 and over	53 (1)	51 (6)	36 (2)	49 (0)
Sums	278 (20)	235 (25)	279 (20)	245 (15)

is added to the youngest age group. Furthermore, there is only one high-scoring male interviewee in this highest age bracket. Our interviewee sample is therefore on the younger side when compared with all the subjects.

The major deviation with respect to religion (Table 5 (IX)) is that three (i.e., 20 per cent) of the low-scoring women interviewees are Catholics while the corresponding figure for the "low" women in our total sample is only

TABLE 5 (IX)

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IN TOTAL EXTREME QUARTILES AND INTERVIEWEES (NUMBERS OF THE LATTER ARE SPECIFIED IN PARENTHESES)

Religious Affiliation	High Quartile		Low Quartile	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Catholic	47 (7)	40 (7)	29 (1)	10 (3)
Protestant	185 (11)	184 (17)	156 (14)	156 (7)
None	15 (2)	9 (0)	65 (5)	70 (5)
Blank	13 (0)	2 (1)	11 (0)	9 (0)
Sums	260 (20)	235 (25)	261 (20)	245 (15)

10 (4 per cent). On the positive side, we may single out for special mention the fact that there is close agreement of corresponding figures for both high scorers and low scorers when the categories "None" and "Blank" are pooled; it may thus be said that both high-scoring and low-scoring interviewees are representative of their extreme quartiles with respect to indifference to or rejection of religion.

As to politics (Table 6 (IX)), "liberal" women are more numerous among the interviewees than among the corresponding quartiles, especially so far

TABLE 6 (IX)

POLITICAL OUTLOOK IN TOTAL EXTREME QUARTILES AND INTERVIEWEES
(NUMBERS OF THE LATTER ARE SPECIFIED IN PARENTHESES)

Political Outlook	High Quartile		Low Quartile	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Liberal	99 (7)	98 (17)	156 (14)	173 (12)
Conservative	112 (10)	109 (5)	45 (2)	23 (0)
Leftist	0 (0)	0 (0)	22 (3)	21 (2)
Misc. and blank	49 (3)	28 (3)	38 (1)	28 (1)
Sums	260 (20)	235 (25)	261 (20)	245 (15)

as the high scorers are concerned (98 to 17, i.e., 68 to 42 per cent). This latter fact, however, does not hold for men. The comparatively small group of leftists or radicals (covering those who gave their attitude as "socialist" or as "communist") is represented with relatively greater frequency among interviewees (two women and three men, all low scorers).

3. APPROACHING THE INTERVIEWEES

An effort was made to maintain anonymity for all those interviewed as well as to convince them of the fact that they would remain unidentified. Pains were taken to conceal from the interviewee the true basis of selection.

In particular, the following procedure was adopted in securing the cooperation of the prospective interviewee: After the questionnaire responses had been evaluated, the person who had administered the questionnaire appeared at one of the next meetings of the group in question and announced that further information was required of some of those who had answered the questionnaire. Those selected were identified in terms of their birthdates only and asked to arrange for an appointment after the meeting.

At the beginning of the actual interview they were told that they had been selected on the basis of age and regional origin. The interviewers gained the impression that in this way the anxiety as to the basis of selection was suc-

cessfully removed. Actually, not one of even the highest scorers ever showed signs of knowing the true reason for his or her selection, although some of them showed signs of suspiciousness of a more general nature. The reason for this naiveté seems to lie primarily in the fact that most high scorers do not think of themselves as particularly prejudiced.

In most cases an invitation to be interviewed was readily accepted. The motivation seemed to be primarily the desire to talk about oneself and the implicit hope of receiving some advice in the process. To some of the subjects the added incentive of a remuneration ($3 per test or interview) seemed not unimportant.

The interviews lasted from one and a half to three hours and were usually conducted in one session. As a rule they were held in one of the offices of the Berkeley Public Opinion Study, in an atmosphere of comfort and quiet. When it was impractical or impossible for the subject to come to the office (as was the case especially with the prison group) the interviewer went to see the subject.

C. THE INTERVIEWERS

Certain specifications were also maintained as far as those conducting the interviews were concerned. Men were always interviewed by men, women only by women. All high-scoring subjects were interviewed by American-born Gentiles.

There were altogether nine interviewers. Although all were college graduates and psychologically trained, their backgrounds varied to a considerable extent. More than half of them had special experience and training in clinical psychology and considerable familiarity with the basic concepts of psychoanalysis. Four of them had undergone psychoanalysis, and one of these is a practicing psychoanalyst. Two of the remaining interviewers had primarily a social psychological rather than a clinical orientation. Another two had the traditional rather than the dynamic clinical approach. In consequence, some difference of emphasis in the collection of data had to be anticipated. This probably made for greater variety of scope in the interviews as a whole, although at the sacrifice of strict uniformity of procedure.

In order to secure a reasonable amount of uniformity, a detailed Interview Schedule, described in Section E, was worked out in advance. Not all the questions could be asked of all subjects, but an effort was made to cover all the major points with each interviewee. A relative preponderance of the ideological or of the clinical aspects was found to exist in accordance with the background of the interviewer.

All interviewers had a copy of the Interview Schedule together with a special instruction sheet, both to be discussed in detail below. In preliminary

conferences all interviewers clarified every point of inquiry before seeing any of the interviewees.

D. SCOPE AND TECHNIQUE OF THE INTERVIEW

1. GENERAL PLAN FOR THE INTERVIEW

As was the case in the preparation of the questionnaire, the Interview Schedule was developed on the basis of theoretical considerations as to what is relevant with respect to the topic under investigation. We can roughly differentiate two types of hypotheses underlying the schedule, the "directed" ones and the "categorical" ones. The former are based on specific expectations in regard to the relationships to be obtained (e.g., it was tentatively assumed that a positive relationship would be found between "rigidity" and prejudice). This relationship can be hypothetically deduced from general psychological considerations and, besides, it was tentatively supported by preliminary studies. In contrast to this type of directed hypothesis, the categorical ones assume that there will be some relationship between a certain category and prejudice without its being possible to anticipate its direction.

The Schedule was revised on the basis of the evidence gained in exploratory interviewing. As the Interview Schedule is described, the reader should keep in mind that not all of the dimensions there proved equally discriminating. The idea was to study the major fields of sociopsychological development in relation to the establishment of social and political beliefs. In the present chapter the entire Interview Schedule is reported, but it will not become evident until the results are discussed in the subsequent chapters which dimensions are the crucial ones in differentiating prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects.

The major areas covered in the interviews are: 1. Vocation; 2. Income; 3. Religion; 4. Clinical Data; 5. Politics; 6. Minorities and "Race." Each of these headings has been covered in part by previous techniques. The interviews, however, went considerably beyond the information gathered by the other techniques.

In each case the interview was preceded by the study, on the part of the interviewer, of the information gathered previously, especially a detailed study of the questionnaire responses.

Our selection of the particular categories listed seems justified in view of the fact that we are dealing with patterns of political and social beliefs in relation to personal and environmental factors, the latter being regarded as potential determiners of a choice on the part of the subject between alternative ideologies offered by our culture.

There was no rigid adherence by the interviewer to any particular order of topics. The rationale for the suggested order—that in which the topics are taken up in the discussion which follows—was that it might be well to start with something relatively peripheral, like vocation. People like to talk

about their vocation and are often looking for advice in this matter. This provides the necessary warming up for the interviewee. Income comes next, since it is also considered relatively peripheral, though in some cases there is considerable sensitivity about this matter. The interview then could turn to religion and from there proceed to the more intimate clinical data. It usually concluded with questions about politics and minorities in the hope of getting, at the end of the interview, more personalized reactions on these topics which are so crucial for our major problem. At the same time, these topics lead back, at the end of the interview, to more external issues.

2. "UNDERLYING" AND "MANIFEST" QUESTIONS

In preparing the Interview Schedule, an analysis was made of the relevant psychological and social factors in each of the main areas to be covered. This analysis was based both on general social and personality theory and on findings from the exploratory interviews. As a result of these considerations, a number of so-called "underlying questions" were formulated to indicate for the interviewer which psychological aspects of the particular topic should be covered. These underlying questions were meant only as a guide for the interviewer. They had to be concealed from the subject in order that undue defenses might not be established through recognition of the real focus of the interview.

A set of direct, "manifest" questions, on the other hand, gave the interviewer suggestions as to the kind of questions that should actually be asked in order to throw light on the "underlying" issues. It was not intended, however, that the interviewer should rigidly adhere to the questions suggested. Depending on the subject's personality structure and on what topics he brought up himself, the interviewer formulated manifest questions as he went along, bearing in mind constantly, however, the underlying questions. As experience accumulated, more suitable manifest questions were formulated in advance of the interviews and used in a more uniform manner.

3. GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWERS

The general instructions which were given to the interviewers are as follows:

The careful and rather minute detail of the present Interview Schedule should not mislead the new interviewer. We do not intend that he should follow this schedule literally, in fact, we are definitely against this. Rather, the Interview Schedule should be regarded as providing a general orientation for the interviewer. It lists kinds of things we hope to obtain from the subject as well as suggestions as to how these things might indirectly be obtained by questioning. Not all of the kinds of things are relevant to each subject nor should all of the questions be asked each subject; in many cases an entirely original line of questioning will be necessary.

Different types of interviews can be thought of as varying between two extremes: on the one hand, a completely "controlled" interview in which the interviewer follows a rigidly defined set of questions for all subjects; and on the other hand, an extremely "free" interview in which the interviewer asks only the most general

questions, the sequence of questions being determined primarily by the subject's answers.

Our prototypic interview falls between these two extremes but is somewhat closer to the latter. There are six broad areas which must be covered: Vocation, Income, Religion, Clinical Material, Politics, and Minority Groups. Within each area we make a basic distinction between *Underlying Questions* and *Suggested Direct Questions*. (Note that within each area in the interview schedule, we first list the Underlying Questions, and then the Suggested Direct Questions.) The Underlying Questions are those which the interveiwer *asks himself* about the subject; they are the variables by means of which we want to characterize the subjects; but you don't ask a person "Do you really libidinize your work?" or "What is your underlying image of the Jew?" The procedure here is methodologically the same as our procedure with the indirect items of the F scale; we ask questions the answers to which give insights regarding hypotheses which are never explicitly stated in the interview. Clearly, the Direct Questions used to get answers to a given Underlying Question will vary greatly from subject to subject, depending in each case on the subject's ideology, surface attitudes, defenses, etc. Nevertheless, we have been able to formulate for each underlying question a number of direct questions, based on our general theory and experience. The list of direct questions, as stated above, should be regarded as tentative and suggestive only. The suggested direct questions, like other surface techniques used by the study, should be changed from time to time in the light of new theory and experience.

The interview should be related closely to the subject's questionnaire. As a result of the coordination of interview and questionnaire, the latter contains items bearing on each of the six broad areas of the interview. For the convenience of the interviewers, an initial section within each of the six areas contains references to the relevant questionnaire items. It must be emphasized that *careful study of the questionnaire beforehand* is essential for an adequate interview. The questionnaire by itself reveals many important points under each topic; it also suggests hypotheses which can be verified in the interview. Pre-interview study of the questionnaire, then, gives the interviewer a more structured approach to the interview and should be done in all possible cases.

(Some further general directions are given below as parenthetic comments to the headings of the sections listing the underlying and the direct questions where they first appear in the Schedule.)

E. THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE[1]

A detailed description of each section of the Interview Schedule will help to clarify the procedure described.

1. VOCATION

By means of the questionnaire, information was obtained about the present and the desired occupation of the subject and about attitudes toward work in general. Over and above that, the main function of the underlying

[1] While the responsibility for the analysis of the interview material rested mainly with the author of the present and the subsequent chapters, the Interview Schedule presented here is a joint product of the entire staff of this project.

questions guiding the interview in this area was to find out (a) the meaning which vocation has for the subject, in its work and social aspects, and (b) the determinants of the choice of his vocation.

More specifically, it was relevant to our problem to find out how much genuine interest and libido the subject has for his work. Does his work represent for him a gratifying and constructive form of self-expression and achievement or does he consider his work as "drudgery" and as a mere means to some end such as attaining money, status, or power? Keeping in mind that the importance of success is a generalized pattern in our culture, we still expected that our material would differentiate people who are oriented primarily toward the subject matter of their work and toward real achievement from those for whom only the peripheral aspect of the work is meaningful, e.g., as a means for placing them within a hierarchy (leader or follower, an adjutant to the boss). Vocation can thus be viewed from the angle of its possibilities as a means to group identification and especially to identification with higher social circles. The wish to be a link in a hierarchical chain seems of importance to many of our subjects. The emphasis on the constructive content or the social values of work as contrasted with emphasis on mastery of technology and manipulation of resources and people is relevant in this connection. As an illustration of the background elements continually entering into the construction of the Interview Schedule, the well-known connection between Nazi ideology and emphasis on technology may be mentioned here.

In the attitude toward work, however, as in all of our material, the possibility of orientation on different levels has to be kept in mind. The wish to escape a kind of work which is experienced as drudgery often goes hand in hand with a superficial emphasis on the importance of "hard work," both for reasons of success and for reasons of morality. A very general emphasis on the importance of work is often associated with an absence of concrete and specific ideas about the content of work. On the other hand, a more libidinized attitude toward work is often both more relaxed and more specific, and it differentiates less between work and pleasure. The role of the social aspects of work, e.g., intergroup feeling, or general sociability and friendship, has also been explored. Attention of the interviewer has been directed, further, toward other personality needs as expressed in special cases.

The problem of how far identification with, or rebellion against, the parents determined the choice of vocation, was the starting point for further inquiry.

After listing the underlying questions which seemed relevant to the problem of vocation, a set of manifest, direct questions was suggested after the fashion described above. The part of the Interview Schedule dealing with vocation is presented here in full. Since most of the direct questions are self-

explanatory in their purpose and rationale, no further explanations will be made. (In order to structure the somewhat lengthy Interview Schedule when in use by the interviewer, key words and phrases which were intended especially to catch his or her attention were underscored or capitalized. All such matters are left intact in the entire presentation of the schedule so as to reflect all shades of emphasis, using *italics* for underscoring.)

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

1. *VOCATION*

Underlying Questions (What it is that we want to find out):

a. *Meaning* of vocation to subject (in work and social aspects):
   1. *Work-libido:* subject-matter interest, relatedness to work, integration of work, and leisure activities. Genuine *Sublimations.*
   2. *Aspirations: Real Achievement* drive *versus* interest in "*Success,*" *Status*, Prestige, Money, Power.
   3. Technological-*Manipulative* attitudes?
   4. *Hierarchical* thinking (leader-follower; the "lieutenant," etc.).
   5. *In-group* feeling.
   6. Concern with "*Social Value*" of the work.
   7. Role of *Sociability* and friendship on the job. (Distinguish superficial gregariousness versus genuine friendship.)
   8. Attitudes re *Wife working.*
   9. *Other* special personality needs.

b. *Determinants* of choice:
   1. *Parental* identification or rebellion.
   2. *Other.*

Suggested Direct Questions:

(It is understood that in no interview can all of these questions be asked. The interviewer proceeds with his attention fixed primarily upon the underlying questions, using whatever direct questions seem most promising in the context of the moment. Moreover, it is not expected that the interviewer will always use the phraseology set down here. It is our belief, however, that all of these questions are good; they are being used frequently by the interviewers at the present time, and as experience accumulates, there will be more and more subjects who have been asked exactly the same question.)

Appeal

a. In what ways does _____ Appeal to you? (N.B., *Don't* ask automatically, "How does the job appeal": if subject is a janitor, e.g., find out first *Whether* subject's job appeals to him; if appropriate, find out what *Would* appeal to him and inquire about this instead.)
   What does _____ offer you?
   What are the main Advantages of (being a) _____? Satisfactions?
   What it is like to be a _____?
b. What are the Less Attractive aspects of (being a) _____? Disadvantages?
c. What does the Future look like in this field?

Alternatives

d. Do you feel that you are "cut out" for this type of work (or profession)?
What Other Things do you feel you might be "cut out" for?
Have you ever seriously considered other Vocations? Had Other dreams?
Under what conditions might you Change (i.e., from present vocation)?

History

e. When did you Decide to be a _____?
How did you come to be interested in _____?
What made you decide to be a _____?
What did your Parents (father, mother) want you to be?
What do your Parents think of _____?
How has your father liked his work?
(Get work history if striking jobs, or many changes.)

Wife

f. Does your Wife Work? (If subject is woman: Have you worked since your marriage?) How do you feel about that? (How does your husband?)

2. INCOME

Here, as in the case of vocation, some gross information, e.g., size of income, was gained by means of the questionnaire. The function of the interview was to find out the degree of "money-mindedness," the aspirations and fantasies centering around money. Is money per se important, or is it important for what it can give? Of relevance here is the emphasis on status as narcissistic enhancement of one's own person, own power, or own security, which can be realistic or exaggerated. There can be a realistic emphasis on a good life or on exaggerated craving for luxuries; the latter is often observed in those of our subjects who are not rooted in the constructive task of daily living but whose repressed anxieties, aggressions, and infantile cravings call for an escape into a living that is full of excitement. Here again the orientation toward different levels is important. An extreme money-mindedness as revealed in more concrete and specific contexts often goes hand in hand with denial of the importance of money on a superficial level and often even with an emotional rejection of the "rich."

The attitude toward charity was also explored in this connection as a possible manifestation of atonement which, in turn, is known to be a reaction to aggression. From a social point of view, charity often has the function of keeping the underprivileged in their place, kindness acting in effect as a humiliating factor.

Another important factor leading to a group of underlying questions is realism vs. autism with respect to thinking and to goal behavior in this field. A considerable discrepancy between fantasies and reality in the attitude to-

ward economic goals, combined with lack of a structured path and lack of readiness to work and to postpone pleasure, might make one susceptible to the use of socially destructive behavior as a means of attaining, by a short cut, fulfillment of one's infantile dreams and gratifications. Again, lack of a real readiness to work can be hidden behind general emphasis or overemphasis on work, especially since work in these cases represents an unpleasant duty. Over and above this, psychoanalysts have claimed that the attitude toward money reveals early instinctual fixations and anxieties and the way of dealing with them, e.g., anal retention or expulsion, or money as a symbol of potency.

Of particular theoretical importance is the set of questions which deals with socioeconomic background, especially the changes in economic level in the family of the subject. Sudden changes either upward or downward might be followed by a lack of adaptation in the whole socioeconomic sphere and might make this sphere similar to a "weak organ," especially susceptible to becoming a medium for the acting out of difficulties. This is what H. Hartmann has called the "compliance of social factors," in analogy to Freud's concept of the "compliance of organs" in the occurrence of physical disease. Inquiry was also made into the ways financial matters were handled by the parents. The role of economic frustrations was followed up.

A final question of interest is whether a certain personality structure alone is sufficient to establish a selection from among existing ideologies, e.g., prejudice, or if, in addition to that, a special socioeconomic history and condition of the family is required for, or especially conducive to, the acting out of difficulties in the social sphere.

The underlying and manifest questions in the sphere of income are contained in the following part of the Interview Schedule.

Interview Schedule

2. *INCOME*

Underlying Questions:

a. *Money-Mindedness.*

b. *Aspirations and Fantasies.*
   1. Status (narcissistic).
   2. Power, Manipulation.
   3. Security (Realistic versus Neurotic).
   4. Charity-Nurturance-Guilt Fantasies.
   5. Lavish Living, Excitement. (Q. Is a subject with "live dangerously—win a lot or lose a lot"—attitudes *really* willing to take chances?

c. *Realistic versus Autistic Thinking.*
   1. How much distance separates present from aspired status?
   2. How well is the path to the goal structured for subject?
   3. What are subject's Real Chances of reaching the goal?

4. Is there a Discrepancy between subject's Fantasies and his Actual Expectations?

d. *Determinants in Social Background.*
   1. Parental Attitudes toward money.
   2. Parental Socioeconomic Level (including changes) during subject's childhood and adolescence.
   3. How much Status-Change has (an older) subject experienced since youth?
   4. What Economic Frustrations has subject experienced?

Suggested Direct Questions:

Present Frustrations

a. How do you Get Along on (present income)?
   Do you have a Car? (What make, model, and year?)
   What do you Miss Most that your present income doesn't permit?

Aspirations and Fantasies

b. What would you Do with (Expected Income)? With Desired Income?)
   What would it Make Possible (Enable you to do?)
   What would it Mean to you?

c. What is the Most Important Thing Money can Give a person?
   Some people say that the best things in life are free; others say that when you come right down to it, money is really important. How Important is Money Really?
   How much is an adequate income for, say, a family of four?
   There's an old saying, "A penny saved is a penny earned"; but then again, some people prefer the idea of "Easy come, easy go." How do you feel about that?
   Some people like to take Chances: "Win a lot, lose a lot"; then other people are more Cautious about money. What's your attitude?

Realism

d. What's the Likelihood of your making _____ ten years from now?
   How good are your Chances of making _____? How do you expect to Reach that income?
   What are your Plans for Attaining that income?

History

e. How did you Get Along during the Depression? (If necessary to get a clear picture, inquire as to specific details of living.)
   Were you Out of a Job for any length of time?
   What's the Highest Income you've ever had? When was that?
   How much did you make on your First Job? (i.e., the first full-time job after leaving school.)

f. (If he chooses, the interviewer may obtain at this point—rather than later under Clinical—information re Parental Socioeconomic Level during subject's childhood and adolescence. Ask specific questions to get information re type of home, number of rooms, neighborhood, vacations, cars, servants, recreation, entertaining, allowances for children versus necessity for children to work, whether worked, whether father ever out of a job, etc. Get subject's reactions to this—especially to changes in level.)

g. (Get at Parental Policies and Attitudes re spending—casualness; display; etc.—saving, consistency of policies, any differences between mother and father, etc., by special inquiry in connection with discussion of subject's own attitudes, especially those elicited by questions under (c) above. Or, some of the above questions—especially those not asked of subject—may be repeated for the parents.)

3. RELIGION

Religion, perhaps more than the preceding areas, seems to lie at the point of interaction of social and personal factors. The purposes of the underlying questions in this category was to find out whether religion represents to the subject a further effort toward belonging to a privileged group and the explicit acceptance of a set of conventionalized mores and rules of behavior prevalent in a majority group, or whether religion represents a system of more internalized, genuine experiences and values. In the former case religion tends to assume the function of an external authority deciding what is good and what is bad, thus relieving the individual from making his own decisions and assuring him at the same time of membership in a privileged group. The rejection of outgroup religions goes hand in hand with this attitude.

The manifest questions on religion were designed to find out which of the attitudes just described is dominant in the subject. Furthermore, they were aimed at various subtle aspects of these different attitudes. Questions such as that inquiring into the concept of God were introduced to reveal whether God is conceived more directly after a parental image and thus as a source of support and as a guiding and sometimes punishing authority or whether God is seen more as an abstract entity representing general values and principles. In the former case an attempt was made to ascertain whether the emphasis is more on the punitive or on the nurturant qualities.

An effort was also made to inquire into the reasons for rejection of religion. A rejection of religion on rational and scientific grounds belongs in a different syndrome from rejection of religion out of an attitude of sober cynicism and manipulative opportunism. Questions as to the history of the conflict, in the subject, between science and religion were also asked. Areas in which there was a readiness to follow a rational approach were noted, as well as those in which irrational explanations were preferred.

It is of interest for our purposes to ascertain further whether the attitude toward religion is simply taken over from the parents or whether any change has occurred in the direction of rebellion against religious attitudes prevalent in the family or in the direction of an increase and deepening of religious feelings as compared with those of the parents. How did agreement or difference of opinion in the parents with respect to religion influence the outlook of the subject?

The underlying and manifest questions about religion are as follows:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

3. *RELIGION*

Underlying Questions:

a. *Ingroup-Outgroup feelings* (including moralism). (Does subject have idea of "Good enough for my fathers, so good enough for me"?)
b. Attitudes toward *Organized Religion* and the Church.
c. *Internalization.*
d. *Philosophical Pattern* (personalization; concern re "Beginning," etc.; degree of dogmatism and fundamentalism; nature and crudity of wish-satisfactions).
e. Nature and degree of *Supernaturalism.* (Including attitudes toward irrational experiences and toward unusual coincidences.)
f. Role of *Ethics* (degree of internalization). (Get subject to go into detail on Christianity, and bring up later in discussing race.)
g. *Role of Superego:* Internalized Conscience vs. Externalized Authority.
h. *Special* Personality Meanings.

Suggested Direct Questions:

General Importance

a. What are your Views on religion?
What does your religion Offer you?
What Appeals to you most in religion?
What is the Most Important Thing in Religion?
How Important Should Religion be in a person's life?

Philosophy

b. What is your conception of God?
What is your attitude toward (do you think about) Prayer, the Bible, Immortality?
Do you believe there is conflict between Science and Religion?
Has there been such a conflict in the past?
Is there likely to be in the future? (If No: Inquire whether subject accepts (1) a rationalized system of belief; (2) a dichotomy between science as physical, religion as spiritual; (3) a fundamentalist rejection; or what.)

Ingroup

c. What are the main (most important) differences between your religion and others?
How important are the differences among the various sects?
What do you think of Atheists?

Ethics

What does it Mean to be a Christian?
How can you Tell a Christian?
What is the Main Difference between Christians and Other People?
What is the Most Important of Christ's Teachings?

History

d. What was the nature of your early Religious Training?
What was the Religious Atmosphere in your Home?
In what ways do you differ from Your Parents in Religion? From your Wife (Husband)?

In what ways did your Parents Differ in Religious Matters? (If subject broke away from parental teachings: Get history; also get reactions to differences with spouse.)
Have you ever Questioned your religious beliefs?

Since data on religion and political ideology had to be excluded from the material presented to the interview raters (see below, Section F, 3), the part of the interview based on the preceding questions will not be taken up for discussion until later in this volume (Chapter XVIII).

4. CLINICAL DATA

In the clinical section of the interview an attempt was made to obtain as much personal data relevant to our problem as was possible in a single sitting and without producing anxieties in the subject. With respect to this area, even more than in the case of the others, the subject had to be unaware of the direction intended by the interview. Care was taken to avoid offering interpretations to the subject for which he was not ready and the effect of which could not be followed up and worked out. Here, as in the other sections, the almost general desire of the subjects to talk about themselves in a professional and confidential situation was of great help to the interviewer.

A variety of personal data had been collected by previous techniques. This material, as pointed out above, was at the disposal of the interviewer, who studied it before starting the interview. The first two sheets of the questionnaire brought out some gross information about the subject's personal life. Above and beyond that, the type of information which had to be obtained by the interviewer was based on hypotheses as to what aspects of personal life might be expected to influence the pattern of social beliefs and attitudes.

The information gained in the entire clinical area by previous methods is represented in the Schedule below. In view of the length of the clinical part of the interview schedule, the questions are presented and discussed under six major headings, as follows: (a) Family Background: Sociological Aspects; (b) Family Figures: Personal Aspects; (c) Childhood; (d) Sex; (e) Social Relationships; (f) School.

a. FAMILY BACKGROUND: SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS. The sociological aspects of the family background seem of particular relevance in the present context. The national origin of parents was explored in order to find out whether relative "purity" or mixture of national origin is related to prejudice. Although this problem was considered important, there was no specific expectancy as to the direction of the results.

The group memberships of the parents were to be taken as an indication of how much stress was placed by the family on the idea of "belonging" and of how much the parents considered themselves as individuals or mainly as members of different groups and organizations. The whole socioeconomic picture of the parents, and possibly of the grandparents, the status achieved

as well as that aspired to, had to be understood in order to throw light on the security or the tensions existing, in this area, within the family.

The underlying and direct questions on the sociological aspects of the family background are presented here.

Interview Schedule

4a. *FAMILY BACKGROUND: SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS*

Underlying Questions:

a. *National Origins* of father and mother (not just racial; e.g., third generation Polish, German immigrant, etc.).
b. Important *Ingroup Memberships* of father and mother (e.g., unions, Masons, etc.).
c. Picture of *Socioeconomic Status* of Parents and Grandparents (as reflected in occupation, education, way of life, etc.), with special attention to Social Mobility.

Suggested Direct Questions:

Background

a. Father's and mother's National Antecedents, occupation, education, politics, religion.

Economic

b. Actual Standard of Living of father and mother (Ask specific questions to get clear: cars, servants, housing, entertaining, etc.; enough to eat, on relief, have to work as child, etc.).

Ingroups

c. Who were your father's (mother's) Friends mostly?
What Organizations did your father (mother) belong to?
How did your father (mother) spend his (her) Spare Time?

b. Family Figures: Personal Aspects. After the inquiry into the sociological aspects of the family background, the personal conception of the family figures by the subject was recorded. The subject's conception of the parent figures could reveal, among other things, whether the picture was dominated by the authoritarian aspects of the parent-child relationship or by a more democratic type of relationship. In this connection the attention of the interviewer was further focused on the ability of the subject to appraise his parents objectively—whether on the more critical or on the more loving side—as contrasted with an inclination to put the parents on a very high plane, exaggerating their strength and virtuousness.

The conceptions concerning the siblings were likewise made the topic of a special inquiry. This was done with the idea in mind that the rivalries connected with sibling situations are an important source of the establishment of interpersonal relationships. An attempt was made to record the existing hierarchies in the sibling situation, the attitudes toward older and younger siblings, as well as the preferences, resentments, and envies arising in this connection.

The power-relationship between the parents, the domination of the subject's family by the father or by the mother, and their relative dominance in specific areas of life also seemed of importance for our problem. The sources within the family of satisfactions and tensions in general were also explored.

In this area, dealing with various personal attitudes, especially careful thought was given to the formulation of the manifest questions regarding which the subject was likely to be sensitive and in conflict. One of the primary functions of these questions was to encourage the subject to talk freely. This was attempted by indicating, for example, that critical remarks about parents were perfectly in place, thus reducing defenses as well as feelings of guilt and anxiety. But since it was obvious that we could by this method never be sure of having obtained a true answer, especially in the case of some individuals—due more often to unintended than to deliberate camouflage—a number of less conspicuous, very specific matter-of-fact questions were also designed to catch general attitudes with as little distortion as possible.

The underlying and manifest questions in this area are as follows:

Interview Schedule

4b. *FAMILY FIGURES: PERSONAL ASPECTS*

Underlying Questions:

a. *Subject's Conception of Parent-Figures and Actuality* (i.e., get basis for inferring latter): Degree of Critical Objectivity of subject.
b. Same for any important *Siblings* (Domination by older sibs? Displacement by younger sibs? Which is most important?)
c. Pattern of *Power-Relations between Father and Mother* (domination-submission, activity-passivity, etc.).

Suggested Direct Questions:

Images of Father and Mother

a. What sort of Person is your father? (Mother?)
What things do you Admire most in your Father? (Mother?) (Require subject to illustrate stereotypes by specific traits and situational examples.)
Assuming most people aren't perfect, what Human Frailties do your father (mother) have?
Which Parent do you Take After; are you most Like; Influenced you Most?
What were his (her) ideals, etc.?

Power-Relations of Father and Mother

b. How did your parents Get Along together?
In what ways were your Parents most Alike?
In what ways are they Different from each other?
Who Made the Decisions usually? (Get specific information e.g., re finances, recreation, discipline of children, residence, etc.).
Disagreements arise in every family from time to time; what Bones of Contention did your parents sometimes have?

Siblings

c. Same initial questions for any Important Siblings. Also:
Who was your Favorite Brother (Sister)?
What did you Like About him (her)?
What did he (she) Mean to you?
What things did you sometimes Quarrel about?

c. CHILDHOOD. Some attempt was also made to obtain information about the earlier phases of childhood. It has to be kept in mind, however, that in view of the type of inquiry used in this study, no differentiation can be made between real childhood events and present tendencies projected into childhood. The assumption was that both types of material are psychologically relevant as long as the possible duality of sources is not overlooked in the interpretation of the material. Thus, the manifest question, "What were you like as a child?" was asked to get either the subject's idea about himself as a child or the possible description of the type of child he might have been. It was observed that the subject, especially if he were a prejudiced one, often attributed to himself as a child characteristics which at the present time he seemed eager to repress.

The inquiry regarding early memories, wishes, fears, dreams, and so forth had the purpose of getting material which stood out for the subject in connection with his childhood and seemed relevant as a basis for inference. Among the underlying questions, the structure of the emotional attachment to the parents seemed of paramount importance. Here we were specifically interested in the parents as objects of cathexis as well as of identification. In the case of a man, it was important to learn whether there was at any time an explicit rebellion against the father, and against what sort of father, or whether there was only passive submission. The assumption behind this question, later proved correct, was that the pattern developed in the relationship to the father tends to be transferred to other authorities and thus becomes crucial in forming social and political beliefs in men. In this connection it is of importance to know not only about rebellion against the father but also how far such rebellion is conscious and accepted as such.

Rebellion against, or submission to, the father is only one part of the picture. Another part deals with the question of identification, or the lack of identification, with the father, and thus with the masculine role in general.

The establishment of masculinity in the boy is, of course, also closely connected with the boy's attitude toward the mother. To what degree was there love for the mother and to what degree identification with the mother? Was such an identification, in its turn, sublimated and accepted by the ego, or was it rejected on the conscious level because the mother symbolized not only something "admirable" but at the same time something weak and therefore contemptible? How did the boy defend himself against the rejected and feared passivity? A compensatory display of "toughness" and ruthless-

ness is, according to findings from the F scale, correlated with antidemocratic social and political beliefs.

Considerations analogous to those made in the preceding paragraphs were also applied to women.

An attempt was also made to probe into pre-Oedipal fixations, that is, to pay attention to the "orality" and "anality" of the subject and especially to the defense mechanisms with which these and other instinctual problems had been handled. The problem of homosexual tendencies, their degree, and the subject's acceptance or rejection of them was also given consideration. It will be seen to be of rather crucial importance for the social and political orientation of the individual how much passive striving there is in men, and even more important, how much countercathectic defense is built up against it, and how much acceptance and sublimation of masculine identification there is in women. The problem of homosexuality relates to the different ways of failure in resolving the Oedipal conflict and the resultant regression to earlier phases.

Since, as earlier chapters have indicated, the attitude toward authority is crucial for psychological syndromes related to social and political attitudes, an attempt was made further to find out as much as possible about the type of discipline to which the subject was exposed, and about his reactions to it. Was the discipline consistent or capricious, strict or lenient? Did both parents handle discipline in a similar way or was there much difference between the parents in this respect? Was the matter in question explained to the child and was he included in the discussion of it or did the discipline appear to the child as unintelligible, arbitrary, or overwhelming? Did the parents adhere rigidly to the conventionalized values of their class, with great intolerance toward disobedience and any deviations, especially when the deviations seemed to the parents to be manifestations of lower-class behavior, or were the values the parents tried to transmit less conventional and more in the nature of internal and humanitarian values for which the child's understanding and cooperation could be secured? Was the reaction of the subject mostly fear of authority, which could be met only by acquiescence, or could the child grasp the issues involved and feel that the consideration of certain convincing social values would assure him of his parents' love? In case of failure, did the child feel that everything was lost and that something very bad might happen, or did he feel that renewed efforts would regain for him the love of his parents, only temporarily lost? It was hypothesized that the parents' emotional attitude toward the child, their permissiveness toward his weakness and immaturity, furnished the model for his future behavior toward objects which he considered as weak.

Since the way in which the parents transmit social values to the child, and the punishment and rewards with which they reinforce them, are decisive for the establishment of the superego, we are led from highly personal

problems back to problems of social conscience. The effects are mirrored in interpersonal relationships, on a smaller scale in one's private life and on a larger scale in one's public function as a citizen. A person with a mature, integrated, and internalized conscience will certainly take a different stand on moral and social issues than a person with an underdeveloped, defective or overpunitive superego, or a person who still, as in childhood, clings to a set of rules and values only as they are reinforced by an external authority, be it public opinion or be it a leader.

The underlying and manifest questions under the heading of Childhood History and Attitudes follow.

Interview Schedule

4c. *CHILDHOOD*

Underlying Questions:

a. *Structure of the Oedipus-Complex:* major identifications, loves, hates in relationships to parent-figures and -surrogates. (Formulated especially for men; adapt for women.)
Has there been an underlying trend of rebellion and hostility against the father, or of submission and passivity?
Has the hostility against the father been admitted into the ego?
Was there real identification with the father? (If not, why not? E.g., was the parent too strong, too weak, not at home, etc.?)
Was there genuine satisfaction in the relationship with the mother?
Was the early attachment with her secure or insecure?
Were there early signs of ambivalence?
Was she a real love-object?
Did subject ever conceive of himself as her champion, or protector, or ally? Or did he ever feel that she was unworthy, or untrustworthy, etc.?
Was there identification with the mother?
Femininity? How handled: by sublimation, or by overcompensation and reaction-formations, etc.?

b. What were the main *Pre-Oedipal Fixations,* and How Handled? Sublimations versus Reaction-Formations, projections, etc.
Homosexuality? Its level?

c. *Passivity:* Accepted in the Ego, or Repressed and Overcompensated?

d. *Reaction to Punishment.*
1. Fear of loss of love, leading to introspection, understanding, psychology, etc., versus:
2. Fear of authority and of capricious discipline, etc. (Get detailed picture of punishment-and-discipline.)

e. How much *Internalization of Superego?* Is the dominant trend toward neurosis or normality—or toward psychopathic-delinquent attitudes?

Suggested Direct Questions:

Pre-Oedipal

a. What were you Like as a Child?
What things about your Childhood do you Remember with most Pleasure?

With most Satisfaction?
What is your Earliest Memory?
What things did you Worry about most as a child?
Almost everybody has had some recurrent Bad Dreams; what kinds of bad dreams did you have as a child?

Oedipal Phase

b. Which Parent did you feel Closer To when you were, say, about 6?

Superego and Reaction to Discipline

What about when you were 10? 16? 25? Now? (If there was a shift: What led to this change in your esteem?)
What were your main Satisfactions in your relationship with your father?
With your mother?
What were the chief Bones of Contention?
Which Parent do you think had More To Do with your Becoming the kind of person you are?
Which Parent Exercised the Discipline in your Family?
Whose Discipline did you Fear most? Why? (N.B., fear of physical punishment versus fear of loss of love.)
What Kind of Discipline did your Parents use?
What Things did They Discipline you for mainly?

c What Other People were Influential in your development?

d. SEX. It is well known that the pattern of sexuality mirrors in great detail the state of the entire psychosexual development. A lack of adequate heterosexual adjustment on the physical level is usually found together with inadequate object-relationships on the psychological level; it is manifested in a lack of fusion of sex and love, or in promiscuity, or in inhibition, or in a dependent and exploitative attitude toward the other sex. A lack of warmth and "inwardness" will lead to degradation of the other sex and/or an over-glorification which often turns out to be disguised hostility. As mentioned before, the conception of the masculine and feminine role, by men and women, the rigidity versus flexibility of the conception of these roles, and the intolerance versus tolerance toward tendencies of the opposite sex in oneself are of crucial importance for our problem since these attitudes tend to become generalized and projected into the social sphere. The questions concerning this issue are as follows:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

4d. *SEX*

Underlying Questions:
What is the *Major Pattern of Sexuality?*
a. Mature, Heterosexual Attitudes?
b. If not, What (promiscuity, exploitation of other sex, dependence on other sex, degradation of other sex, or putting other sex on pedestal, rejection of opposite sex, homosexuality, etc.)?
c. In Heterosexual Relationships: degree of inhibition, degree of "inner-

ness" in relationships, degree of hostility and disrespect, degree of emotional warmth in sex relations, degree of fusion of love-and-sex?

Suggested Direct Questions:

Pattern of Sexuality

Where did you get your sex instruction?
What is the earliest sex experience you can remember?
How important is sex in marriage?
What main difficulties have you found in married life?
Have you met many homosexuals in your travels?

e. SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS. Some aspects of interpersonal relationships were considered under the preceding headings. Here the more generalized pattern of social relationships is in the focus of attention. Again the question concerns the degree of social libido invested in personal relationships as contrasted with emphasis on utilitarian and manipulative aims. The degree of rejection of other people or of superficial sociability is contrasted with genuine acceptance of others. The history of the sociability and of the social security of the subject had also to be included here. How far was the subject accepted or rejected by the groups in which he participated? Under what conditions does the fact of being rejected lead to identification with, or to hostility toward, the underdog? Participation in boyhood gangs very often shows the first clear manifestation of participation in a "group superego," a state which often continues into adulthood. What, on the other hand, are the effects of being relatively isolated during the formative years of early school life? What are the early manifestations of an internalized superego?

In particular, the questions on Social Relationships are as follows:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

4e. *SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS*

Underlying Questions:

a. Degree of *Rejectiveness:* Moral, Arrogant-Individualistic.
b. Role of *Utilitarian* considerations (status, power, conventionality, manipulativeness and exploitiveness, leader-follower attitudes, etc.).
c. *Degree of Social Libido:* Warmheartedness, Group-Involvement versus being "Outside," etc. (Any history of being rejected or teased or scapegoated, etc.? Any important boyhood (fascistic) gangs, producing a "group-superego" attitude? Rituals, blood-brotherhood, secrecy, hierarchy, etc. How much genuine feeling versus detached insight?) *Type of Social-Libido:* Deeper ("inner") relationships versus Superficial Sociability?

Suggested Direct Questions:

Utilitarianism

a. How Important are Friends in a person's life?
What is the main thing Friends have to offer (can give) a person?

Social Libido

What attracts you in a Friend?

How do you Choose your Friends?
What do you Enjoy Doing with your Friends? (Get enough details to reveal the meaning; e.g., if "talk," what about?)
Are you the sort of person who has a Few Close Friends, or do you tend to have a Lot of Friends, or . . . .

Rejectiveness

b. What things do you find most Offensive, Annoying, Objectionable, Irritating in other People?
c. Did you belong to any Boyhood Gangs? (If so, get details.)

f. SCHOOL. In connection with the school history, emphasis of the inquiry was placed on the direction of the interests manifested during this period. Had there been interest in the academic aspects of school; and was such interest more directed toward intellectual topics dealing with human problems and often requiring introspection, or was it mainly in mechanical and technological subjects?

The questions pertaining to School History are:

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

4f. *SCHOOL*

Underlying Questions:
Predominant Interests and Values: Degree of Acceptance of *Sensuous and Intellectual* (especially Intraceptive) Values and interests versus Anti-Pleasure, Anti-Intellectualism, and emphasis on *Mechanical-Manipulative, Power* values?

Suggested Direct Questions:

Values

How did you Get Along in School?
How was your school record?
What Subjects were you Best in? Which did you like most?
In what ways did they appeal to you?
What Subjects were you Poorest in? Which did you like the least?
What did you dislike about them?

5. POLITICS

Information about the subject's attitudes in the area of politics was gathered rather systematically by means of the questionnaire. The party preference of the subject and of his parents was established on the first two sheets of the questionnaire, and an indication as to where the subject stood on the radicalism-liberalism-conservatism-reactionism dimension was afforded by the PEC scale. Moreover, the presence or absence of a tendency toward projection of personal needs onto the political sphere was noted in the responses on the questionnaire. As mentioned before, the interviewer was thoroughly acquainted with the subject's responses to the questionnaire before starting the interview.

The underlying questions taken up in this section of the Interview Sched-

ule were designed to follow up directly some of the questionnaire material in order to get the subject's expanded and spontaneous reactions to these topics. Thus the problem of conservatism-liberalism was taken up in greater detail in order to get the more subtle shades of the subject's beliefs. The conception of the relationships among labor, business, and government was a good indicator of the subject's tendency toward liberalism or laissez-faire conservatism or fascism or radicalism. The manifest questions listed below were aimed at finding the degree to which the political beliefs of the subject were merely projections of his personal needs and anxieties and the degree to which they were based on information and objective situational requirements. The need for a strong leader, for an external guiding authority, can be found again in this sphere, as transferred from the more personal sphere discussed in the clinical section. Internal anxieties not faced as such may be projected, and experienced as fears and threats arising out of the political scene.

For the history of the political opinions of the subject it was of special interest to know whether these were taken over from the parents, uncritically or critically, or whether they were established despite the fact, or because of the fact, that they were bound to lead to disagreement with the parents.

The questions in this area were:

Interview Schedule

5. *POLITICS*

Underlying Questions:

a. *Reactionism-Conservatism-Liberalism-Radicalism; Attitudes toward Labor-Business-Government; Democratic-Antidemocratic trends.*
b. Personalization.
c. Amount of *Information and Interest.*
d. *Parental* Identification versus Rebellion in political Attitudes.

Suggested Direct Questions:

General

a. What do you think about the Political Trends in America Today?
   What are the Major Problems facing the country today?
   What is the Outlook for the future?
   How do you feel things are shaping up for the Future in America?
   In world affairs?
   What is your understanding of Democracy?
   What would an Ideal Society be like?
b. What do you think of (Where do you stand on; How do you feel about): Labor Unions? (Get elaboration with specific questions, preferably on current issues: e.g., 30 per cent wage increase demand; current strikes; PAC; labor leaders; American Business; Free Enterprise; etc. $25,000 limitation.)
   Government Control? (E.g., OPA; Unemployment Compensation;

Full-Employment Bill; Public Health Insurance; antitrust; etc. Also anti-PAC; antistrike, etc.)

Personalization

c. What is it about a man that Makes him Worth Voting for (e.g., in presidential choice in last election)?

d. What Ought to be Done about (any group or movement objected to)?
What Groups have the Most Influence on political affairs?
How do they work?
What do you consider the Most Dangerous Threats to our present form of government?
What ought to be done about it?

6. MINORITIES AND "RACE"

Since this topic has been given detailed consideration in previous chapters, we may be brief in outlining the underlying and manifest inquiry concerning it. As far as *opinions* are concerned, it was of interest to find the cognitive and emotional line drawn by the subject between ingroup and outgroup and the characteristics he specifically ascribed to each. How stereotyped and how automatic is the attribution of traits to outgroups? A comparison of this part of the interview with the previous ones, especially the clinical, made it possible to ascertain to what degree a subject's innermost preoccupations, such as sex, dependency, "anality," are projected into the social sphere. How far are the accusations against the minority group completely generalized stereotypes and how far is the specific content of these accusations conditioned by the personal problems of the accuser? Is there a special negative or positive affinity between the subject and one particular outgroup? Does the subject believe in social and psychological determination of individual and ethnic characteristics and does he feel his personal responsibility in this respect, or does he think of these characteristics as "inborn" and thus not flexible? The degree of realism in thinking about minority groups belongs here.

The amount of awareness of hostility, the readiness to act against outgroups, are among the major problems concerning *attitudes* toward outgroups. Of relevance in this connection is the degree of inner conflict resulting from being prejudiced. Does the subject feel the need of reconciling his prejudice with democratic and Christian ideals and with respectability, and so forth, or is he ready to act in a straight antidemocratic fashion? In the first case, what are the conditions under which he could lose his inhibitions and act antidemocratically?

The sources of opinions and attitudes were approached by inquiry into parental beliefs, into religious and educational training, and into group memberships. The question was posed as to what degree prejudice may be a function of specific experiences with minority groups.

Occasionally some attempt was made, at the conclusion of the interview, to influence prejudice by argument, by making prejudice disreputable, or by

other means, in order to gain information about effective methods of combating prejudice.

The questions in this area follow:

Interview Schedule

6. *MINORITIES AND "RACE"*

Underlying Questions:

a. *Opinions.*
   1. How *General* or how *Specific* is the Prejudice? (What outgroups are rejected? What outgroups have peculiar Fantasy-value? How does this group differ from other outgroups?)
   2. What are the *Main Stereotype Characteristics* of the main outgroups (e.g., power, acquisition, sex, dirty, lazy)?
   3. How Stereotyped and how Automatic is the attribution of traits to outgroups (i.e., phrasing, assurance and categoricalness, recurrence of similar projections, etc.; exceptions)?
   4. Is there an "Essential" Race Theory (i.e., can those faults be eliminated, or are they "basic"; whose responsibility is it to make the change)?

b. *Attitudes.*
   1. Degree and Form of Hostility (or attraction) toward outgroup(s)? How much is Conscious? Unconscious?
      How Openly is this Expressed to Others? To the Self? (i.e., how much veiling by pseudodemocratic façade?)
   2. Degree and Form of *Aggressiveness* (or willingness to act aggressively) toward outgroup(s)?
      Is the attitude essentially one of Persecution—or Active Discrimination—or Segregation (with "equality")—or Exclusion only?
      Check specific readiness to support Antidemocratic measures; and type and degree of Pseudodemocratic Façade.
   3. Degree and Nature of *Inner Conflicts* re prejudice?
      What forces oppose prejudice (e.g., rationality, respectability or ingroup feelings, Christian antiaggression)?

c. *History:* Sources of opinions and attitudes.
   1. *Parental* opinions, attitudes, and teachings (also relatives and siblings).
   2. *Religious, Educational Training.*
   3. Significant *Group Memberships.*
   4. *Experience* with minority group members; to what extent is the prejudice a function of frustrations and "Surface Resentments"?

d. *Ingroup Feelings:* Meaning?

e. *Therapy:* What therapeutic techniques are most effective in combating prejudice?

Suggested Direct Questions:

a. *Opinions.*

General

1. What do you think about the problem of Minority Groups in this country? Jewish problem? Negro problem?

What do you think is (are) the most important Minority Problem(s)?
What minority group(s) present(s) the Biggest Problem in this country?
What racial groups do you find the Least Attractive? Which do you like the Least?
(For any group about which subject shows a particular concern, get his ideas of what it is like, and what ought to be done. If he mentions Jews first, get this information on other groups later.)

Stereotype

2. (How) Can you tell a person is a Jew? A Jew from other people? What are the most Characteristic Traits of Jews? Their principal characteristics?
Do you think Dislike of the Jews is Increasing? (If Yes: Why?)

Influence

Do you think the Jews are more of a menace or just a nuisance?
Some people think the Jews have too much influence in this country; what do you think? In what areas? How did they obtain it? How do they use it?
Do you think the Jews have done their part in the War Effort?
Do you think the Jews are a Political Force in America?

"*Exceptions*"

3. Are there any Exceptions to the general rule? Where do you find them?
Are there some good Jews?

"*Basic-ness*"

4. Do you think the Jew(s) will Ever Change? Or will there always be something basically Jewish about them (him)? (If the Jew will change:) How might that be done (come about)?
What do you think the Jew(s) ought to do?

b. *Attitudes.*

General

What ought to be done about the Jews? (About the particular problem conceived by subject?)
(In general, if subject is mild at first, see how aggressive he can be induced to be. If he is extreme at first, see how readily he can agree to milder courses.)

Persecution

What action is being taken by people or groups that you know of? How extensive is this? Are they justified?
What do you think about what Hitler did?
What would you have done if you had had Hitler's problem?
What might lead to the same thing happening here?
What might have to be done as a Last Resort if the Jews continue (doing whatever subject emphasizes as a menace)?
What might Justify taking more Extreme Steps to solve this problem?
What steps might have to be taken?
Some people think the Jews ought to be Sent Back where they came from; how do you feel about this? Should their property be Confiscated, to make sure of putting an end to this problem?
Should their money be divided up?

Discrimination
How about keeping Jews out of Important Positions?
Would that perhaps solve the problem—essentially?
What about Educational Quotas to keep Jews from taking over certain professions?

Segregation
What about keeping Jews out of Gentile Neighborhoods?

Exclusion
Should Gentiles and Jews Mingle socially?
Do you think Gentiles should Intermarry with Jews?

"*Exceptions*"
(Concerning any proposed measure:) Should this be done to *all* the Jews? How to distinguish?

c. *History.*
Where did you First Learn about the Jews?
What Personal Experiences have you had with Jews?
Have you had any Contrary Experiences?
What were your Parents' Attitudes toward the Jews, as you were growing up?
Have you Ever Felt Differently about the Jews?

As was the case with interview data on religion, interview material on political and racial attitudes is being postponed for discussion in some of the later portions of the book (Chapters XVI and XVII).

F. THE SCORING OF THE INTERVIEWS

1. QUANTIFICATION OF INTERVIEW DATA

Systematic treatment of interview material presents special problems inherent in the nature of the data. On the one hand, the interviewee has to be given as much freedom as possible for the spontaneous expression of his attitudes and needs. Guidance by means of the Interview Schedule had thus been made as noninterfering as it could be, in view of the definite direction of emphasis that was to be maintained. Material obtained under such circumstances, although contained within a common general frame, is, on the other hand, characterized by a good deal of uniqueness and personal flavor to which only presentation in the manner of case description can do full justice.

In view of the fact that the focus of this study is on group trends rather than on the single case, it seemed possible, as anticipated in the introduction to this chapter, to effect a certain compromise between case study and statistical approach and thus to gain in comprehensiveness and conclusiveness far more than is being lost in immediacy and directness. A kind of crude quantification of the interview material was achieved by counting, in terms of a number of specially designed interview scoring categories, the occurrence of certain characteristics in the interviews of those scoring extremely high and those scoring extremely low on overt anti-Semitism or ethnocentrism. Since this procedure has intrinsic shortcomings, to be discussed below,

the numerical results are not meant to yield conclusive evidence for the validity of the personality differences found between our high and low scorers. They do, however, describe in a relatively systematic, organized, and controlled way the impressions formed about these personality differences in the course of intensive studies of individual cases.

This agreement between interview scoring and case studies justifies increased confidence in the figures presented in the next four chapters. The entire approach should be considered, however, as an initial attempt to combine the study of variables on a group basis with the study of individuals.

2. BROAD OUTLINE OF CATEGORIES IN THE INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL

The list of categories as well as the more formal part of the explanations accompanying each of them, which together make up the Scoring Manual, will be presented in full, together with the discussion of the specific results, in Chapters X, XI, and XII. There are sixty-two main classifications. Subdivisions of some of them bring the total number of scoring categories used for women to ninety, the total being slightly less for men. These categories cover (1) predominantly factual material such as childhood events or family structure, along with (2) data dealing with attitudes toward oneself, one's parents, the opposite sex, or people in general, and (3) highly interpretative dimensions exemplified by technical psychodynamic terms (such as "counter-cathectic rejection" of certain drives) or else by more "formal" characterizations (such as "rigidity," "intolerance of ambiguity," "anti-intraceptiveness," and so forth).

The factual material and the evidence on attitudes are presented under the four headings of "Family" (Chapter X) and of "Sex," "People," and "Self" (Chapter XI).

The dynamic and formal categories are especially emphasized in a fifth and concluding part of the scoring scheme, under the heading of "Character Structure and Personality Organization" (Chapter XII). Although these categories were to a considerable extent inspired by psychoanalysis, they should not be considered as psychoanalytic in the narrower sense of the word, since classification of our material is done primarily on the basis of present personality structure rather than on the basis of psychogenetic data. The entire framework, length, and condition of our interviews made it impossible directly to obtain material of a depth-level comparable to that of genuine psychoanalytic material. At the same time, however, there was enough spontaneous material at hand to make it possible for raters trained in dynamic psychology to infer some of the major structural problems and types of defense mechanisms in our subjects, in accordance with the categories provided by the Scoring Manual.

A certain parallelism, although by no means an exact duplication, between

the Interview Schedule and the Scoring Manual will be noted when comparing the two in detail.

3. THE INTERVIEW RATING PROCEDURE AND THE RATERS

Since our major purpose in analyzing the interview material was to gain additional evidence concerning the relationship of prejudice to personality, it was important to conceal from the rater the explicit stand of the subject with respect to ethnic tolerance or prejudice as well as with respect to political ideology in general. All references to these topics throughout the interview were thus carefully deleted before the protocols were handed to the raters. The diagnosis of the subjects' personality was thus rendered "blind." The raters did know, of course, that their subjects had scored either high or low on the scales for measuring prejudice, but they did not know which were the high and which the low scorers.

In all other respects the interview protocols remained unchanged.

a. RATING BY CATEGORIES. The rating of the interviews was done for each of the categories separately. The score for the category in question, however, was obtained in a synoptic rather than a piecemeal fashion. The major source for the assignment of a score was the clinical part of the interview, but evidence was utilized from any part of the interview which might be brought to bear on each category.

Scores were in terms of a three-point scale. Since, as was mentioned above, a careful study of the interviews had preceded the construction of the Scoring Manual, certain more or less definite expectations as to what might constitute the personality aspects of a prejudiced as contrasted with an unprejudiced subject had been developed in the way of advance hypotheses. In view of this, the two opposites within each category were tentatively designated as the *presumably* "High" and "Low"[2] variants or alternatives, i.e., those expected to be typical of prejudiced and of unprejudiced persons, respectively. In the Manual the left column was used for the presumably high and the right column for the presumably low variant.

The third rating, "Neutral," comprised two distinct possibilities: (1) the existing evidence was too colorless or self-contradictory within the category in question to warrant assignment to either the "High" or the "Low" alternative; or (2) there was no evidence at all pertinent to this category. The former case is much less frequent among the "Neutral" ratings actually given than one might expect beforehand. In some of the protocols possibilities (1) and (2) were scored separately; their proportion was found to be about three to seven. In particular, factual questions were somewhat more likely to yield

[2] Note that the initial letter of the terms "High," "Low," (and "Neutral") is capitalized when referring to interview ratings in order to distinguish these ratings from the actual "high" or "low" scores of the subjects on prejudice and on the other scales of the questionnaire.

"no evidence" than interpretative categories, but even in the case of the group of categories subsumed under character structure the number of cases in which the material was too ambiguous to make a decision possible remained within comparatively low limits.

In absolute terms the number of "Neutrals" is considerable, especially in the case of some of the categories dealing with childhood events (see Chapters X to XII). For many variables lack of information is by no means always due to the impossibility of gathering evidence but rather to the spottiness of either the spontaneous responses of the subject or of the inquiry on the part of the interviewer who, as stated above, could not possibly cover the entire ground in each case. Both the Interview Schedule and the Scoring Manual make an attempt to cover systematically as many as possible of the very numerous areas, but it could not be hoped that each case would furnish material on all of the questions involved.

b. Intuitive Over-all Ratings. Besides the ratings on each of the categories, the raters were asked also to make intuitive over-all ratings. They were instructed, that is, to give their conclusive impression as to whether the subject involved was prejudiced or not. One of two alternatives, "High" (H) or "Low" (L), had to be chosen (for data see final column of Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX); discussion in Chapter XIII).

c. The Interview Raters. The ratings were made by two members of the staff of the study, here to be called M and R, one of them male and the other female. Both are well-trained psychologists and were thoroughly familiar with the nature of the categories and the underlying implications as to personality theory. These raters had participated actively in numerous conferences at which the scoring procedure was thoroughly discussed, prior to making the ratings.

Each of the raters scored approximately half of the men and half of the women, high and low scorers being distributed at random in about equal proportions within each group. (Concerning added duplicate ratings to check on reliability, see below.)

In particular, the interviews of cases *M1* to *M20* and *F22* to *F39a* among those scoring high, and of cases *M2* to *M19* and of *F29* to *F39* among the low-scoring interviewees were evaluated by rater M, and those of the remaining interviewees, listed farther down in the respective subdivisions of Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX), were evaluated by rater R. It should be added that the code numbers used were distributed at random among the various groups so that each rater rated not only men and women, low scorers and high scorers, but also approximately equal proportions of subjects who had been given Forms 78 and 45 of the questionnaire (see also Table 3 (IX)).

4. RELIABILITY OF THE INTERVIEW RATINGS

There were three ways in which some light was thrown upon the difficult question of the reliability of the interview ratings, although only the second

of these deals directly with reliability in the technical sense of the term. The other two refer to aspects which are merely more or less closely related to this problem.

a. PROPORTIONS OF RATINGS GIVEN. First, the proportion of High, Low, and Neutral ratings within each category was compared for the two raters and found to be in fairly good agreement. One method used in computing an index for this agreement was the following: the frequencies of "High" responses, as scored by the first of the raters on each of the variables was plotted on a scatter diagram against the frequencies of such responses as scored by the second rater. In this comparison, the two raters are represented by the different nonoverlapping groups they were assigned to rate. Similar scattergrams were obtained for "Low" and "Neutral" ratings, and in each of the three cases men and women were plotted separately. With one exception, the correlation coefficients computed from the six scattergrams were between .70 and .82. This indicates that the two raters tended to concur fairly well in giving either a relatively large or a relatively small number of "High," or of "Low," or of "Neutral" ratings within any of the approximately ninety categories, showing a certain uniformity at least for one aspect of the rating policy.

(It may be added that in absolute terms there is also good agreement, the range of frequencies of "High" scores being 0 to 12, and 0 to 14, for the two raters, respectively, the various categories being considered for each of the sexes separately. For "Low" scores the corresponding ranges were 0 to 11 and 0 to 13. Thus, while both the raters neglect to use some of the alternatives offered by the Manual (as indicated by "0"), neither of them uses the opposite alternatives indiscriminately, i.e., in the characterization of all or nearly all the interviews analyzed by them.)

In view of the fact that the two staff members rated different samples of subjects, the coefficients and other data given above suggest that the character and distribution of ratings given for the various categories are to a considerable degree intrinsic to the category in question, at least within our specific combination of raters.

b. INTERRATER AGREEMENT. Secondly, we turn to reliability proper. Nine interviewees in the group assigned to rater M were, in an additional checking procedure not used for the main analysis or for the survey in Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX), also rated by rater R under the identical detailed set of aspects. Two of these nine subjects were deliberately chosen from the relatively small group—12 of the 80 interviewees, i.e., 15 per cent—of those for whom the composite standing based on the detailed ratings of the original rater had missed the correct diagnosis as to prejudice. These subjects were *M19* and *F39*. As may be further seen from Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX), the remaining seven are likewise mostly not from among the clearest cases as far as interview ratings are concerned.

A comparison of the gross results of the two rating procedures is shown

TABLE 7 (IX)

RELIABILITY OF INTERVIEW RATINGS:
INTERRATER AGREEMENT ON NINE SUBJECTS

Interviewees	Prejudice score (from questionnaire)	Percentage of High ratings on interview		Composite standing on interview		Intuitive rating on interview	
		Rater M	Rater R	Rater M	Rater R	Rater M	Rater R
M3	low	19.2	36.1	L	L	L	L
M4	high	77.3	78.1	H	H	H	H
M5	low	31.4	31.7	L	L	L	L
M6	high	72.7	74.4	H	H	H	H
M19	low	70.4	31.1	H	L	H	?
F24	high	70.5	70.0	H	H	H	H
F29	low	33.3	34.4	L	L	L	L
F31	high	79.4	77.7	H	H	H	H
F39	low	72.2	27.2	H	L	H	L

in Table 7 (IX). The prejudice scores based on the questionnaire are taken from Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX). However, the numerical scores appearing on these tables for the subjects listed here, as based on the ratings of rater M, are limited to a selection of the more discriminating categories (see below, Section 6). The figures in Table 7 (IX) are based upon the ratings on all categories and are further given as percentages of "High" ratings relative to the possible maximum of ratings as given by the total number of categories. Thereby the number of Neutral ratings—easily obtained by subtracting both "High" and "Low" ratings from the total number of categories, 86 for men and 90 for women (see below)—has been added half and half to the "High" and the "Low" ratings. Composite standing as indicated by a percentage score of over, or of under, 50, and finally intuitive over-all ratings of the interview make up the remainder of the table.

Percentage scores show excellent interrater agreement for six of the nine subjects. Of the remaining three, those with really striking discrepancies are the same two mentioned above as having been misjudged by the original rater, M, namely *M19* and *F39*. In both cases, the second rater has rectified the error very clearly by establishing percentage scores in the neighborhood of 30 which contrast sharply with those in the neighborhood of 70 as obtained from the first rater. The correlation coefficient between the columns representing the two raters—not very meaningful under the circumstances—is .61. It would be raised to about .8 if one of the two "controversial" cases just mentioned were eliminated so as to adjust the proportion of such cases more closely to that referred to above as existing in the total sample of interviewees, namely 15 per cent. Such a figure, if verified on a broader basis, would be quite satisfactory for the kind of material involved.

In terms of composite standing and intuitive ratings, agreement is perfect save for the two cases mentioned. (Intuitive ratings on one of the controversial subjects, *M19*, is incomplete due to the fact that rater R, contrary to instructions, declared herself as unable to make up her mind in this particular case.)

It may be added that the means of the percentage scores for the two raters are quite close to one another as well as to the ideal value of 50. They are 58.4 for M and 50.9 for R. This augments the evidence brought forward above under (a) with respect to the proportion of ratings given by the two raters. The slight preponderance of "High" ratings in rater M is also reflected in his intuitive over-all ratings. In fact, it is concentrated in the two cases where he makes his mistakes and where the second rater evens out the score.

A breakdown for the six major areas covered by the Scoring Manual, namely family patterns (see Chapter X), attitude toward sex, other people, and self (see Chapter XI), and dynamic character structure and cognitive personality organization (see Chapter XII) is given in Table 8 (IX). The number of categories for each area is also indicated. Considering the smallness of these numbers, pairs of averages from raw scores in terms of number

TABLE 8 (IX)

INTERRATER AGREEMENT ON INTERVIEW RATINGS FOR SIX MAJOR AREAS

Areas in Scoring Manual	Number of categories	Average number of ratings[b] received by four high scorers[c]		Average number of ratings[b] received by five low scorers[c]	
		Rater M H-L	Rater R H-L	Rater M H-L	Rater R H-L
Family pattern (parents, etc)	28	6.8-1.3	9.3-1.3	3.8-5.6	3.0-8.6
Attitude toward sex	7	4.5-0.3	5.3-0.3	1.8-2.2	1.0-3.4
Attitude toward other people	11	6.3-0.0	6.3-0.3	2.2-3.2	0.4-5.0
Attitude toward self	16	9.3-1.3	9.5-1.5	3.0-6.6	1.0-9.8
Dynamic character structure	22	15.3-0.3	14.5-0.5	5.8-6.2	1.6-8.8
Cognitive personality organization	6	5.0-0.0	5.0-0.5	2.0-2.8	0.4-5.0
Totals	90[a]	47.2-3.2	49.9-4.4	18.6-26.6	7.4-40.6

[a]For men the total is only 86; no adjustment to this slight difference has been made in the present table in the case of the men subjects.

[b]Rounded to one decimal place

[c]See Table 7 (IX)

of "High" and "Low" ratings (H-L) are given for the four high scorers as contrasted with the five low scorers listed in Table 7 (IX). No indices of reliability were computed here; but comparison of the first with the second and of the third with the fourth pair of figures in each row of Table 8 (IX) reveals a good deal of agreement between the two raters. The fact that this agreement is less pronounced in the case of the low scorers as shown in the columns containing the third and fourth pairs of figures, and that, furthermore, the values of H and L within these pairs often show less clear-cut differentiation than they do in the left part of the table, is due—as was revealed in more detailed analysis not presented here—to the fact that both cases with controversial diagnosis, *M19* and *F39*, happen to be in this group. Perhaps with the exception of family pattern and attitude toward self, this lack of differentiation for the group of low scorers, especially in rater M, and the ensuing disagreement with rater R, is about evenly distributed over the various areas; for high scorers differentiation and agreement is about equally good for all the areas, and the "totals" are in excellent agreement with one another.

Discounting the controversial cases, i.e., the 15 per cent in our total sample of interviewees for which the original rater arrived at a diagnosis opposite to that given by the defining score on the prejudice scales, the results of this fragmentary analysis of reliability are quite encouraging. In fact, if the trend as discussed for Table 7 (IX) should be representative of the entire sample, interrater agreement for the remaining 85 per cent of the interviewees would be close to .9. For the other 15 per cent one may contemplate challenging the validity of the defining prejudice score along with doubting the validity of the interview rating. The "questionnaire-high" may after all be considered the product of an approach that is by definition less concerned with underlying dynamics than is the diagnosis of the "personality-high."

Further data on interrater agreement on the interview will be presented in Chapter XIII.

The problem of agreement of various types of ratings among themselves, such as in our present context especially of composite standing and intuitive over-all rating, will be discussed in Chapter XIII. In a broader sense such aspects are also included within the general concept of reliability.

A third avenue of scrutiny somewhat akin to reliability problems is through the study of "halo-effects," to be discussed next.

5. MINIMIZING HALO-EFFECTS IN RATING THE INTERVIEWS

We return now to the problem of the carry-over from one category to another, much in the way of the "halo-effect" known in social and educational psychology. One way of preventing or minimizing the halo-effect would have been to use designations other than "(presumably) High" and

"(presumably) Low" to characterize the two opposites within the various categories. But such a procedure would have prevented only raters unfamiliar with the underlying hypotheses from succumbing to halo-effects. Such raters, on the other hand, would have been undesirable from other, more crucial points of view. It was thus decided to leave control of halo-effects to special analytical attitudes the raters were asked to maintain, and to ascertain the degree of relatedness in a statistical analysis of the completed ratings. It must be noted that—as in all cases of halo-effects—a certain amount of correlation may be fully justified by fact, i.e., by existing correlation of real traits. Exactly how much of the halo is realistic would require further intensive study for all combinations of categories involved.

Both the variability of the discriminatory power of the single categories (see below) and the variability of the proportion of "High" and "Low" ratings ascribed to the various subjects seem to indicate that the raters succeeded, at least in part, in keeping the halo-effect within reasonable bounds in rating the subjects. Evidence on the second of these points is contained in Tables 1(IX) and 2(IX) in the first two of the columns relating to ratings of the interviews. As is readily seen, hardly any of the subjects are classified as "High" or as "Low" on all categories even when the "Neutral" ratings are excluded from consideration, and for some of them there is an approximately equal number of "High" and "Low" ratings. This shows that the raters were quite capable of separating the various issues involved, and of rating a person as "High" in one respect and as "Low" in another.

6. TABULATION OF INTERVIEW RATINGS BY CATEGORIES: STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

A tabulation of interview ratings by single categories was obtained simply by counting the instances of High (H), of Low (L), and of Neutral (N) ratings, on a given category, among subjects of each of four groups—high-scoring men, low-scoring men, high-scoring women, and low-scoring women (scoring, that is, extremely high or low on the direct prejudice questionnaire).

Analysis of the figures for a given category, with a view to their bearing upon the underlying hypotheses, could have any one of four outcomes—two "positive" and two "negative." The "positive" instances are confirmatory of the original hypothesis. They include "High" ratings—i.e., those designating reactions *presumed* to occur more frequently in the prejudiced person—when given to subjects scoring high on the prejudice scales, as well as "Low" ratings given to relatively unprejudiced, i.e., our so-called "low-scoring," subjects, in short, the hH and lL combinations. The remaining two figures, indicating the frequency of prejudiced subjects receiving a "Low" and of unprejudiced subjects receiving a "High" rating, in short, the hL and the lH combinations, constitute the "negative," nonconfirmatory instances.

The series of tables in Chapters X to XII (Tables 1(X) to 2(XII)) presents, for the two sexes separately, the numbers of prejudiced and of unprejudiced interviewees who give the presumably "High" and the presumably "Low" responses in the interviews, for each of the scoring categories. The number of "Neutrals" may be obtained by subtraction of their sums from the total number of subjects in the respective prejudiced or unprejudiced groups. The four raw figures are followed by two sums which contrast the total number of positive with the total number of negative instances. All "positive," i.e., confirmatory, evidence is *italicized*. Whenever a category is defined in the Scoring Manual by only one variant, H or L, rather than by an opposition of an H with an L, only the presence of the trait in question is registered in the tables and the remaining space is left blank.

The final column of the tables indicates the level of statistical significance of the difference, on the category in question, between prejudiced and unprejudiced extremes as defined in the present study. It thus refers to the "discriminatory power" and the importance of the category as a personality correlate—and therefore as a potential measure—of overtly expressed ethnic prejudice. Indications of significance are given in terms of whether or not the 5 per cent (satisfactory), the 2 per cent, or the 1 per cent level (highly satisfactory, since in this latter case there is a 99 per cent probability that the obtained difference is not due to chance factors) has been reached *or* surpassed, without specifying whether or by how much they have been surpassed. Significance was computed after evenly dividing the "Neutrals" among the "High" and the "Low" ratings. It must not be forgotten, in this connection, that dividing the Neutral ratings tends to lower the index of significance, the more so the larger the proportion of these ratings. Thus, in treating the Neutral ratings as we do, we are keeping on the safe side, since, as was pointed out above, the Neutral scorings are based, in a considerable proportion of the cases, on lack of information rather than on lack of actual discriminability.

Wherever the proportion of Neutrals for the total sample of interviewees is larger than 50 per cent, the statistical significance of the category in question was not computed and therefore there was no entry under any circumstances in the last column of the tables. The category was also omitted from the survey of interview scores in Tables 1 (IX) and 2 (IX). For men the total number of categories is 86, somewhat less than for women, in whose case a few more subdivisions were introduced into the Scoring Manual. Of these 86 categories, 72 yielded less than 50 per cent Neutrals, and thus remained for full treatment. For women only 65 of the original 90 categories yielded less than 50 per cent Neutrals and were thus retained for full treatment. The fact that the categories were generally somewhat more discriminatory in the case of the men than in the case of the women may be

accounted for by the fact that most of the men were interviewed at a later stage of the study and that therefore their records were more complete.

All the calculations discussed above were performed separately for men and women. Corresponding figures for each appear closely adjacent to one another in the tables, those for men (M) in the upper left-hand and those for women (W) in the lower right-hand area of each of the "cells" that one may imagine at the intersection of vertical columns with horizontal rows, the latter defined by the various categories.

CHAPTER X

PARENTS AND CHILDHOOD AS SEEN THROUGH THE INTERVIEWS

Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. INTRODUCTION

In turning to the specific results of the interviews we begin with the organization of the family. Many of the attitudes and underlying needs discussed in this volume must be assumed to originate, as far as the individual is concerned, in the family situation. Here the growing child learns for the first time to handle interpersonal relations. Some of the members of the family are in an authoritative, others in an equalitarian or in a weaker position than himself. Some are of the same, others are of the opposite sex. It soon becomes evident to the youngster what kind of behavior is considered appropriate and will lead to reward and what kind of behavior will be punished. He finds himself confronted with a certain set of values and certain expectations which he has to meet.

Within the general common framework of the white American population, families vary greatly as to the rigidity or flexibility of the roles defined within the family, as well as to values in general. We shall encounter families in which considerably more emphasis is placed on obedience than it is in others. In some cases discipline is harsh and threatening, in others intelligible and mild. Or there may be rigorous adherence to conventional rules and customs rather than to more flexible and more intrinsic values which lead to greater tolerance for individual variations. Or smooth functioning within the family may depend either more on exchange of well-defined obligations and "goods," or else on an exchange of genuine affection. These and other differences in the organization of the family are under scrutiny in the light of their possible implications with respect to the personality structure of the individual and his social and political beliefs.

Although no striking relations between these patterns and gross economic factors have been uncovered in the present study, systematic investigations of a more distinctly sociological nature would undoubtedly reveal broader

cultural and subcultural determinants of these differences, say, the greater frequency of one or the other type of family organization in different national subgroups, or a dependence on the relative stability or instability of the socioeconomic family history.

While this goes to press, data from a separate project (Frenkel-Brunswik, for an advance report see 30)[1] seem to indicate that parents of extremely prejudiced children are relatively often the children of foreign-born parents or show preoccupation as to social and national insecurity.

Specific rating categories from the Interview Scoring Manual in the area of family organization, followed by tabulation of quantitative results and eventually by a discussion and the presentation of pertinent quotations from the interviews themselves, are given in Sections B to D.

B. ATTITUDES TOWARD PARENTS AND CONCEPTION OF THE FAMILY

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

In line with the over-all subject matter of the present volume, the discussion concerning attitudes toward parents will, among others, center about the following questions: Is the general tendency toward glorification and lack of critical evaluation of ingroups on the part of the ethnically prejudiced also mirrored in their attitudes toward their parents? Is there a tendency toward submission, and how are the problems of rebellion, hostility, and guilt handled in our two opposite groups? How are the feelings of genuine love related to conformity as contrasted with independence?

The definitions of the specific categories of the Scoring Manual dealing with problems of this nature are listed here in the form in which they were used by the raters. It should be remembered, however, that the Manual represents merely a summary of what was developed, and discussed with the two raters, in extended conferences preceding the actual rating procedure. The subsequent text makes occasional use of the more prominent of the connotations thus established which were not formally incorporated in the Manual in order not to overload it in actual use.

Before starting the presentation of the various parts of the Interview Scoring Manual, attention must be called to the fact that strict opposi-

[1] The study on social discrimination in children referred to here is being carried out at the Institute of Child Welfare of the University of California. The project was initiated by the present writer, in cooperation with Harold E. Jones and T. W. Adorno, and sponsorship was at first by the Scientific Department of the American Jewish Committee. In developing the tests and experiments the present writer was aided primarily by Claire Brednor, Donald T. Campbell, Joan Havel, Murray E. Jarvik, and Milton Rokeach.

tion or near-opposition of the presumably "High" and the presumably "Low" variants is to be assumed only where the numbers or number-letter combinations appearing on the right side of the page are identical with those on the left. Thus Category 2, "victimization," stands in a somewhat oblique relation to Categories 2a to 2c. In some cases pairings of this kind reflect the fact that there is more than one opposite to a given variant. Beginning with Section C of this chapter, different sets of letters are sometimes used on the two sides to stress an absence of one-by-one correspondence of a series of alternatives listed on the right with a series of items on the left, although the lists in their entirety define a more clear-cut pattern of opposition. (Concerning the lopsided evaluation of asymmetrical categories in the tables to follow, see the concluding pages of the preceding chapter.)

The first subdivision of the Interview Scoring Manual follows. As in the Interview Schedule, *italics* are used to represent key phrases which had been emphasized to the raters by underscoring.

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: ATTITUDES TOWARD PARENTS AND CONCEPTION OF FAMILY
(to Table 1(X)).

PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANTS	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANTS
1. *Conventional idealization* of parent(s): Overestimation of qualities and status, expressed in behavioral (essentially external), conventionalized generalities, or undifferentiated "all's well" attitude	1. *Objective appraisal* of parents
2. *Victimization* (quasi-persecutory) by parent(s): Neglect, including failure to give proper discipline, unjust discipline; "picked on"; unfair: resents preferring of rival sib or spouse (or foster-sib or step-spouse); etc.	2a. *Principled open rejection* 2b. *Genuine positive affect:* some reference to (positive) psychological qualities; individualized characterizations 2c. *Blocked affect* (Presumably mutually exclusive with 2a)
3a. *Submission* to parental authority and values: respect based on fear	3. *Principled independence*
3b. *Capricious rebellion* against parents; delinquency	
4a. *Ego-alien dependence-for-things* and support on parents: essentially exploitive-manipulative-"getting"; an externalized relationship	4. *Love-seeking succorance-nurturance-affiliation* toward parents
4b. *Sense of obligation-and-duty* to	

parents: Desire to "make it up to them"	
5. *Ingroup orientation* to family as a whole; e.g., emphasis on family heredity and "background"; homogeneous-totalitarian family vs. rest of world; aristocratic superiority of family, etc.	5. *Individualized* approach to members of the family

In Table 1(X), the results for both men and women interviewees are presented in the manner described in the concluding section of the preceding chapter. Abbreviated formulations of the categories just listed are presented, along with category numbers, for purposes of easier identification.

2. IDEALIZATION *VS.* OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL OF PARENTS

In view of their general tendency toward conventionality and submission toward ingroup members, it is not surprising to find in the prejudiced subjects a tendency toward "*idealization of the parents.*" This idealization is expressed characteristically in generalized and undifferentiated, conventionalized terms which primarily glorify external features of physical appearance or overt behavioral conduct rather than involving the more internal aspects of their personality. "*Objective appraisal*" of parents, referring to an ability for critical evaluation of the parents in specific and psychologically conceived terms, on the other hand, is predominant in the unprejudiced subjects.

The detailed results presented in Table 1(X) (under Category 1) reveal the striking fact that none of the low-scoring women interviewed shows the glorification of the parents just described; instead, 11 of them show objective, critical appraisal. Of the high-scoring women, 9 show glorification and 6 objective appraisal of parents. For the total group of women, there are 20 "positive" as contrasted with 6 "negative" instances in the sense defined at the end of the preceding chapter. The statistical significance of the difference between the positive evidence (i.e., that confirming the original hypothesis underlying the distinction between the "High" and the "Low" variant) and the negative (nonconfirmatory) evidence cited is found to be at the "1 per cent level," and thus highly satisfactory (see Chapter IX, Section F, 6).

A good illustration of the "High" attitude in women is given by the following quotation from the interview of one of the high scorers: "Mother—she amazes me—millions of activities—had two maids in _____ years ago, but never since—such calmness—never sick, *never*—beautiful woman she really is." The reference to external dimensions, both behavioral ("million activities") and physical ("never sick, beautiful"), can be seen clearly in the foregoing record. It must be emphasized that the subjects were asked, in this connection, "What kind of person is your father (mother)?" without further

TABLE 1 (X)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD PARENTS AND CONCEPT OF FAMILY FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
1. Conventional idealization(H) vs. objective appraisal(L) of parents	Men	11	1	2	13	24	3	1
	Women	9	6	0	11	20	6	1
2. Victimization by parents (H) vs. a. Principled open rejection of parents (L)	Men	6		4		6	4	
	Women	8		4		8	4	
	Men		1		3	3	1	
	Women		2		3	3	2	
b. c. Genuine affection or blocked affect for parents(L)	Men		4		12	12	4	
	Women		3		10	10	3	
3a. Submission to parents(H) vs. principled independence(L)	Men	14	2	2	10	24	4	1
	Women	9	0	1	8	17	1	2
3b. Capricious rebellion(H)	Men	9		4		9	4	
	Women	6		1		6	1	
4a. Dependence for things on parents (H) vs. love-seeking affiliation(L)	Men	13	1	1	14	27	2	1
	Women	13	5	2	8	21	7	5
4b. Sense of obligation and duty(H)	Men	5		1		5	1	
	Women	1		1		1	1	
5. Ingroup conception of family(H)	Men	6		2		6	2	
	Women	7		1		7	1	

specification (see the Interview Schedule as presented in the preceding chapter).

The overestimation of parents in more general terms is especially clear in the record of another prejudiced woman interviewee *(F24)*: "Father—he is wonderful; couldn't make him better. He is always willing to do anything for you. He is about _____ years old, six feet tall, has dark brown hair, slim build, young-looking face, good-looking, dark green eyes." The same subject gives further evidence of the stereotypical conception of parents in the high scorers by repeating the same description for her mother, differentiating only the physical characteristics. After repeating the first two sentences she continues: "She is about 5 feet 5 inches, neither slim nor stocky. She's reducing. She has dark hair, blue eyes, is nice looking. She is _____ years old." These illustrations are quite typical of the responses of our high-scoring subjects.

It should be added that none of the 6 high-scoring women who show "objective appraisal" of parents was considered to manifest "positive affect" toward the parents (Category 2). This will be discussed below.

Very characteristic of high-scoring subjects is an initial statement of great admiration for parents, followed by some criticism which is not, however, recognized as such by the subject. The comparison of reactions to general questions with reactions to specific questions proved especially fruitful, e.g., when parents were characterized in general positive terms but the specific episodes and traits referred to were mostly of a negative character. (Regarding related mechanisms of self-deception, see 33, 34.) The subject is aware only of admiration toward the parents, and the reservations seem to enter the picture against "better" intention and knowledge, thus injecting into the statement an element of ambivalence.

Examples of this attitude from the protocols of high-scoring women are quoted in the following. It should be mentioned here that throughout Chapters X to XII the special code numbers used in rating the interviews are retained for greater anonymity; for the same reason, localities, occupations and related personal data are either left out or disguised.

F31: (Father?) "He has a marvelous personality and gets along well with people. He has a hot temper."

Or *F79:* "Mother was, of course, a very wonderful person. She was very nervous. Irritable only when overdoing."

Or again, *F74:* "Father is quiet and calm. He never shows irritation. He is very intelligent, and his opinions are very valid. He is very sincere and very well liked by friends and employees. He rarely puts himself out for people, but people love him. He is exceptionally good looking, dresses well, has gray hair, and is ____ years old."

Glorification of parents is equally or even more pronounced in our high-scoring men than it is in the high-scoring women. Of the 20 interviewees

in this group, 11 show this feature whereas only one has been rated as giving evidence of "objective appraisal"; and the entire category is again significant at the 1 per cent level. One of the high-scoring men describes his father as a "very, very fine man—intelligent, understanding, excellent father, in every way." Another says that his father "is always good to his family. Naturally, a kid would not think their parents had any weaknesses in them." Use of such terms as "naturally" or "of course"—the latter in the protocol of *F79* quoted above—reveals the element of conventionalism inherent in the mechanism of glorification. Another high-scoring man says:

M47: (What sort of person was your mother?) "Well, best in the world. . . . She's good, in fact, the best. In other words, she's just tops with me. She's friendly with everybody. Never has no trouble. Does anything for me she can. Writes me all the time. (What do you admire most about her?) Just about everything. When father went away, mother took care of me all her life, where she could have put me in a home some place if she had wanted to. She always stayed with me in trouble."

Or, *M52:* (What have you admired most about your father?) "Well, let's see. . . . Well, there's really no particular point that I admire most. . . . I've always been very proud to be his son. (What sort of person was your mother?) Most terrific person in the world to me. (Shortcomings of mother?) Well, I don't really think she has any, except maybe too wound up in her home, and didn't take more interest in social affairs. . . . I truthfully can't say she has any definite shortcomings."

Or, *M51:* (Going back to your father, you say you didn't accept him as a shining example when you were a child?) "He was always with me except when I was in boarding school, that is, always at home. I just took him for granted, that's all. I never analyzed him . . . when I was *very* small. Instead of asking *why* does the sun shine, how are babies made, etc., etc., my father says I took everything for granted. . . . I wonder why that was. . . ."

One of the outstanding features in the above quotations from high scorers is the use of superlatives in the description of parents, such as "excellent man in every way," "best in the world," "most terrific person," etc. If more detailed and specific elaborations are made at all, they refer to material benefits or help given by the parents. Where there is no readiness to admit that one's parents have any weakness in them it is not surprising to find later an indication of repressed hostility and revengeful fantasies behind the mask of compliance. Some evidence on this point has already been presented above.

The high scorers' emphasis on more obvious rather than on subtle and internalized characteristics cannot be traced to a lower level of education or of intelligence (see Chapter VIII). Rather it must be seen as in line with their general tendency toward greater shallowness and stereotypy and a diluted diffuseness of inner experiences.

The objective appraisal of one's parents, manifested primarily by the low scorers, has a very different quality. Instead of an apparent overestimation of the parents which, as will be seen, goes hand in hand with a fearful submission to them, we find in the typical unprejudiced subject an evalua-

tion of the parents on terms of equality. In the following records, all taken from interviews of low-scoring subjects, we find the parents described as real people with real assets and shortcomings. The emphasis in the description is on internal rather than external and physical characteristics. Concomitant with a more critical attitude, we often find in these records a closer and warmer relationship with the parents. It also becomes clear that the parents have often been a source of comfort and love for these subjects, who, in their turn, are more secure in their feelings toward their parents. They are thus able to face and to express conflicts in the areas where there is or was disagreement. Often we get the impression that the low scorers talk in a benevolently condescending way about their parents, critically and at the same time lovingly.

Thus low-scoring women are found to describe their parents as follows:

F65: "My mother is very much interested in people; she is practical and sensible, but she gets too much interested in fads. On some points I disagree with my mother very much. Mother wants me to be more social. She wants me to wear lipstick, go out to parties, etc. I am too lazy to do all those things. She is very good, nice and does the right thing, but I don't like her temperament. She is mad one minute and the next one she isn't. She gives me too much advice."

F62: "Father tries to be rational, but he is not always so. He is a dominant person, though my mother was master of the house."

F70: (What kind of person is your father?) "Father was never much in the picture; he paid more attention to me between the ages of one and six than later. I think he wanted a boy, so he paid little attention to me, so probably has not influenced my attitudes very much. Describing father is easier. He's a more definite kind of person than mother. He's a person of great intolerance; he is 'a great authority on all subjects' (spoken with some irony) including medicine and physiology."

F23: "Father was very dominating in the home, like all European men, and mother submitted to him. I almost think she enjoyed 'being a martyr'!" (It then became very clear that her mother's submissive and self-sacrificing attitude were unacceptable to the subject. The mother never got what she wanted. The things she wanted were like dreams, and she seemed satisfied to keep them as dreams. For example, she would have liked to redecorate the house or to buy a summer place, but the father would never let her.)

F26 feels that her father did not understand her point of view. She thinks he is sensitive, but does not sense other people's feelings. The mother is described as a pal, and as having a sense of humor. Subject thinks that, unlike her father, her mother understood what she was feeling.

Examples of "objective appraisal" of parents in low-scoring men follow. As is to be expected in our culture, there sometimes is a word or two of exaggerated praise at the beginning; but this is usually followed up by some more specific qualifiation of a less stereotyped, more vivid and direct kind.

M42: (What sort of person is your mother?) "Well, I think she is a wonderful woman . . . been very good to me . . . never put too many restrictions on my activities . . . her rules were few and far between, but what rules there were, had to be obeyed and not to be monkeyed with. . . . As a woman, she might seem to be a little

hard to get acquainted with . . . and, at first, might seem a little 'uppitish,' but . . . she tends to have relatively few friends, and comes to know them pretty well . . . quiet, listens more than she talks, very fair. (What do you admire most about her?) I don't know. I've never given it much thought. I don't think of any one trait . . . she is very fair. . . . I don't think you could talk her into cheating . . . if she feels something is right, she'll stick up for it no matter what."

M44: (What sort of person is your father?) "Oh, he's the kind of guy who never has been very happy working for somebody else. He's always had a little difficulty, especially with a very large company (laughs). He just has a venomous hatred for any big outfit. . . . He has a very vital sense of justice and honesty, and he just can't stand pressure practices. . . ."

M50: (What sort of person is your mother?) "An intellectual and a very well-educated person. Her principal gift seems to be that of perception. And a musician (piano) . . . not by trade but certainly by nature. (What do you admire most about her?) Her intellectual ability."

M53: (What sort of person was your mother?) "Well, sort of an average person, a rather happy person, quite a happy person. I think she was fairly intelligent, and there again was conditioned to mother-wife sort of thing. Always maintained a pleasant home, I mean really pleasant. (Weaknesses?) Well, I would say a certain unworldliness. (How do you mean?) Perhaps, a perfect product of her age, in a way. Kind of a respectable, average, God-fearing sort of person (laughs). . . . Didn't know much about finances . . . clinging-vine type of female, but a very pleasant person. Made not a desperate attempt, but maintained a very pleasant home . . . very pleasant, reasonable sort of person. Certain possessiveness (towards subject)."

M3: "I like my father. He is more a taciturn type, a quiet Frenchman, keeps out of trouble. I don't particularly respect my mother. She is intellectually shallow, wishy-washy—vacillating is the word. That's a hell of a thing to say about mother, but . . . . (Q) "Like I'll tell her what I want to do, and she'll agree enthusiastically. Then father will come along with his ideas against mine, and she'll agree with him. You can only take so much of that. . . . I admire father for his ability to keep his mouth shut. He just says nothing and looks dignified and everyone admires and respects him. I wish I could do that. Of the two, I'd rather be alone with him. (What is your mother like?) Kindly, generous, always wishing well, seeing the bright side of things, fairly jolly, cracking jokes. Gets along with people fairly well, they like her and she likes them. Her geniality may be just practice because she's been teaching so long . . . principal of a local grammar school . . . she knows how to be amusing, hail-fellow-well-met, you might say. But slightly moralistic, morals of about 1910. For example, she is against Errol Flynn; doesn't moralize, just makes critical remarks in a joking way."

M15: "Father was born in 1890 on a farm in ——, mother in 1889 on an —— farm. (Subject describes his father as having a bad temper and being very strict, punishing the children severely; such as beating them with a strap.) Father did not attend high school. He had many friends. Played football. Father started out as a game feeder at —— University, also became a good carpenter and painter. In the 1920's the family moved to —— and father became a minister in the —— Church. The only prerequisite for that was to be able to read the Bible. His sermons are all hell-fire and brimstone." (Subject thinks that father had an 'inferiority complex,' doesn't know just how to explain it.)

Not only do low-scoring subjects express disagreement with their parents more freely, but there is evidence in the records that when they disagree they

have the strength to follow their own way, though often not without paying the price of conflict and guilt.

It is with respect to the following aspects that the unprejudiced subjects are most often critical of their parents: pressure to sociability, parents giving too much advice, too much dominance or possessiveness, lack of understanding, religious conflicts. Often hand in hand with these resentments real appreciation of the parents is expressed in specific terms by pointing to their abilities, their independence of conventions, generosity, perceptiveness, happiness.

Since typical low scorers do not really see their parents as any too overpowering or frightening, they can afford to express their feelings of resentment more readily. Being able to mobilize rebellion, unprejudiced subjects thus learn to conceive of equality as an alternative to the relationship of dominance-submission. Ambivalence toward the parents can be openly faced and worked out on this basis, preventing the crippling effect of too much repression and submission. It is in this manner that expression of rebelliousness seems to go with increased ability to give as well as to receive genuine affection while repression of resentment is associated with a more stereotypical glorification of parents that seems devoid of real feeling.

3. GENUINENESS OF AFFECT

Manifestations of *genuine positive affect* toward the parents as revealed, among other things, by references to (positive) psychological qualities, were found mainly in low-scoring subjects (Category 2b). It can be understood readily that positive affect toward parents should be found more often where there is an objective evaluation of the parents rather than where there is resentment toward them. In addition to the illustrations of positive affect given previously, we quote here one example of a very intensive expression of positive feeling for the father on the part of a low-scoring woman:

F63: "But I remember when my father left, she came to my room and said, 'You'll never see your Daddy again.' Those were her exact words. I was crazy with grief and felt it was her fault. I threw things, emptied drawers out of the window, pulled the spreads off the bed, then threw things at the wall."

The finding that positive affect toward parents is present more often in low scorers must be seen in conjunction with the results on glorification versus objective appraisal as discussed above. In fact, 6 out of the 25 high-scoring women interviewees (as against 11 out of the 15 lower scorers, to be sure) were rated as manifesting objective appraisal. From the present data, however, it is evident that the objectivity of the high-scoring women must be regarded as more hostile than positive. None of them was rated as having "genuine positive affect." Being basically an attitude of libidinized interest, true objectivity seems to be primarily the domain of the low scorers, at least

in the present context. This is far from saying that all or nearly all the unprejudiced extremes exhibit this trait. In fact, low scorers sometimes display distortions all their own, caused mainly by feelings of guilt and remorse and often leading to an obsessive rather than a genuine type of objectivity (see Chapter XII).

There is some evidence of what may be called *blocked affect* in the low scorers (Category 2c). An example is given by one of the men in this classification who answered the question, "What were your parents like?" by simply saying "normal parents" without being able to elaborate on this topic when questioned further.

It was expected, on the basis of the generally greater openness of the low scorers, that if parents were rejected by low-scoring subjects, this rejection would tend to be open and based on disagreement with respect to basic principles. *Principled open rejection* (Category 2a) did not, however, prove to be statistically differentiating. This may well be due to the fact that only a few cases manifested this attitude.

4. FEELINGS OF VICTIMIZATION

Somewhat more often than open rejection of the parents, a feeling of *victimization by the parents* (Category 2) is found in the high-scoring women interviewees. These feelings include complaints about being neglected, unjustly disciplined, picked on or otherwise unfairly treated, especially in rivalry situations within the family. Eight of the high-scoring women interviewees showed this attitude, often in conjunction with a glorification of the parents. The subsequent record of a high-scoring woman interviewee gives an example of admiration for the father in general terms, as expressed by the initial phrase, "a grand person," combined with resentment and a feeling of being neglected in favor of the brothers which is brought out after encouragement by the interviewer to describe the father's faults:

F32: Altogether she thinks her "father is a grand person." When asked whether, since no one is perfect, there were any little faults that she could name, she said that she couldn't think of any. He never drank; well, he swore a little bit. And he was argumentative. (However, in discussing her vocation, subject had mentioned that the father had been willing to finance the education of the boys, but that he expected the girls to stay home and be ladies, so what the girls got they got on their own. In another connection, subject remarked that she had got nothing out of her father. He provided them with the necessities of life, but would not give them anything extra. He never allowed the girls to entertain boys at home. Nevertheless, subject stated that she was closer to her father than to her mother.) When the interviewer broached the topic of her brothers and sisters, subject replied, "I'm right in the middle—don't they say middle children are forgotten children!" When asked if she thought that was so, subject closed up, merely remarking that her parents showed no partiality.

Some of the other high-scoring women are resentful against their parents

because of a feeling that their brothers were preferred by virtue of their being boys. Envy, resentment, and depreciation of the brother by high-scoring women, in conjunction with the sense of being victimized by the parents, is exemplified by the following report:

F39: "I had to get up early with mother and bake and clean all day long. I used to say that it was especially unfair because my brother would play. Mother said, well, he was a boy, and that really made me mad."

It must be emphasized that these feelings of resentment against the parents, especially when they appear in the records of high-scoring subjects, are usually not ego-accepted. Thus *F39*, whose record was just quoted above, states that her mother was "terribly strict with me about learning to keep house. . . . I am glad now, but I resented it then." The feelings of resentment are considered "bad" and therefore projected onto childhood and not accepted as present feelings.

Such strictness and the general idea of being treated as a "child" at home are often the source of feelings of victimization. At the same time there is, as will be discussed in greater detail below, submission to the demands of the parents. One high-scoring girl complains about her father: "Can't say I don't like him . . . but he wouldn't let me date at 16. I had to stay home. . . ." Another girl in this group says, "Father and mother were so anxious to adjust that they forgot us. They treated us as 16-year-olds when we were actually 18." Prejudiced subjects generally tend to feel themselves "forgotten," the victims of injustice who did not "get" enough of the things they deserved. They thus tend to resent other people, especially outgroups, of whom they readily conceive as unjustifiably threatening, as intruding on their rights, and as attempting to take privileges away from them.

As was pointed out in previous publications (E. Frenkel-Brunswik, 35, 38) and as will be shown in detail in Chapter XIV, high-scoring women tend to express a great deal of hostility toward mother figures in their responses to the Thematic Apperception Test. In their interviews, however, we find mainly admiration for the mother, although this is frequently intermingled with nonaccepted feelings of hostility and resentment. In those relatively rare cases in which there is an open expression of hostility toward the mother in the interview of a high-scoring woman, one is likely to find this hostility very intense and of an almost paranoid character. The following example is characteristic of this:

F36: Subject describes her mother variously as domineering, dictatorial, and self-centered. Her mother is good at social relationships; she knew how to get along with people. After her divorce, she worked as a traveling ——— saleswoman until subject graduated from high school. When on the road, she was very popular with the other salesmen. She worked just long enough to see subject through school, then expected subject to support her, and so quit work. When subject was in high school, she used to make all the clothes for her mother and herself. Once her mother

cut out a dress wrongly and when subject criticized what she had done, her mother cried, "You don't want to do anything for your mother!" To this, subject retorted, "I never will make anything for you again!" And she never did. In ——, subject shared an apartment with her mother; her mother wanted to run her life and made it impossible for her to have friends at home. She expected her to give in to her for everything. She practically pushed subject out of the apartment; so subject told her finally that she would have to get a place of her own. Her mother asked her how much money she was making and subject replied, "None of your business!" This was what her mother had often said to her. Her mother figured out how much she was making and then asked subject to increase her allowance. Subject retorted, "What would you do if I didn't support you!" This shut her up. Things finally became so unbearable that subject broke with her mother completely and has not seen her for years. However, she has continued to support her mother and still sends her a check regularly.

The foregoing record is atypical of the interview material but would be typical of the stories that high-scoring women tell about mother figures in the Thematic Apperception Test. In the stories told by prejudiced women about mother figures the pressure which such women exert upon their daughters is usually revealed alongside the fantasies of revenge. In the more direct descriptions of their mothers in the interviews there is, in most cases, nothing but expressions of admiration.

The intensity of hostility, once such an attitude breaks through in the interview, points toward the fact that strong defenses against it are necessary and indicates once again the source and meaning of the attitude of "glorification." In spite of the fact that the subject quoted above openly faces her hostility toward her mother, she still often feels obliged to submit to the mother although she really cannot accept this kind of dependency. Typically, the quarrel with the mother centers about material benefits and problems of exploitation.

Feelings of victimization were also found in 4 low-scoring women. However, in the low-scoring cases such feelings differ somewhat in kind from those of subjects who score high. For example, *F63*, whose intense expressions of despair have been quoted above, experiences the divorce of her parents as desertion by her father. There, the feeling of resentment has a different quality in that it seems a reaction to loss of love rather than a dissatisfaction with not "getting" enough. In other cases the feelings of resentment toward the parents in low-scoring subjects are similar to those of the high scorers, except for the fact that they are more readily accepted and therefore do not appear in the same context with glorification of the parents.

In men, feelings of "victimization" as such are still less differentiating than in women. Four low scorers and 6 high scorers, out of the 20 men interviewees in each group, show this attitude. There is again, however, a different quality in the two groups in this respect. In the high scorers, reference is usually made to the parent as a disciplinarian. One man complains of having had to work too much, another of not having been slapped enough.

M51: "Usually got my way. In fact, all I ever had to do was cry about anything and he'd do whatever it was that upset me (sic!). . . . I think if I'd been slapped around a little more as a child, I might not need to be slapped around now that I'm grown up. . . . Not only that, but my selfishness is something I can almost blame him for. His attitude and that of the whole family led me to believe that I was . . . the whole universe . . . I know now. I'm not selfish now. But I had to learn that for myself. . . . My playing cops and robbers: that was because I felt stepped on. . . ."

On the other hand, the feelings of victimization found in low-scoring men give the impression of being more directly based on reality, and tend to refer to not receiving love or some substitute for it. The following is an illustration of this:

M55: "For example, he would take a delicacy like candy, pretend to offer us some and then eat it himself and laugh uproariously. . . . Makes him seem sort of a monster, though he's not really."

5. SUBMISSION *VS.* PRINCIPLED INDEPENDENCE

Related to glorification of parents is an attitude to be characterized as *submission to parental authority* and values out of respect based on fear. Its opposite has been designated as *principled independence.* The importance of this aspect (incorporated here as Category 3a) has been stressed several times before in this volume, on the grounds that submission to parental authority may be closely related to submission to authority in general. And submission to authority, in its turn, has the broadest implications for social and personal behavior both toward those with power and those without it. It is therefore interesting to note that this category shows marked differences between prejudiced and unprejudiced interviewees. The percentage of high-scoring men who manifest this attitude (as well as the index of significance on this category for men) is greater than that of the high-scoring women. This gives some support to the hypothesis that high-scoring men are faced with a more serious submission problem than high-scoring women. Their longing for submission as well as their "toughness," described on previous occasions as a reaction to precisely this submission, will be traced below in greater detail to factors in the family constellation.

Examples of submission to parental authority in high-scoring men are the following:

M41: (Discipline?) "Well, there wasn't much to exercise. We just did what they said. Children didn't run wild in those days like they do nowadays."

M43: "Sun-up to sun-down. (How did you take that?) We did what the elders told us to. (Ever question it?) Well, I never questioned."

M47: "Well, to tell the truth, I don't think she was strict enough with us. . . . I'd get out and run around, come home later than supposed to. She never licked me. Just bawled me out, which was worse. Only licked me once, for stealing my brother's watch when I was 10. (What were you disciplined for?) Schoolwork, and doing what I was told to do. She was pretty strict about that being home on time. (How

did you respond?) It just hurt. I never sassed her back or said a mean thing to her. . . ."

M57: (How did you react when you were spanked?) "I just didn't do it anymore."

M58: "But, you know, I never held that against my father—I had it coming. He laid the law down, and if I broke it, there was punishment, but never in uncontrolled anger."

From the foregoing protocols it is evident that many of the high-scoring men not only submit to discipline and punishment because there is no other choice left, but often find themselves in complete agreement with the administration of harsh punishment. They identify themselves with the punisher and even seem to enjoy punishment. Not only do they appear to have had this attitude as children, but during their adult life the idea of punishment and the fear of it stays with them, often preventing them from transgressing a narrow path of seeming virtue. This holds only for the genuinely conservative type of prejudiced person, not for the delinquent or psychopathic variant (see Chapter XXI).

Examples of submission to parental authority from the protocols of high-scoring women are:

F66: "He never spanked me; mother always did that. You always did what he said, but it was right; there was no question about it."

F78: Her parents definitely approve of the engagement. Subject wouldn't even go with anyone if they didn't like him.

These short examples may suffice to illustrate that submission to authority is not only less frequent in high-scoring women than in men, but also that it has a less intense quality.

The opposite of submission to authority we designated as *principled independence*. It is found more often in our low scorers. Eight of the 15 low-scoring women interviewees and none of the 25 high-scoring ones show this trait. Correspondingly, 10 of the 20 low-scoring men interviewees and only 2 of the like number of high scorers display this attitude in their interviews. In particular, the protocols of low-scoring subjects rated as showing principled independence contain references to "being independent," to "arguing with parents on certain issues," etc. As with submission toward parents, principled independence is more outspoken in the records of men.

M44: (You talked with your mother a lot?) "Yeah (laughs), though we often disagreed. But she was very good to talk with. . . . Now I've almost quit writing about religious things to my mother . . . to avoid disturbing her. . . . She was willing to accept my ideas about things even if she didn't like them. She'd go her way and I'd go mine. I think she was very wise in that. . . ."

This record further illustrates the fact that independence in relation to parents is easily combined with tender feelings of love for them, feelings of which the low-scoring subjects are, generally, more capable (see above).

Another example of independence—here concerning religious issues—which does not disturb the basic good relationship to parents, is the following:

M55: (Reactions to Sunday School?) Older sister (one and a half years older) is more rebellious and influenced subject rather strongly, although "I really don't think I needed much influence. (Conflict with parents?) Surprisingly, it didn't; they'd get awfully angry sometimes . . . mainly over Sunday School. Didn't ever discuss the theology. When I was younger, father read the Bible, which I enjoyed a lot (age eight to eleven, about). I liked the stories, though not as religion. When went to Sunday School, then began to rebel against religion."

Unprejudiced subjects seem less in need of complete approval by their parents. The record of *M55* also points up the fact that the occasional expression of mild aggression is not detrimental to, but has a positive effect on, the basic good relationships with parents or interpersonal relationships in general. Indications in the interviews, and especially findings from the Thematic Apperception Test (see Chapter XIV), suggest that the inability of the typical high-scoring subject to express aggression toward, or independence from, parents is due to the overpitched intensity of these feelings, so that the fear of punishment is too great to allow their being openly expressed.

Still a further illustration of independence in the sphere of religion—a frequent occurrence in the low-scoring subjects—is the following:

M16: "My mother takes her religion very seriously. But I never wanted to go to church. By the time I was 6 years old I had developed ways of getting around it. There were some hills behind the town—you know the country around there in southern ——? On Sunday morning I'd be gone at dawn and wouldn't come home until evening. Just to be out of church. (Why?) I guess it was mostly boredom. I didn't want to sit there and listen to all that nonsense—salvation, Jesus Christ most of all. My mother always used to pray over me."

This record also manifests the benevolently condescending attitude of low scorers, especially the men, toward their parents in general and toward the mother in particular. It stands in clear opposition to submission; and characteristically the mother, instead of being angry, is seen as praying over her disobedient son. In some cases the strivings for independence in the unprejudiced subjects seem to be connected with the feelings of guilt and anxiety lest the intensity and warmth of the relationship with the parents might be lost in disagreement.

Though we do not find, in the high-scoring subjects, much of real rebellion based on "principled independence," there is sometimes an indication of *capricious rebellion* against the parents (Category 3b), through which resentment is expressed without any real independence being gained. Six of the high-scoring and only 1 of the low-scoring women interviewees show this trait. In men the difference is less pronounced, the rating appearing in 9 high scorers and 4 low scorers.

In high-scoring women capricious rebellion takes the form primarily of temper tantrums, which they tend to indulge in when punished or restricted by the parents. Afterwards they usually submit even more fully than before without having made any progress toward independence.

Especially high-scoring men, when dissatisfied with their parents, sometimes leave home; truancy or becoming delinquent in some other form is more frequent than fighting it out. One of the high-scoring men tells that he took to thievery because his father did not understand him.

6. DEPENDENCE FOR THINGS *VS.* DEPENDENCE FOR LOVE

The attitude of submission to and the absence of real rebellion against the parents, found primarily in high-scoring subjects, appears to be connected with a kind of materialistic dependence on them which is not recognized as such. It may thus be termed *ego-alien* dependence for things and support. This dependence is essentially an exploitive-manipulative, externalized relationship. It is in contrast with what we have called *love-seeking succorance-nurturance-affiliation* toward the parents (Category 4a).

The assumption was that typical prejudiced subjects want to be taken care of like children; that they want to exploit their parents as they want to exploit other people; and that, not being self-reliant, they need support and comfort, first from the parents and then from parent-substitutes. This dependence, however, is neither focused nor conscious; it is rather a need for the help of others in getting things; the persons from whom things can be gotten may equally well be parents, or the "leader," or anyone else who seems capable of offering tangible support. The kind of dependence on the parents expected to be characteristic of unprejudiced subjects, on the other hand, is the kind of dependence which people with an ability to love direct toward those for whom an object cathexis has been established. The first type of person is more dependent—for benefits and "things"—but at the same time he is less dependent on specific persons because of the ready exchangeability of objects.

The difference between these two types of dependence proved highly significant in the direction expected. As many as 13 of the 25 high-scoring women interviewees were considered to have displayed in their interviews evidence of marked ego-alien dependence for things, as contrasted with 2 of the 15 low scorers. Even more strikingly, 13 of the 20 high-scoring men and only 1 of the 20 low scorers show the presumedly "High" type of dependence. Conversely, 14 of the low-scoring men interviewees but only 1 of the corresponding high scorers show evidence of love-oriented dependence in the interview. The affection-seeking kind of dependence in men is oriented mainly toward the mother.

The fact that in women this difference is somewhat less pronounced than in men is probably due to the fact that in spite of the existing differences

between prejudiced and unprejudiced women the orientation toward dependence tends to be stronger in women than in men.

Examples of the ego-alien dependence for things in high-scoring women and men follow:

F68: "I always say my mother is still taking care of me. You should see my closets —stacked with fruits, jams, pickles—and every couple of weeks there is chicken, eggs, cream, everything you can think of. She just loves to do things for people."

F71 writes about her father: "Right now I'm his favorite . . . he'll do anything for me—takes me to school and calls for me."

The utilitarian approach of our high-scoring subjects is shown in the record of *F79:* "Yes, as I said on my questionnaire, I was closer to my mother at 6, 9, and 12, but now I have switched to my father—that is, since I was about 20. He holds the money bags. If I want to do anything, I have to go to him."

Records of high-scoring men show the same kind of dependence for things:

M41: "Well, kids always think more of their mother than their father. They look more to their mother for things."

Or *M43:* (How do you mean?) "Good to the children—clothed, fed, took care of when sick."

M47 says about his mother: "Well, I guess her being so good and friendly to everybody, especially me. (For example?) Well, always trying to do everything for me. Very seldom go uptown without bringing something back for me."

M51 shows the dependent, parasitic attitude: "I never saw any virtue in work." Subject lived on his father's insurance policy after his father's death and before that on his father. Was never really self-supporting and when "I tried to (support myself) I landed here (prison)."

M52 evaluates his father only in terms of what he got from him: "I haven't had everything I might have wanted from him. I would have liked to have a nicer home, better position, but all in all, I was very happy to be one of his boys. . . . Father was very proud of me."

Along similar lines is the record of *M57:* (What were you disciplined for?) "Well, when I wanted to go to a dance and take the car, used to make me mad if I couldn't get it. . . . (Did you have an allowance?) $15 or $20 a week, up. Always had plenty of money to spend." Subject spontaneously mentioned that his father would commonly give him $50 or so to go to a rodeo, and that in adolescence started giving him money for prostitutes. He adds that his father would often leave money out on the table for him for various purposes, even before subject had asked for it.

The wish for guidance is expressed in the record of *M58:* "Father wanted me to go to college, but his death interrupted this. If I'd had someone to guide me. . . ." Subject's father wanted him to be an architect, and talked about it all the time.

M13 shows appreciation of the father because he gives everything to his children: (What things did you admire especially in your father?) "Mostly, his attention to us kids was very admirable. He's very honest, so much so that he won't condone charge accounts. He's known throughout the country as a man whose word is as good as his bond. His greatest contribution was denying himself pleasure to take care of us kids."

A blatant opportunism is revealed in the foregoing appraisal of parents on the part of prejudiced subjects, by the undisguised references to the food,

money, and other goods they received. Most crudely, however, it is expressed by the subject who tells us she "switched to father. He holds the money bags now."

An example of the affection-seeking attitude, from the record of a low-scoring subject follows:

F62: "We have all been very close. We were like one person. We liked the same things. We were always doing things for each other."

This record shows the intimacy and loving dependence of the family members on each other. Low-scoring men show a similar affection-oriented attitude. *M44* describes his home background: "Pleasantness isn't a very good word. Simplicity and *real* affection."

In the records of low-scoring men, there are quite often affectionate remarks about the mother: "On the whole we were quite fond of her," says *M55* about his mother. As will be pointed out in Chapter XXI, some of the delinquent low-scoring men even commit crimes because of a mother fixation. In one such case the motive was to rescue the mother who was in debt; in others the desire to receive love from a mother substitute had been frustrated.

The relatively pronounced emphasis on getting love, in low-scoring subjects, as compared with a more distinct orientation toward getting power and material benefits, in the high-scoring subjects, is a basic differentiation, the far-reaching consequences of which will be discussed later.

In spite of this difference, evident all through the interview material, it is noteworthy that orientation toward love and affection is less elaborately and pronouncedly expressed by our subjects than are opportunistic sentiments of the sort just quoted. The cultural trends seem, to a certain degree, to discourage affection, or at least its overt expression.

The orientation toward "getting things" may be seen in relation to an attitude of "*exchange*." When this general attitude predominates, human relationships come to be regarded as one form of "making a deal." In the attitude toward parents this is sometimes manifested in a vague feeling of obligation, of having to return in terms of material goods what one has received from the parents. The idea of having to "give" seems generally very painful to most of the high-scoring subjects, but at the same time theirs seems to be the conception, "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," if not "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth."

Such have been the considerations behind the introduction into the evaluation of the interviews of the aspect of *sense of obligation and duty* to parents (Category 4b). It is further defined as desire to "make it up to them." According to our expectation this attitude should be characteristic of the high scorers. However, the category did not prove discriminating in women, responses of this kind being generally few. In men, there were 5 high scorers

as compared with 1 low scorer in whom this response was found. Thus *M47* feels he has to make recompense to his mother because he got a lot of things, including money, from her:

M47: (Main satisfactions with her?) "Well, that's hard to say. I guess I haven't made her very happy, but . . . when I'm out there and going straight, I'll always take care of my mother. . . . I feel I've never treated her like I really should."

The orientation of low-scoring men toward gaining affection primarily from the mother was mentioned above. High-scoring men, in contrast, seem more oriented toward the father. This orientation and the idea of making up to the father is illustrated in the following record:

M51: "My father is very unemotional. He never says what he is thinking, anyway. (Did you miss him a lot when he was away?) I missed him very much when I was at the boarding house. . . . I've saved all my letters to him. . . . He very dramatically returned all my letters, like to an old love. I loved my father very much. (Q) Yeah, I wished even before he died that I could get on my feet before he did die. When I was sick, I used to . . . daydream about his coming to see me. . . . (Q) I wanted to be more what he wanted me to be. . . ."

The idea that one has to "make it up" to the parents is illustrated directly by *M6:* "The depression had more influence on my life than on other people my age. My parents really had a bad time. I hope to make it up to them. My father was on relief at the same time I had to see the doctors."

Some of the other records indicate that the prejudiced person considers that the surest way to find favor with his parents is to do something for them, in the sense of offering them material pleasures or support.

Starting from this discussion of family relationships, subsequent presentation will show the very pronounced consistency, in the typical high-scoring subject, with respect to a materialistic, utilitarian view of interpersonal and social relationships. On the surface this may seem a kind of realism; actually it is pseudorealism, since it ultimately leads to an impoverishment and to hostilities in human relationships. The low scorer is of course by no means free of such trends although they are on the whole less pronounced in him.

7. INGROUP ORIENTATION TO THE FAMILY

As to the conception of the family as a whole, high-scoring subjects were expected to tend toward an *ingroup orientation*, as exemplified by emphasis on family heredity and background, a setting off of a homogeneous totalitarian family against the rest of the world and a stressing of aristocratic superiority of the family. This is constrasted with thinking in terms of *individuals* within the family, expected in the low-scoring subjects. Seven high-scoring and only 1 low-scoring woman, and 6 as against 2 of the men interviewees display the presumedly "High" conception of the family.

Thus *F68* is proud of the prestige the family of her father enjoyed: "We lived up in the mountains, _____ County. His folks were pioneers—gold settlers and quite wealthy. Everyone knows the _____'s of _____ County up that way. My

father was the spoiled darling of the family. My mother was a German girl, proud, hard working, thrifty."

In a similar vein, *F79* describes her family: "I am Pat _____ (giving her family name)." She made it clear that she could find nothing about herself in which she could take pride except the fact that she belonged to the _____ family.

A high-scoring man, *M46*, tells that his wife was brought up "by aristocratic parents with patriarchal setup."

One of the prison inmates, *M51*, says about his mother, "She came out in Capitol society, that's where she met my father."

The same tendency to overemphasize the socioeconomic status of his family could be seen in the record of *M4*, where the mother's family status seems to be exaggeratedly described and an effort is made to conceal embarrassment about the status of the father's family: "Family on both sides have been here for several generations. Mother came from a quite well-to-do family; her grandfather was a millionaire, her father independently wealthy and never worked. There were 6 children, all devout Catholics. Grandmother was a very well trained artist; Mother herself went to high school, then married when she was about 18. Father came from a family less well-to-do." Subject couldn't quite say this, but the grandfather ran a small grocery store in _____, sold out somewhere around _____, came to California, worked in the shipyards. "Father himself went to high school, afterwards went to a _____ school, started his _____ business, which he sold later on to work for a large corporation."

A mixture of pride and embarrassment about family status is also seen in the description of *M11:* "My father's first father was named _____. His second father was named _____, and he took that name. His father, _____, worked, or still works, as _____ on the railroads. My mother's mother was _____ from _____. Her father was Spanish, born in this country."

The high-scoring subjects show a tendency to magnify the status of their families in a way which enters and essentially modifies their entire conception of their families. We find both an insecure concern about status and an ardent wish to transmit the impression that their families had repute and prestige.

In an attempt to summarize the attitudes toward parents thus far discussed, the following may be said: The prejudiced subjects show little evidence of genuine love toward their parents. On the surface theirs is a stereotyped, rigid glorification of the parents, with strong resentment and feelings of victimization occasionally breaking through on the overt level in the interview material. Usually, however, only admiration for the parent is accepted by the subject. The underlying hostility has to be kept ego-alien for several reasons: it is too strong to be fully admitted; and it interferes with the desire to be taken care of by the parents. This conflict leads to a submission to parental authority on the surface and a resentment underneath which, although not admitted, is the more active under the guise of mechanisms of displacement.

There is evidence, on the other hand, that the unprejudiced subjects received more love and therefore have basically more security in their relationships to their parents. Disagreement with, and resentment against, the

parents are openly worked out, resulting in a much greater degree of independence from them. This independence is carried over into the subject's attitude toward social institutions and authorities in general. At the same time, there is more love-oriented dependence on people, which prevents the individual from too much manipulation and exploitation of others. In spite of the conflicts these subjects carry with them, this type of relationship remains for them one of their important sources of gratification.

C. CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDHOOD ENVIRONMENT

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

In this section discussion will center about the subject's conception of childhood events, including especially also the recollection and image of parental figures and their handling of discipline. The preceding section was concerned with the attitude toward the parents in general; now we proceed to describe the specific images of father and mother in the prejudiced and the unprejudiced. As stated in Chapter IX, it is difficult to say how much the image of a parent corresponds to reality and how much it is a subjective conception. However, this distinction may be of less importance when, as is the case here, personality structure rather than its genesis is the major concern. The notions our subjects have of their parents are psychologically relevant in the discussion of the parent-child relationship whether they are true or not. In a separate project, parents of prejudiced and unprejudiced children were actually studied, substantiating in kind many of the statements our present interviewees make about their own childhood (preliminary report by E. Frenkel-Brunswik, 30).

We will first consider the traits ascribed to the father by both the male and female interviewees. Since the categories under this heading in the Scoring Manual are rather specific, the total of responses in each category is not very large. Not all subjects described their parents spontaneously in such terms. The differences are, therefore, less significant here than elsewhere. The list of categories relating to the image of the parents is as follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: CONCEPTIONS OF CHILDHOOD ENVIRONMENT
(to Table 2(X))

PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANTS	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANTS
6M. Traits ascribed to father by Men:	
a. *Distant*, stern, bad temper, "a barrier between us"	a. *Some demonstrativeness*
b. *A moral-model*	b. *Principled puritanism*
c. *Pseudomasculine:* Determination, worked his way up, a "success"	c. *Relaxed*, mild

6W. *Traits ascribed to father by Women:*

a. *Hardworking provider:* "Will do anything for me" (externalized), works fingers to bone for family; or psychopath
b. *A moral-model*
c. *Warm*, sociable, lovable
d. *Understanding*
e. *Intellectual-aesthetic*

7M. *Traits ascribed to mother by Men:*

a. *Sacrificing*, "kind," submissive
b. *A moral-model*
c. *Warm*, sociable, lovable
d. *Understanding*
e. *Intellectual-aesthetic*

7W. *Traits ascribed to mother by Women:*

a. *Restricting*
b. *A moral-model*
c. *"Sweet," pseudofeminine*
d. *Some demonstrativeness*
e. *Understanding*
f. *Intellectual-aesthetic*

8. *Denial of parental conflict*—except "mild-normal" disagreements
8. *Objective verbalization of parental conflict*

9M. *Power relationship, Man* (Score a *or* b, not both):

a. *Father* was *dominant*, more influential
b. *Henpeckingly dominant mother*
a. *Mother-centered* (Love-nurturance) *home*
b. *Equalitarian home*

9W. *Power relationship, Women* (Score a *or* b, not both):

a. *"Perfect division of labor":* Mother, home; father, work
b. *Mother stronger*, dominant
a. *Father more important*, stronger
b. *Equalitarian home*

10. *Discipline* for violation of *rules*, primarily moralistic
10. *Discipline* for violation of *principles*, primarily rationalized

11. *Discipline threatening*, traumatic, overwhelming (castration-threat)
11. *Discipline assimilable* (non-egodestructive)

In keeping with the preliminary study of the interviews which always preceded the definition of categories, categories for men and women are not always symmetrical or analogous, and distinctions appearing as a pair of opposites within one and the same subcategory in the case of one of the sexes, may be separated for the other.

Quantitative results are given in Table 2(X) in the manner established in Section F of the preceding chapter, and in Table 1(X).

2. IMAGE OF THE FATHER IN MEN: DISTANT AND STERN *VS.* RELAXED AND MILD

We begin with the conception, in men, of a *distant, stern father*, with bad temper, and a barrier between father and son, as opposed to the picture of a

warm, demonstrative father (Category 6Ma). Twelve high- and 5 low-scoring men interviewees conceive of their father as stern; 7 low- and only 1 high-scoring men refer to the father as demonstrative. The entire category for men is statistically significant, but only at the 5 per cent level.

The "high" conception can best be understood from the actual statements of high-scoring men.

M51 declares: "My father died five years ago—he was very—I've judged him with so much prejudice. I thought he was so strict . . . actually he was just the opposite . . . not the least demonstrative . . . he disapproved of any show of emotion of *any* kind. If I ever did anything wrong, it was the Latin in me, which is the side I have more of an affinity for—my mother's side. I look more like them."

The foregoing record shows the extent to which the subject felt the (true or imaginary) coldness and remoteness of his father. At the same time he does not dare really to criticize his father; he blames himself but—characteristically—without feeling guilty; "it is the Latin strain" in him which relieves him from any real responsibility.

The barrier between parents and children in the families of high-scoring subjects is indicated by the answer of a high-scoring man, *M57*, to the question, Did you confide in your parents? "No, never had any problem to talk about." The barrier between father and son goes to the point of not talking to each other. The relationship seems to be barren of any affect. Rather than blame the parents, the subject denies the existence of any problems. After a few admiring sentences about his father, another subject says:

M11: "Maybe—well, in ways he isn't even tempered. He's as stubborn as an ox. He'd rather start a fight or an argument than do something he doesn't want to. And he can fly off the handle. We kid him out of it now. (What have you disagreed with your father about?) I have gone days without talking to him or weeks without asking any favors. . . . Well, we are lazy about such things; we are not mechanically minded, and we hate gardening. We have some trouble because he's too stubborn to ask me for help but yet he gets mad because I won't. . . . Earlier he got mad because I wouldn't wear enough clothes."

On the other hand, reference to friendliness on the part of the father is characteristic of the records of low-scoring men:

M16: (What was your father like?) "He was a very *kind* man, gentle, was always very good to us, that is, as much as was possible under the circumstances. (Strict about some things?) No, not very. He liked us kids a lot. (Q) I'm the youngest of five."

M42 gives an affectionate description of his father. We get the impression of a relaxed person who has the ability to enjoy his life deeply.

Or *M50:* "He champions my causes . . . told the other children that I had more sense in my little finger than all the other children put together. He was always in my corner . . . and of course he was fostering any latent art ability I had. . . . Curiously enough, I don't think I have any particular art ability. I think I could have become a good musician, pianist. . . ."

M53: (Pleasant memories of father?) "Lots of pleasant memories, because he spoiled us when he was home, always cooking up wonderful ideas for things to do."

M59: (How did you and your father get along?) "Well, a very friendly relationship. He was pretty much of a pal. We liked to go places together, fishing, play cards, etc. We had a lot of good times."

It is quite convincingly evident from the last three records that the fathers of these men possessed, as well as displayed, a good deal of affection for their sons. In general, the fathers of the unprejudiced men seem to have spent a great deal of time playing and "doing things" with their sons. It is interesting also to note the reference of *M50* to his father's interest in art. From all our evidence it seems likely that many of the fathers of our prejudiced men would have considered such an interest, in themselves or in their sons, as effeminate or "sissy."

A further possibility is to see the father primarily as a *moral-model.* This may be contrasted with a view of the father as an example of what may be called *principled puritanism* (Category 6Mb). This pair of opposites is intended to characterize orientation toward, and acceptance of, a set of conventional values (externalized superego, i.e., social anxiety) *vs.* an upholding of real ethical principles (internalized superego). As was expected, prejudiced men tend to describe the father as a moral-model, whereas the unprejudiced refer more often to the "puritanism" of their fathers. There is a high proportion of Neutral ratings so that the statistical significance of this difference has not been established; to be sure, there also is the difficulty in deciding, in each instance, whether we have a case of a moral model or of genuine conscientiousness before us.

A passage in the record of *M13*, a high scorer, reads as follows: "He drank but little, and he never smoked. He was very honest and strict in his dealings. He followed the church rules without going to church." It shows the emphasis on external virtue, such as abstinence from smoking, drinking, etc.

Another subject in this group, *M41*, says about his father: "He'd tell us what we should do, what he wanted us to do, and what he expected us to do. He always asked the blessings at the table and prayed at night before bedtime."

The somewhat different quality that is manifested in the records of low-scoring men in their descriptions of the puritanism of their fathers is exemplified as follows:

M56: (What sort of person is your father?) "Hard man to describe; he is a puritan really. His father is a drunkard, he reacted to that . . . very strict, but human."

When there is moral strictness in the fathers of low-scoring men, it often tends to be characterized by a definite "human" touch, rather than by an emphasis on strict conformity to custom—the wish to be a shining example in the community—that appears in the fathers of high-scoring men.

TABLE 2 (X)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON CONCEPT OF CHILDHOOD ENVIRONMENT
FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
6M. Conception of father in men:								
a. Distant, bad temper(H) vs. some demonstrativeness(L)	Men	12	1	5	7	19	6	5
b. Moral-model(H) vs. principled puritanism(L)	"	5	1	1	4	9	2	
c. Psuedomasculine(H) vs. relaxed, mild(L)	"	6	1	4	9	15	5	
6W. Concept of father in women:								
a. Hardworking provider; or psychopath(H)	Women	6		1		6		
b. Moral-model(H)	"	4		4		4	4	
c. Warm, sociable, lovable(L)	"		4		5	5	4	
d. Understanding(L)	"		2		1	1	2	
e. Intellectual-aesthetic(L)	"		1		6	6	1	
7M. Concept of mother in men:								
a. Sacrificing, submissive(H)	Men	9		2		9	2	
b. Moral-model(H)	"	6		2		6	2	
c. Warm, lovable(L)	"		0		9	9	0	
d. Understanding(L)	"		2		4	4	2	
e. Intellectual-aesthetic(L)	"		0		5	5	0	

7W. Concept of mother in women:								
a. Restricting(H)	Women	10		2		10	2	
b. Moral-model(H)	"	6		1		6	1	
c. Sweet, pseudofeminine(H)	"	2		1		2	1	
d. Warm, demonstrative (L)	"		3		6	6	3	
e. Understanding(L)	"		5		4	4	5	
f. Intellectual-aesthetic(L)	"		4		3	3	4	
8. Denial(H) vs. verbalization(L) of parental conflict	Men	6	4	7	8	14	11	
	Women	8	5	1	5	13	6	
9Ma. b. Father-dominated(H) vs. mother-oriented(L) home; or henpecking mother (H) vs. equalitarian home(L)	Men	12	1	3	10	22	4	5
9Wa. b. Division of labor(H) vs. father more important(L); or henpecking mother(H) vs. equalitarian home(L)	Women	7	4	2	6	13	6	
10. Discipline for: violation of rules(H) vs. violation of principles(L)	Men	14	1	6	5	19	7	5
	Women	12	2	2	2	14	4	
11. Discipline: Threatening, traumatic(H) vs. assimilable(L)	Men	13	0	4	9	22	4	1
	Women	9	3	4	4	13	7	

It is interesting to find that a further conception, that of a *determined and successful father* with an element of pseudomasculinity (Category 6Mc), does not differentiate much between high- and low-scoring men. Obviously, the successful man who worked his way up is so much a part of our culture that he may be found in any context of patterns. Nonetheless, reference to a father who is *relaxed and mild* is frequent in, and almost exclusive with, the interviews of low-scoring men; 9 of these, but only 1 of the high-scoring men, describe their fathers in these or related terms. Examples from the records of low-scoring men are the following:

M42, asked about his father, says: "I can't tell you exactly. I was only thirteen when he left. He's quick tempered . . . might say he is inclined to be a little slovenly . . . might go for a long time without a haircut or cleaning his nails. He is poorly educated but he is very smart. His folks are farmers . . . they never had money . . . he would send them money. I knew he never liked his dad."

This record presents the picture of a relaxed man who does not live up to the ideals and customs of his community, such as cleanliness and liking his father. He follows, however, his own principles by sending money to his parents.

In the same record there are signs of the subject's relaxation about the status of his own family and that of his father. Being relaxed about one's social status apparently parallels the psychological relaxation which is a crucial condition for absence of prejudice. "Casualness" is emphasized in the following quotation from the protocol of another low scorer, commenting about his father:

M53: "Quite a bit older than mother. I was very fond of him. A very casual sort of person, by no means a disciplinarian."

M54 tells about his father's work, bookkeeper. (How did he like it?) "Crazy about it. Worked there for thirty years. Of course, in the same old groove, can't get up or down, but pretty contented."

M59: "Well, he is not very polished. He is a little crude socially. He is very happy-go-lucky."

See also the remarks on the "easy-going low" in Chapter XIX.

In the same vein, some of the other low-scoring men describe their fathers as gentle and relaxed and not too concerned about status. Reference to libidinization of work rather than of status in one of the above quotations should likewise be noted; it seemed to be quite typical of the unprejudiced on the basis of our material.

For the establishment of the psychology of the unprejudiced man a non-threatening father figure may indeed be of great importance. It makes it possible for the son to include in his conception of masculinity some measure of passivity. Not feeling greatly threatened by the father, the unprejudiced man is apparently less afraid of losing his masculinity. He thus does not have

to overcompensate for such fear by an overly rigid ego-ideal of aggressive toughness. The unprejudiced man did not as a rule have to submit to stern authority in his childhood; in his later life, therefore, he neither longs for strong authority nor needs to assert his strength against those who are weaker.

3. IMAGE OF THE FATHER IN WOMEN: THE ROLE OF PROVIDER

Let us now turn to the traits ascribed to the father by our women interviewees. Since our data on women are, by and large, less complete than those on the men, there will be even fewer cases in each of these categories than were found for men. Significance in the statistical sense has not been established for any of the categories used. A few illustrations will be given to illuminate the meaning of our concepts, but less emphasis will be placed upon the discussion of quantitative results.

The opportunism found in high-scoring women, together with their underlying hostility towards men, discussed later, made us expect that they would tend to see their fathers mainly as sources of provision. It was statements like the following which led to this assumption: "Father was extremely devoted to family—will work his fingers to the bone for them—never has done any drinking" (*F71*). Another of the prejudiced extremes, *F24*, in stressing how "wonderful" her father is, explains: "He is always willing to do anything for you." Another subject in this group, *F69*, describes her father as follows: "Works hard—very serious—gets no fun out of life at all."

Six of the high- and only 1 of the low-scoring women stress the provider quality in their fathers (Category 6Wa). It is this quality that high-scoring women seem to value primarily in men and which, rather than affection, is often the source of their dependency on men. There is indeed little evidence of a genuine positive relation of prejudiced women toward their fathers. The exploitive attitude toward men in general on the part of high-scoring women will be discussed again later in connection with attitudes toward the other sex.

The notion of the father as a moral-model did not differentiate between high- and low-scoring women (Category 6Wb).

The families of our high-scoring subjects often seem to be highly conventional and respectable; however, reference is sometimes made to a *psychopathic* background. But even in the latter case—as will be seen in the material about delinquents in Chapter XXI—there is often a great deal of conventionality and stress on middle-class values in the same context with delinquent behavior.

A few of our high-scoring women describe their fathers in such terms as to make it appear that they were psychopaths. Whether this description corresponds to fact, or is merely gross exaggeration or the result of the underlying contempt many of these women seem to have for men, is difficult to decide offhand. Our best course is probably to assume a combination

of these trends. In the accusations made by these subjects against the father, the main reproach is usually directed against his not having provided enough for the family.

F66 says: "My father could not stay put. We lived in _____, _____, _____, and I don't know how many other places."

F68 relates that her father "never worked in his life. He was a gambler, an adventurer who broke his family's heart."

This may serve as an example of the fact that once the high scorer turns against the parents—which happens only rarely—there is a tendency to make them out as real villains.

For the presumedly "Low" alternatives to the above traits ascribed to the father by women, namely the conception of a warm, lovable, and understanding father, the absolute number of responses was small. Discussion of them may therefore be omitted.

However, as many as 6 of the low-scoring as against only 1 of the high-scoring women described their fathers as *intellectual-aesthetic* (Category 6We). Interest in intellectual and artistic endeavor is usually more pronounced in low-scoring persons, a fact that is in line with the "intraceptive" quality found to be more characteristic of the unprejudiced.

4. IMAGE OF THE MOTHER: SACRIFICE, MORALISM, RESTRICTIVENESS

The list of traits ascribed by our subjects to their mothers was constructed somewhat similarly to their counterparts referring to the father; and the results tend to be analogous. However, while the conception of the father by high-scoring men was, on the basis of our exploratory analysis of the interviews, expected to be best characterized by the term "stern," the corresponding image of the mother was expected to be that of a *sacrificing, kind, submissive* person. And likewise, as prejudiced women tend to refer to the provider role in their fathers, they also tend to look at their mothers primarily from the point of view of what she gives them or how well she took care of them when they were children.

Nine of the high- and only 2 of the low-scoring men had this conception of their mothers. Among the former, *M57* says about his mother: "She was a hard working lady, took care of us kids; she never did mistreat us in any way." The idea of a mother giving everything to the child is expressed especially clearly in the following quotation from the protocol of another high-scoring man, *M13:* "Mother was sick in bed a great deal of the time. She devoted her last strength to us kids." Emphasis on "devoting" the last strength carries the connotation of a limitless sacrifice devoid of healthy mutuality.

M13 further describes his mother as "a Methodist and quite strict up until her death. I was sick much of the time. She brought us up very strictly under this guidance."

A total of 6 high- and 2 low-scoring men consider the mother as a *moral-model* (Category 7Mb).

Thus another of the high-scoring men, *M47*, says of his mother: "She always taught me the difference between right and wrong, the things I should do and shouldn't."

This latter record also illustrates the absolute certainty with which many of the high-scoring subjects and their parents view "what is right and what is wrong"—the usual yardstick, however, being social approval or disapproval. This view is frequently accompanied by a good deal of intolerance toward deviations from what is "right." When present in parents, this attitude may well lead to rigid identifications and repressions in the children, thus leaving parts of their personality unmodifiable and unsublimated.

The general orientation toward affection in the low-scoring subjects, and the impression that they actually had received more love, led to the expectation that low-scoring men would conceive of their mothers as *warm, sociable, lovable*, as *understanding*, and as *intellectual-aesthetic* (Categories 7Mc-e). Of these three traits the first was the most differentiating: 9 low-scoring and none of the high-scoring men described the mother in terms similar to "warm, sociable, lovable." The warmth of the relationship between mother and son in the low-scoring men seems crucial for the development of their general concern with love (in contradistinction to power) and of their other humanitarian attitudes. The quality of "understanding" in the image of the mother did not differentiate very well; however, 5 of the low- and none of the high-scoring men mention intellectual-aesthetic inclinations in their mothers. An example of the latter attitude from the records of low-scoring men follows:

M50 says about his mother: "An intellectual and a very well educated person. Her principal gift seems to be that of perception. And an artist not by trade but certainly by nature."

Similar passages, referring to the mother's interest in music or painting, are found in the protocols of the other low-scoring men in this classification.

The woman's conception of the mother is covered by a somewhat different list of traits (Category 7W). Again, the data here are rather incomplete, due to the specificity of the categories involved and the comparative incompleteness of the women's interviews. However, 10 high- and only 2 low-scoring women describe their mothers by what may be summarized under the term *restricting*. Thus *F36*, the high scorer who was quoted above as displaying drastic rejection of, as well as submission toward, her mother, described the latter as being "domineering, dictatorial, and self-centered."

Other records are more subtle, emphasizing dominance and social success in their mothers. Unfortunately only one of the two raters scored this latter

trait which thus does not appear in Table 2(X); she found 5 out of 13 mothers of high-scoring daughters described as a *social success*. On the other hand, none of the low-scoring women emphasized this quality in her mother.

The admiration that high-scoring women are inclined to have for their socially successful, dominant mothers is being offset by hate against mother figures in the stories of the Thematic Apperception Test (see Chapter XIV). Instead of admiring the successful mother, the pressure which such mothers exert upon their daughters leads some of them in their stories to conceive of maternal figures as witches (see 31, 32). Here one is reminded of Wylie's theory of "momism" in his book, *Generation of Vipers*.

The assumption that high-scoring women would tend to see their mothers as *sweet* or (*pseudo-*) *feminine* in their interviews, that is, on the conscious level, was not borne out by our material. This quality is stressed by very few of the women interviewees. The high-scoring women probably see through the pseudofeminine façade of their mothers to a greater extent than they are ready to admit, and feel rather clearly the press of domination. As far as their picture of themselves is concerned, however, they tend to believe firmly, as will be discussed later, in their own "femininity."

Six of the high- and only 1 of the low-scoring women describe their mothers as a *moral-model*, while more low-scoring than high-scoring women speak directly about their mothers as demonstratively warm and lovable.

The remaining aspects, referring to understanding and intellectual-aesthetic qualities, showed little differentiation in women. There are two possible reasons for this. One may be that the data in question are few, the other that the hostility of the high-scoring women toward their mothers is indirect rather than direct. As pointed out above, there are some clear indications of such disguised hostility in the interviews, and direct evidence of hostility in the reactions to the Thematic Apperception Test.

5. PARENTAL CONFLICT

We now turn our attention to the subjects' notions concerning the relationship between the parents. *Denial of parental conflict* as contrasted with *open and objective verbalization of parental conflict* (Category 8) will be discussed first. This pair of opposites was not enough differentiated in the Scoring Manual; it did not provide for the distinction between absence of real conflict and denial of existing conflict. Furthermore, differentiation between absence of conflict due to "smooth functioning," on the one hand, and due to real love, on the other, was likewise not considered. Either for this, or for other, still more intrinsic reasons, there was practically no difference in the denial of serious conflict between parents in high- and low-scoring men. Overt admission of such conflicts, however, occurs somewhat more often in the records of low-scoring men, but the entire category still

does not differentiate significantly between the prejudiced and the unprejudiced.

In a few of those cases in which the raters, proceeding in accordance with the Manual, scored "denial of conflict" as the "High" variant in subjects who were later identified as low scorers, they added as a comment: "real love." This is quite in line with what was said above about the unsatisfactory formulation of Category 8.

Typical examples of denial of parental conflict by high-scoring men are:

M41, in answer to the question, How did your parents get along together, says: "Fine, never did hear no quarreling."

Or *M58:* "If there were any conflicts between mother and father I didn't know."

Examples of admission of parental conflicts from the records of low-scoring men are:

M15: "Mother accuses father of 'keeping her down.' She talks about her ambitions too much. Mother thinks of herself first. She doesn't want to settle down in any church. Keeps suspecting father lets another singer get ahead of her. There are many quarrels between them, which upset me. Father sometimes threatened to leave."

Or *M50:* "Father was temperamental and father and mother had considerable domestic strife. I didn't like it and I didn't like my father as champion. Preferred my mother as champion. . . . My sister became psychologically against my mother . . . nothing very definite, nothing you could put your finger on—very subtle. . . . I didn't realize it then. . . ."

M55: "Mother went along with him on all the moralizing, though not as harsh as he was, not really a very good marriage. Mother should have married someone a lot more human and he probably would have been a lot better off . . . well, it's hard to imagine him with anyone with whom he would get along."

M59: "Well, just the usual family quarrels. Maybe raise her voice a bit. (What bones of contention?) Well, the fact that in the first ten years of my mother's married life, my dad used to get drunk quite often and he would beat her physically and later on, as the children were growing up, she resented my father's influence, though he contributed to our support. . . . He used to come about twice a week, sometimes oftener."

The foregoing records illustrate the frankness and the greater insight into the marital conflicts of the parents, characteristic of low-scoring men. In addition, they show the tendency, mentioned above, of men to side with the mother.

In the records of women, on the other hand, denial of parental conflict differentiates between high scorers and low scorers in a proportion of 8 to 1. The fact that denial of parental conflict is more often found in female than in male high scorers is perhaps due to the fact that our sample of high-scoring women is, on the whole, more conventional than that of the high-scoring men. Examples of denial of parental conflict are:

F24: "Parents get along swell—never quarrel—hardly ever. Just over nonsense if they do. They quarrelled once after drinking wine over who got the last. Silly stuff like that."

F31: "My parents get along very well with each other, so far—knock on wood. They have their arguments, but they're never serious because of my mother's easy-going personality. Father teases her terrifically. She takes his jokes, but not too well. They have no serious arguments, just sort of silly things."

The foregoing records show that for some of the high-scoring women it seems important to assert that there was a good marital relationship between their parents, minimizing conflicts by presenting them as "silly little things."

6. FATHER-DOMINATED *VS.* MOTHER-ORIENTED HOME

As far as the *power relationship between parents* is concerned, 10 of the high-scoring and only 3 of the low-scoring men see the father as the more dominant and more influential; 2 additional high-scoring men think the mother is "henpeckingly dominant," bringing the number of "High" ratings up to 12 (Category 9M). Some of the high-scoring men who conceive of the home as father-dominated speak of their fathers' having made all the decisions, and of the submissiveness of their mothers.

An example is the record of *M52:* (Who made the decisions usually?) "My father. (Any bones of contention?) Well, I don't think there were any to speak of. . . . I've often tried in later years to analyze my father's wanderlust. . . . Apparently seeking business success. . . . My mother has remarked that I am just the opposite of him. . . ."

Conversely, only 1 high-scoring but 10 low-scoring men interviewees think of theirs as a mother-centered (love-nurturance) home, or as an equalitarian home. The entire category differentiates to a statistically high degree between prejudiced and unprejudiced men.

If the conceptions of our subjects can be taken to represent reality—and to a certain degree they probably can—there appears to be a tendency toward *father-domination*, or just "domination," in the families of the high-scoring, and toward *mother-orientation*, in contradistinction to mother-"domination," in the families of the low-scoring men. This finding, if substantiated and found crucial in a larger sample, would have far-reaching sociological and psychological implications. It would then be more understandable why the German family, with its long history of authoritarian, threatening father figures, could become susceptible to a fascist ideology. The son of such a father figure can apparently never quite establish his personal and masculine identity; he thus has to look for it in a collective system where there is opportunity both for submission to the powerful and for retaliation upon the powerless (see G. W. Allport, 10; O. Fenichel, 26; E. Fromm, 42; E. H. Erikson, 25). It must be emphasized that looking at a fascist society from the point of view of the needs of the individual does not exclude recognition of

larger socioeconomic determinants which may well be responsible both for the organization of society and for that of the family.

Following up for a moment this line of psychological reasoning, could it then be inferred that, because of the predominant mother-orientation of the American home there is less danger of fascism here? To answer this question, sociological and economic factors beyond the scope of this project would have to be considered. It might, however, be important to remember in this connection the 2 cases of high-scoring men who refer to a henpeckingly dominant mother. In both these cases it seemed evident the mother had taken over the threatening function of punishment in the family as a whole. By contrast, the family of the typical low-scoring man seems to be centered about a mother whose primary function is to give love rather than to dominate, and who is not too weak or submissive.

On the basis of their dichotomous conception of sex roles and their antagonism toward men it was expected that high-scoring women would have the following conception of the power relations between the parents: strict division of labor, mother home and father works, or else "mother stronger and dominant." On the other hand, it was expected that in the case of the records of low-scoring women the father would be experienced as more important and stronger, or that there would be an equalitarian home.

Actually, 7 high-scoring women displayed one of the first two alternatives (mostly the second), as contrasted with only 2 of the low-scoring women. The second pair of alternatives was found with only slightly greater frequency in the low-scoring group, probably because the data on this issue are not complete and because some of the high-scoring women report a dominant father.

In consequence, for women as contrasted with men, the category as a whole is not statistically significant. The data do, however, lend some further support to the original assumption that prejudiced men tend to experience the father, prejudiced women the mother, as the major figure of the family. It perhaps may be said that prejudiced women tend to have a stronger though more ambivalent tie to the mother, conversely the prejudiced man to the father. A greater inclination toward latent or overt homosexuality may be connected with this (see Chapters XI and XXI).

7. DISCIPLINE: HARSH APPLICATION OF RULES *VS.* ASSIMILATION OF PRINCIPLES

How parents, being the first authorities in the life of a child, handle the problems of discipline must be assumed to be of crucial importance in the establishment of attitudes toward authority. Was the issue in question explained to the child and was he included in the discussion of it, or did it appear to the child as unintelligible, arbitrary, and overwhelming? Did the

parents in their application of discipline adhere to a rigid set of conventional rules, or were they guided by more intrinsic values? These are some of the questions for which data were collected from our interviews.

In particular, discipline for violation of *rules*, primarily "moralistic," was contrasted with discipline for violation of *principles*, primarily "rationalized" (Category 10). As the first of two variables to be considered in this context, the choice between these two opposite alternatives on the part of the parents would seem to be crucial for the establishment of the child's attitude toward what is considered right or wrong: it probably decides the externalization vs. internalization of values. These two types of discipline further imply different resultant attitudes toward authority.

In the first case, discipline is handled as "*vis major*," as a force outside of the child, to which at the same time he must submit. The values in question are primarily the values of adult society: conventions and rules helpful for social climbing but rather beyond the natural grasp of the child. At the same time this type of value lays the foundation for an attitude of judging people according to external criteria, and for the authoritarian condemnation of what is considered socially inferior.

The second type of discipline invites the cooperation and understanding of the child and makes it possible for him to assimilate it.

Fourteen of the high- and 6 of the low-scoring men interviewees report having been submitted to discipline for violation of rules whereas 5 low-scoring men and only 1 high-scoring man report discipline for violation of principles. With respect to violation of rules the difference is even greater for the women interviewees: 12 high scorers and only 2 low scorers report this type of discipline in their home. Discipline for violation of principles is reported by only 4 women, and this in even proportion among high and low scorers. On the whole, discipline for violation of rules is more characteristic of high scorers than discipline for violation of principles is of low scorers. The latter report an altogether smaller number of incidents of being disciplined.

Related to the distinction just described is the differentiation between a *threatening*, traumatic, overwhelming discipline, and an *assimilable*, and thus non-egodestructive, discipline (Category 11). The first type of discipline forces the child into submission and surrender of his ego, thus preventing his development. The second type contributes to the growth of the ego; it is similar to a therapy in which the therapist becomes an ally of the patient's ego, helping him to master his id. This second type of discipline seems an important condition for the establishment of an internalized superego, and thus crucial for the development of an unprejudiced personality. This category proved differentiating at a high level of significance. In men, 13 of the high scorers had the "threatening," none the "assimilable," type of discipline (7 received a Neutral rating due to lack of data). This finding is highly

important since it seems to uncover a source of the basic fear so frequently exhibited by high-scoring men—and so often compensated for by sadistic toughness.

Furthermore, 9 of the low-scoring men—as contrasted with none of the high scorers (see above)—received the assimilable non-egodestructive type of discipline. Four of the low-scoring men were disciplined in a threatening manner.

Since discipline is of particular importance for our general theory concerning the genesis of the prejudiced personality, a series of examples from the records of high-scoring men is given herewith:

M45 reports that his father "did not believe in sparing the rod for stealing candy or someone's peaches off the tree."

M51: "My father spanked me on rare occasions, did it solemnly and it didn't hurt; and when he did it everybody cried. . . . But mother had a way of punishing me—lock me in a closet—or threaten to give me to a neighborhood woman who she said was a witch. . . . I think that's why I was afraid of the dark."

A similar psychologically cruel way of punishment is reported by *M44:* "Father picked upon things and threatened to put me in an orphanage."

M52 who, as quoted above, was struck on the finger with a knife at the table for being a bit too hungry, also reports that he "got a whipping (with a razor strop) that I thought was a little unreasonable." He tells a story about a friend who at the friend's home, in playing around, accidentally shoved subject through a window. When his father learned about it the same day, subject "got a whipping without a chance to explain. . . ."

M58, asked which parent he was closest to, answers: "I think my father. Although he beat the life out of me." He continues to emphasize that his father always gave everyone, including himself, "a square deal."

A good example of how some men in this group were frightened into obedience and submission is the following:

M57, asked about spanking, reports, "Not after 17. . . . Father had to give us one look and we knew what he meant."

An example of delayed punishment experienced as meaningless and cruel is given in the following quotation:

M20: (Nature of discipline?) "She would hold me back in. Never let me play if I'd done something wrong. . . . If I did anything wrong during the day, they couldn't spank me in public, in the hotel; they would spank me at night when I had maybe forgotten what it was for and resented it. Too delayed." Subject says he usually cried when he was spanked in order to get it over sooner, because when he started to cry, his grandmother would usually stop shortly. "It hurt my pride. . . . Just another restriction. . . . Or, sometimes, they would take away a movie." Subject says he resented this particularly since movies were few and far between for him anyway. "Grandfather never spanked me. . . ." About 10 or 12, subject says, he started running around more . . . "and they sort of lost their grip on me. I just stayed away from home. More school activities and work. . . ."

Another high-scoring man expresses his own ideas about the necessity for harsh punishment as follows:

M41: "If they have to whip them, I believe in whipping them. I don't believe in sparing the rod and spoiling the child; though I don't believe in abusing them. . . . Go down the street and hear a mother (threaten a spanking), the child says, 'Oh, mother, you know you don't mean that.' If I'd have said that to my mother, I wouldn't be able to sit down."

Further examples of the "High" type of discipline, taken from the records of high-scoring men and containing, among other things, deference to the emphasis on "being told" in terms of "petty" rules or "laws" lacking sufficient explanations, are the following:

M43: (Who gave the discipline?) "Uncle. (What kind?) Whip us. (How often?) Two or three times a month. (What for?) Going off without asking, not doing things we were told. (Was he always fair?) Well, after you'd think it over, you had it coming. (Ever question whether he was right about it?) No."

To the question whether he has been often punished, *M45* answers: "Often, and the hard part about it was that my stepmother would tell him (father) that my brother or I had done things and he wouldn't give us a chance to explain. . . . (What was your reaction?) Well, I ran off twice. . . . It didn't cause me to hate him. I held it mostly against her. (Did he exercise most of the discipline?) He did. (Did she sometimes punish you?) Yes, but not often. (For what?) Oh, things that seemed so trivial, like getting home late from school to do my chores."

M47: (What was the usual nature of the discipline?) ". . . . just bawl us out. (Q) She made it seem like it was hurting her more than it did us. . . . I think I'd rather have a licking than a good bawling out. (Q) She'd look hurt. (What were your feelings?) . . . Make me feel hurt . . . ashamed of myself. (Example?) One time I stayed out pretty late one night. When I got home, why she bawled me out, just little things like that. . . . Or going some place where she told me not to go . . . like some kid's house she told me not to play with."

Similarly, to the question, for what sort of things have you been punished, *M51* answers, "Usually something petty, stealing fudge off a shelf or something like that."

M58: "Well, my father was a very strict man. He wasn't religious, but strict in raising the youngsters. His word was law, and whenever he was disobeyed, there was punishment. When I was 12, my father beat me practically every day for getting into the tool chest in the back yard, and not putting everything away . . . finally he explained that those things cost money, and I must learn to put it back."

Another high-scoring man, *M6*, reports: "My father left the discipline to my mother, though he was the law when you came right down to it. I don't mean to say that either of them dominated us, but they kept us on the right track. I always had more respect for my mother than most. It was just the idea that she wanted me to do things that kept me on the right path. She spanked me sometimes. Father laid the strap on rarely; the last time was when I was 12 or 13 for talking back to my mother."

There is much reference to cruel punishment such as "whipping," "not sparing the rod," or "beating the life out of me" in the records of high-scoring subjects. Furthermore, the above quotations show that the discipline in the home is experienced as something arbitrary. Often it is implied that the

punishment was unjust or "unreasonable" and that the subject had to submit to it without being given a "chance to explain" the situation. This is especially evident in the use, without further comment, of delayed punishment, an example of which was given above: "They would spank me at night, when I had maybe forgotten what it was for and resented it."

Furthermore, there is in these records a great deal of stress upon the fact that punishment was administered for something which seemed petty to the subject, for the violation of an external rule rather than of a basic principle.

Quite different are the reports of low-scoring men about the type of discipline they received:

Asked as to how discipline was enforced, *M16* relates: "Father lectured a good deal about honesty and integrity, etc."

A relaxed type of discipline with few restrictions is clearly indicated in the protocols of the following two low-scoring women:

F75: (Family training?) "Mother was in charge although they handled us well, I think. We were good, almost too good—and we were punished only rarely. Then it was a little spanking or scolding. There were never problems about going out. We could have had more freedom than we took."

F70: (What kind of things did she stress in your upbringing?) "She seems to me thoroughly liberal; there were not many restrictions anywhere. She accepted practically anything I did."

As is true in the case of many of the other categories, the material in the interviews on the issue of discipline of the women is not very complete. Thirteen of the high-scoring women received a Neutral rating; of the remaining 12, 9 report the threatening, and only 3 the non-egodestructive type of discipline. The following are quotations from the records of high-scoring women:

F66 relates: "I was kind of temperamental when I was little. I had temper tantrums if I didn't get my way. My mother cured them—she dunked me under the water faucet until I stopped screaming."

F36 reports a type of punishment psychologically quite cruel: Subject's mother criticized all her friends and interfered with all her friendships. In _____, subject had a boy friend eight years older than herself with whom she dated. Her mother scolded about the time she came home—said it was one or two o'clock in the morning, although it was never later than eleven P.M. Her mother said that everybody in town was talking about subject's relationship with this fellow and that she would not be allowed to teach next year (in a small town). This worried her so that she finally went to the vice principal of the school board, who had got her the job, and asked if he had heard anything about her. He said, no, that everybody liked her and liked Gus too. So that's how she knew her mother was making it all up. Her mother no doubt thought she would never check up on it.

The difference in the type of discipline found in the families of our high-scoring as compared with those of our low-scoring subjects, in conjunction

with the difference in the family structure and the personality of the parents (stern vs. relaxed) may be considered part of the foundation for an authoritarian vs. democratic approach to interpersonal relationships. Evidence from the present study as well as from others (see Lasswell, 66; Fromm, 42; Erikson, 25) supports the psychoanalytic axiom that the first social relationships to be observed within the family are, to a large extent, formative of attitudes in later life.

D. CHILDHOOD EVENTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SIBLINGS

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The rating categories under the heading of "Childhood Events and Attitudes toward Siblings" fall into three groups: First, concern of the family with social status (Category 12), second, factual data on death, impairment of health, or divorce of the parents as well as sibling distribution (Categories 13 to 19), and third, psychological aspects of the relationship to the siblings (Categories 20a to 21c). The respective portions of the Scoring Manual are as follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: CHILDHOOD EVENTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARD SIBLINGS
(To Table 3(X))

Presumedly "High" Variants	Presumedly "Low" Variants
12. *Family status-concerned*	12. *Family relaxed re status*
13. *Death of father:*	
a. *In childhood* (age 1–6)	
b. *In prepuberty* (age 7–12)	
c. *In adolescence* (age 13–19)	
14. *Death of mother:*	
a. *In childhood* (age 1–6)	
b. *In prepuberty* (age 7–12)	
c. *In adolescence* (age 13–19)	
15. *Invalidism of father:*	
a. *In childhood* (age 1–6)	
b. *In prepuberty* (age 7–12)	
c. *In adolescence* (age 13–19)	
16. *Invalidism of mother:*	
a. *In childhood* (age 1–6)	
b. *In prepuberty* (age 7–12)	
c. *In adolescence* (age 13–19)	
17. *Divorce of parents:*	
a. *In childhood* (age 1–6)	
b. *In prepuberty* (age 7–12)	
c. *In adolescence* (age 13–19)	

d. *In whose care* was subject placed? (Father? Mother? Other relative (specify)?) Other (specify)?

18. *Sibling distribution:*
    a. Only child
    b. Youngest child.
    c. Eldest child
    d. Middle child
19. *Older sibling influence predominantly:*
    a. Masculine
    b. Feminine

20a. *Conventional idealization* of siblings
20b. *Feelings of vicitimization* by siblings

20a. *Objective appraisal*

21a. *Principled open rejection*
21b. *Genuine positive affect*
21c. *Blocked affect*

Quantitative results are given in Table 3(X). Since on the factual aspects of childhood covered by the second group of categories little differentiation was found between the prejudiced and the unprejudiced (see below), tabulation has been omitted for these categories. The three topics will now be discussed in reverse order. Since the last of these, attitudes toward siblings, follows most logically the preceding discussion on parents, it will be discussed first.

2. ATTITUDES TOWARD SIBLINGS

Differentiations similar to those applying to the parents were expected for psychological sibling relationships. Thus *conventional idealization* (Category 20a) as well as *feelings of victimization* (Category 20b) were expected primarily in high-scoring subjects, whereas *objective appraisal* (Category 20a) as well as *genuine affect* (Category 21b), *blocked affect* (Category 21c), and *principled open rejection* (Category 21a) were expected to be present more often in the typical low scorer.

In the categories dealing with attitude toward siblings there is an unusual proportion of Neutral ratings, so that possible trends are to a large extent obscured. In the interviews this topic was often thought of as relatively less crucial, and the interviewers skipped it altogether when time ran short. In spite of this, the results, on the whole, show some interesting trends.

Since siblings are considered a part of the intimate ingroup, we find some glorification of them by our high-scoring subjects. The fact, however, that siblings are not authorities, or at least not authorities in the same sense as parents, probably accounts for the lesser absolute frequency of idealization manifested toward them. Thus only 4 high-scoring and 1 low-scoring male interviewees idealize their siblings.

An example of glorification of siblings from the record of a high-scoring man is *M52's* description of his brother: "Well, he's a wonderful kid. . . . Has been wonderful to my parents. . . . Now 21. Always lived at home. . . . Gives most of his earnings to my parents. . . ."

Again, as in the attitude toward the parents, low-scoring subjects tend to give a realistic, insightful, and openly affectionate picture of their siblings, whereas high-scoring subjects tend to repeat the stereotypical clichés that have been observed in their descriptions of the parents. The parallelism is manifested not only in the use of such terms as "a wonderful kid," but also in the opportunistic flavor of the evaluation as exemplified by the phrase "gives most of his earnings to my parents."

Neither "victimization" nor "open rejection (on grounds of general principles)" proved differentiating between the two groups of men. In women, however, there is some trend in the direction anticipated.

"Objective appraisal" of siblings, however, is much more clearly differentiating, with 12 low-scoring and 1 high-scoring men showing this attitude. Examples of objective appraisal from the records of low-scoring men follow:

M60 tells about his sister: "My father represented authority in my house. When he died my sister lost her only authority and became quite a problem. Now has a happy, average home. . . . She was raised without adequate supervision."

The description of his sister by *M55* is along similar lines: "She's quite an amazing character, gotten to be a haphazard person now, careless . . . my parents ruined her, she's really quite bright, but has no initiative. However, a delightful person to live with because of her lackadaisical, I-don't-give-a-damn attitude . . . she's aware that she wasn't happy in her childhood. Parents were much more severe with her because she was more rebellious. She is extremely lenient with her own children."

"Genuine or blocked affect" responses, grouped together for certain purposes, were more differentiating in men than in women. Only 1 of the male high scorers but 11 of the male low scorers displayed this variant, due mostly to the presence of "genuine affect" toward siblings in low-scoring men. Examples of manifestations of real affection toward siblings from the protocols of low-scoring men are:

M59 says about his sister: "A lot of common trends. . . . Used to get a lot of pleasure in taking her out to shows, etc. because she was naive and used to get so much pleasure out of it. I used to help her with her schoolwork. She was more or less a tomboy when she was young and we had a lot of fun." Subject adds that he, and to a lesser extent her other brothers, taught her how to fight with her fists and comments that this has stood her in good stead, for example, as a professional ice-skater. "None of her competitors try any funny stuff with her because they know she can take care of herself."

M56 says about his young brother: "A good kid. A little inclined to be undiscriminating about his friends." Subject played big brother to him and made the decisions usually. (Satisfactions with brother?) "Oh, things shared together. (Q) Hunt, fish, both like people, as business partners got along swell."

M16 (answering the question, What about your brothers and sisters?): "The

TABLE 3 (X)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON CHILDHOOD EVENTS AND ATTITUDE TOWARD SIBLINGS
FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
12. Family status-concerned(H) vs. status-relaxed(L)	Men	10	1	4	12	22	5	2
	Women	12	3	1	3	15	4	
20a. Conventional idealization(H) vs. objective appraisal(L) of siblings	Men	4	1	1	12	16	2	
	Women	6	3	0	7	13	3	
20b. Victimization by siblings(H)	Men	4		4		4	4	
	Women	7		3		7	3	
21a. Principled open rejection of siblings(L)	Men		3		3	3	3	
	Women		0		3	3	0	
21b. Genuine affection(L) or blocked affect(L) toward siblings	Men		1		11	11	1	
	Women		7		2	2	7	

brother fifteen years older; I was very close to him, we were good companions. (See him now?) I go to see him once in a while. Oh yes, we go into the garden together and look at his things, discuss things, philosophize. He thinks about the same way I do. He's a very intelligent sort of fellow; his IQ must be about in the genius range. (What are his interests?) Well, he's a _____; he plays in churches and different bands and he also has designed a new _____ with a different key that is easier to play. When he was fourteen, he built a steam engine for the shop." Subject describes very eagerly and seems very proud of his brother's achievements. (What is his occupation now?) "He putters around, shingles houses when he needs money and raises _____. He was interested in horticulture for a while. He likes shingling houses; he can sit up on the roof, think and philosophize. He's pretty poor, that is, he has some property, his house and another house that he rents, but he enjoys doing what he's doing. (What about your sisters?) Well, I have a sister two years older. I was sort of a pal of hers. And then one sister thirteen years older. She took care of me as a child. She was sort of a second mother to me. I'm not very close to either sister although I always got along with them alright. (Did your parents have any favorites among the children?) I don't think so. Well, probably I was the favorite of my mother because I was the baby. And my brother, the one six years older, he was so different from mother, she felt he was different, she didn't understand him. Father didn't know how to handle him."

The foregoing records give good illustrations of the way low-scoring men often display nurturant affection for their sisters, giving them support and love. The same may hold for the brothers, but mainly if there is a large age difference, with the subject being the older. Some of the records give evidence of the "fun" and pleasure they had with their sisters. Brothers near the age of the subject are often talked of in a way which indicates rivalry feelings. High-scoring men, on the other hand, tend to carry their feelings of rivalry into every relationship, and this often prevents them from having affectionate feelings toward any of their siblings.

A similar trend can be seen in women. Seven low scorers show "objective appraisal" of siblings, but none show "conventional idealization," whereas 6 of the high-scoring women interviewees do give evidence of the shallow glorification of siblings covered by the latter term. Since the number of Neutral ratings is even larger for the women interviewees than it is for men, the question of statistical significance was not approached.

An example of objective appraisal of siblings is demonstrated in the record of the following low-scoring woman:

F65 says: "One (sister) is fifteen. She thinks she resembles my mother's family. She is original and writes very cleverly, yet she is very naive and unconsciously funny. She is friendly and more social than I. She reforms everybody. My youngest sister is eight. She is very active, much more so than me. She is different than we. We are more quiet. We are 'drippy' in contrast to her. (Q) I used to have fights with my first sister."

Again we find, as so often in the case of the unprejudiced subjects, an imaginative, intraceptive quality in the description of other people, in this

case of siblings. "Originality," "clever writing," being "unconsciously funny" are the characteristics appreciated in the sister. A certain self-critical tendency on the part of the subject is expressed by her reference to herself as "drippy" in comparison with her younger sister.

On the other hand, the following record of a high-scoring woman shows glorifying admiration for a sibling side by side with feelings of victimization, a combination discussed in connection with attitudes toward parents:

F69: (Parents?) "Everything was fine until my brother came into the world—Albert was such a sweet child, the whole family adored him—even grandparents. He's blond, nice looking, sickly as a child, but not now. Short nose."

Typical in this protocol also is the emphasis on physical features which is similar to that found in the high scorers' descriptions of their parents.

There is, furthermore, on the whole a greater, though not statistically significant tendency in high-scoring interviewees to manifest feelings of being victimized by siblings. The record of *F69*, quoted before, was an example of this tendency. Another example from the interview of a high-scoring woman is:

F32: "The situation with the youngest sister is very different." Not only did subject take care of this sister after the mother's death, but she gave her financial aid. Because of their father's policy of giving the children only the necessities and none of the extras, the young sister would have had to go without evening dresses and other things that a girl really has to have in high school, if these had not been supplied by subject. The interviewer asked if subject also heard regularly from this sister. With much bitterness, subject replied that she was lucky if she heard from her sister once in three months. She feels that this sister has the family characteristic of being self-sufficient and independent, and that she has never really shown any gratitude for all that subject has done for her.

This record shows clearly that the subject resents both mother and sister, without daring to criticize them.

In all, only 3 of our low-scoring and none of our high-scoring women interviewees show "open rejection" of siblings. One example may suffice as an illustration of this attitude:

F29: "Sister aged 19 years. She is in Hollywood getting into the movies. We are not particularly good friends. First real hate was my sister. Intensely jealous of one another." Subject hasn't been near her for years. After high school, sister had little money. Met a fellow who supported her. "She sort of ruled him. She went to dramatic school. Is a very beautiful girl—not conventionally beautifully—beautiful in a masculine way." Subject does not think her sister was the mistress of the man. Sister has had homosexual affairs.

Having genuine, or else blocked, affect did not differentiate significantly between the two groups; again there was a scarcity of ratable material.

It is interesting to note that low-scoring men show more "genuine affect" for siblings in their interviews than low-scoring women. This fact may be

due to a greater inclination toward envy in women as compared to men, a trend noted by Freud and others.

3. CHILDHOOD EVENTS

Under the heading of "Childhood Events" the Interview Scoring Manual contained provisions for the registration of such facts as death of father or mother, divorce of parents, sibling distribution, etc. Since, as expected, the prejudiced and the unprejudiced showed, on the whole, little differentiation with respect to these categories, they were omitted in Table 3(X). A few remarks will be made here in a more informal way.

There is but little difference between the numbers of low and high scorers, women and men alike, who lost their fathers through death. The same holds true as far as the death of the mother in the case of women subjects is concerned, but the absolute number of those involved is very small in this case (2 out of the 25 high scorers and 1 out of the 15 low scorers).

However, 7 out of the 20 high-scoring men interviewees lost their mothers through death in their childhood or pre-adolescence, while all of the mothers of the 20 low-scoring men are still living. This objective finding gives support to the hypothesis, set forth above, that the relationship with the mother is important for the development of humanitarian values in the son. Early death of the mother may, it seems, contribute to the establishment of intolerant attitudes in the son.

The proportions of divorces of parents are very similar for men and women, high scorers and low scorers.

The position within the sibling distribution was likewise not found to be differentiating between the prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects.

4. STATUS CONCERN

The only aspect relating to "childhood events" which is explicitly listed in Table 3(X) (Category 12) is less palpably "objective" than those just mentioned. Yet it proved highly discriminatory. It deals with *social status*, the parents and family being classified either as "status-concerned" or as "status-relaxed" on the basis of the interview with the subject. Ten of the high- and only 1 of the low-scoring men describe a status-concerned attitude within their family. Conversely, 12 of the low-scoring men and only 4 of the high-scoring men describe their families as status-relaxed. The entire category is significant for men at the 2 per cent level.

An example of hierarchial thinking in the attitude toward work from the interview of one of the high-scoring men is the following:

> *M13* reports that, in spite of the fact that his father had to be careful with money, he would not let the subject work because he thought "it was beneath me."

Another of the prejudiced men interviewees gives a striking example of looking at marriage and children solely as a means to conserve possessions:

M51: "The only thing I really want—I have been paying storage on my mother's things. . . . I want a home and I want to get married, not because I want a wife, but because I want a child. I want the child because I want someone to pass my things on to—I suddenly have become very conscious of my background that I forget about. (How do you mean?) Family background. . . . And another thing is, if I have no issue, father's money will go to father's relatives. I want it to go to mother's side."

Another subject in this group shows the relationship between home discipline and aspirations to climb into "higher classes":

M57: (What were you disciplined for?) "Well, they didn't want me to run with some kind of people—slummy women—always wanted me to associate with the higher class of people."

The relaxed attitude toward status, with some tendency toward understatement, as found in unprejudiced interviewees is exemplified in the record of:

M53: (Parent's feelings about money?) "Well, kind of hard to answer. You see, my father died in. . . . I grew up in _____ (middle-class town). Neither extremes of poverty or wealth. Pretty typical middle-class community. (Did you have to work as a child?) Didn't have to. I did work in high school. (How did parents get along economically?) Well, they were lucky. Father left enough of an estate that mother didn't have to worry." Always a nice home, car, etc. "We always had Buicks (laughs) . . . which I think is typical of. . . ."

Another subject in this group displays even a lack of knowledge about the family's background:

M59: (How important was money to your parents?) "Well, I don't believe it was overemphasized or too important, was a means of providing food and shelter . . . but they found their happiness in work and little pleasures on weekends, etc." Both of subject's parents were born in this country. Mother's father was also born here. Father's father was born in Germany. "My father's father was born in Germany, I believe. . . . We didn't know very much about his family. . . . My mother's mother was born in this country. . . . Father's mother, I don't know."

The absence of a greedy attitude toward money also reflected in this protocol is further exemplified in the interview of another low-scoring man:

M12: "You know what George Bernard Shaw said? (What?) He says we ought to shoot everybody who wants to earn more than three thousand dollars a year and also those who can't make that much (laughs). I guess that's about right. (Family?) My mother had and accepted a very simple way of living. She had no envy or desire for more. I guess we all felt that way. We had sort of scorn for people who wanted too much. I guess there were just two worlds; theirs (the rich world) and ours; ours was fine—it didn't need any improvement. Our whole family felt that way, I think."

References to finding one's "happiness in work and little pleasures" or "in simple ways of living without desire or envy for more" are characteristic in this respect since the status-concern of the high scorers is often connected with an antipleasure attitude as discussed in other contexts within the interview material.

Of the high-scoring women's families, 12 are status-concerned whereas only 3 seem to be relaxed on this issue. The following quotation may suffice as an example of a status-concerned family background in the case of a high scorer:

F79: At the present time the father is the owner of a mill and logging camp and he also has interests in _____. "It's a medium sized mill but I have no idea of his income. Of course, we children have always been to private schools and lived in exclusive residential sections. In _____ we had tennis courts and horses. We had more or less to start over again when we came to this country. We lived in a nice house but really couldn't afford it. It was quite an effort to get into social circles. In _____ we felt secure and fitted in. Back here, we have lived at the same level but with anxiety about it. Mother and daddy have climbed socially . . . and I don't care so much. Yes, we have always had servants. It was easy in _____, but it's hard to get them here."

As will be discussed in the next (concluding) section of this chapter, the great concern about status characteristic of the families of our prejudiced subjects may be instrumental in the establishment of many of the attitudes shown so far as predominant in high scorers.

E. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS ON FAMILY PATTERNS

The quantitative data just presented give evidence that presence or absence of extreme ethnic prejudice in individuals of our culture tends to be related to a complex network of attitudes within, and relating to, the family. Lasswell, in his pioneer study (66), found that the interrelationships of his subjects with their parents and siblings were of paramount importance in determining their future political activities.

In the following summary a composite picture of the prejudiced and unprejudiced trends as based on our material is presented.[2] As stated before, most of the high-scoring and low-scoring individuals exhibit "High" as well as "Low" personality traits in varying proportions. In fact, single individuals may display any kind of configuration of traits. What is attempted in the present context is no more than a schematic outline of prevalent group trends. Such a picture must of necessity do injustice to all the many existing exceptions.

It also must be reiterated that our composite picture deals with groups scoring *extremely* high or low on the prejudice questionnaire rather than with groups that are more average in this respect.

[2] Although the results discussed in this summary are primarily based on the statements of our subjects about their families, direct evidence gathered in a separate study on social discrimination in children and their parents substantiate our inferences about the differences in the family constellation of high scorers and low scorers (see Else Frenkel-Brunswik, 30).

Prejudiced subjects tend to report a relatively harsh and more threatening type of home discipline which was experienced as arbitrary by the child. Related to this is a tendency apparent in families of prejudiced subjects to base interrelationships on rather clearly defined roles of dominance and submission in contradistinction to equalitarian policies. In consequence, the images of the parents seem to acquire for the child a forbidding or at least a distant quality. Family relationships are characterized by fearful subservience to the demands of the parents and by an early suppression of impulses not acceptable to them.

The goals which such parents have in mind in rearing and training their children tend to be highly conventional. The status-anxiety so often found in families of prejudiced subjects is reflected in the adoption of a rigid and externalized set of values: what is socially accepted and what is helpful in climbing the social ladder is considered "good," and what deviates, what is different, and what is socially inferior is considered "bad." With this narrow path in mind, the parents are likely to be intolerant of any manifestation of impulses on the part of the child which seems to distract from, or to oppose, the desired goal. The more urgent the "social needs" of the parents, the more they are apt to view the child's behavior in terms of their own instead of the child's needs.

Since the values of the parents are outside the child's scope, yet are rigorously imposed upon him, conduct not in conformity with the behavior, or with the behavorial façade, required by the parents has to be rendered ego-alien and "split off" from the rest of the personality (see Chapter XII), with a resultant loss of integration. Much of the submission to parental authority in the prejudiced subject seems to be induced by impatience on the part of the parents and by the child's fear of displeasing them.

It is in the area of social and political attitudes that the suppressed yet unmodified impulses find one of their distorted outlets and emerge with particular intensity. In particular, moral indignation first experienced in the attitude of one's parents toward oneself is being redirected against weaker outgroups.

The lack of an internalized and individualized approach to the child, on the part of the parents, as well as a tendency to transmit mainly a set of conventional rules and customs, may be considered as interfering with the development of a clear-cut personal identity in the growing child. Instead, we find surface conformity without integration, expressing itself in a stereotyped approach devoid of genuine affect in almost all areas of life. The general, pervasive character of the tendency, on the part of prejudiced individuals, toward a conventional, externalized, shallow type of relation will be demonstrated further in subsequent chapters. Even in the purely cognitive domain, ready-made clichés tend to take the place of spontaneous reactions. Whatever the topic may be, statements made by the prejudiced as contrasted

with the unprejudiced are apt to stand out by their comparative lack of imagination, of spontaneity, and of originality and by a certain constrictive character.

Faithful execution of prescribed roles and the exchange of duties and obligations is, in the families of the prejudiced, often given preference over the exchange of free-flowing affection. We are led to assume that an authoritarian home régime, which induces a relative lack of mutuality in the area of emotion and shifts emphasis onto the exchange of "goods" and of material benefits without adequate development of underlying self-reliance, forms the basis for the opportunistic type of dependence of children on their parents, described in the present chapter.

This kind of dependence on the parents, the wish to be taken care of by them, coupled with the fear ensuing from the same general pattern, seems firmly to establish the self-negating submission to parents just described. There are, however, certain cues which seem to indicate the presence, at the same time, of underlying resentment against, and feelings of victimization by, the parents. Occasionally such attitudes manage to break through to the overt level in the interview material. But they are seen more directly, more consistently, and in more intense form in the fantasy material gathered from the same individuals.

Resentment, be it open or disguised, may readily be understood in view of the strong parental pressures to enforce "good" behavior together with the meagerness of the rewards offered. As a reaction against the underlying hostility, there is often rigid glorification and idealization of the parents. The artificiality of this attitude may be recognized from the description of the parents in exaggerated, superlative (and at the same time stereotypical and externalized) terms.

Usually it is only this admiration which is admitted and ego-accepted. The resentment, rendered ego-alien, is the more active through the operation of mechanisms of displacement. The larger social implications of this displaced hostility are discussed in various contexts throughout the present volume.

The superficial character of the identification with the parents and the consequent underlying resentment against them recurs in the attitudes to authority and social institutions in general. As will be seen, we often find in our high-scoring subjects both overconformity and underlying destructiveness toward established authority, customs, and institutions. A person possessed by such ambivalence may easily be kept in check and may even behave in an exemplary fashion in following those external authorities who take over the function of the superego—and partly even those of the ego. On the other hand, if permitted to do so by outside authority, the same person may be induced very easily to uncontrolled release of his instinctual tendencies, especially those of destructiveness. Under certain conditions he will even join forces with the delinquent, a fusion found in Nazism.

The orientation toward power and the contempt for the allegedly inferior and weak, found in our typical prejudiced subjects, must likewise be considered as having been taken over from the parents' attitude toward the child. The fact that his helplessness as a child was exploited by the parents and that he was forced into submission must have reinforced any existing antiweakness attitude. Prejudiced individuals thus tend to display "negative identification" with the weak along with their positive though superficial identification with the strong.

This orientation toward the strong is often expressed in conscious identification with the more powerful parent. Above all, the men among our prejudiced subjects tend to report having a "stern and distant" father who seems to have been domineering within the family. It is this type of father who elicits in his son tendencies toward passive submission, as well as the ideal of aggressive and rugged masculinity and a compensatory striving for independence. Furthermore, the son's inadequate relation to his mother prevents him from adopting some of the "softer" values.

In line with the fact that the families of the prejudiced, especially those of our male subjects, tend to be father-dominated, there is a tendency in such families toward a dichotomous conception of the sex roles and a relative separation of the sexes within the family (see Chapter XI).

In view of the fact that, depending upon his sex, the personality structure of a parent will have a different effect on that of a child, the same family constellation may make either the son or the daughter more susceptible to nondemocratic ideology. Thus, under certain conditions, a boy may become tolerant when his mother is tolerant and his father not, while the daughter in the same family may become intolerant. This is, perhaps, one of the reasons why siblings sometimes tend toward different political ideologies. Unfortunately, no systematic investigation of siblings could be made in the framework of the present study.

By and large, the prejudiced man has more possibilities available to him to compensate for underlying weaknesses. He may do so by demonstrating his independence, or by implicit or explicit assertion of his superiority over women. Prejudiced women, with fewer outlets at their disposal for the expression of their underlying feelings, show, as will become evident later, stronger underlying hostilities and more rigid defenses than their male counterparts.

In the case of the individuals extremely low on ethnic prejudice the pattern of family relationships differs at least in the degree of emphasis that is placed upon the various factors just listed. One of the most important differences as compared with the family of the typical high scorer is that less obedience is expected of the children. Parents are less status-ridden and thus show less anxiety with respect to conformity and are less intolerant toward manifestations of socially unaccepted behavior. Instead of condemning they

tend to provide more guidance and support, thus helping the child to work out his instinctual problems. This makes possible a better development of socialization and of the sublimation of instinctual tendencies.

Comparatively less pronounced status-concern often goes hand in hand with greater richness and liberation of emotional life. There is, on the whole, more affection, or more unconditional affection, in the families of unprejudiced subjects. There is less surrender to conventional rules, and therefore relations within the family tend to be more internalized and individualized. To be sure, this sometimes goes to the extreme of falling short of the acceptance of normal standards and customs.

Additional evidence will be offered in the next chapter for the fact that unprejudiced individuals often manifest an unrealistic search for love in an attempt to restore the type of early relations they enjoyed within their family. Exaggerated cravings in this direction are often a source of dissatisfaction and open ambivalence.

The unprejudiced man, especially, seems oriented toward his mother and tends to retain a love-dependent nurturance-succorance attitude toward women in general which is not easily satisfied. Such an orientation toward the mother, together with the conception of the father as "mild and relaxed," makes it possible for the unprejudiced man to absorb a measure of passivity in his ideal of masculinity. No compensation through pseudo-toughness and antiweakness attitudes is thus necessary. The humanitarian approach can then be adopted on the basis of identification both with the mother and with the father.

The unprejudiced woman, on the other hand, seems to have more often a genuine liking and admiration for the father, for, say, his intellectual-aesthetic abilities. This often leads to conscious identification with him.

Since the unprejudiced subjects on the whole received more love and feel more basically secure in relation to their parents, they more easily express disagreement with them without fear of retaliation or of a complete loss of love. As is to be expected, such expressions of disagreement will nonetheless often lead to internal conflict, guilt, and anxieties. This is the more to be understood since in this group the relations to the parents tend to be intensive and often highly gratifying. There is certainly a great deal of ambivalence in this type of love-oriented family attachment. Ambivalence is here more openly faced, however, than in the case of the prejudiced.

In spite of the conflicts just mentioned, unprejudiced subjects often succeed in attaining a considerable degree of independence from their parents, and of freedom in making their own decisions. Since hostility toward the parents, when present, tends to be more open, it often takes the form of rebellion against other authorities or, more generally, against objects nearer to the original objects of aggression than are the really, or presumably, weak which serve as favorite objects of aggression in the case of the prejudiced. It

is often in this form that the unprejudiced man expresses his hostility against his father.

On the whole, this type of independence recurs in the unprejudiced subjects' attitude toward social institutions and authorities in general. At the same time, the existing identification with the parents is often accompanied by a more basic identification with mankind and society in general.

The next chapter will present concrete evidence of the fact that the general attitude toward the parents, the greater ability to love, the richer and more libidinized object-cathexis, and the greater independence found in the unprejudiced recur as general traits in their interpersonal relations. Further quotations of actual statements from interviews will confirm the impression gained so far that the ethnically unprejudiced in our culture tend to be more creative and imaginative than the prejudiced and that they are characterized by a fuller integration of their personalities. The concluding chapters of Part II will round out the picture. It must be stressed, however, that the unprejudiced by no means emerges as an unmitigated ideal. Nor must, on the other hand, the prejudiced be blamed as an individual for his or her bias. Rather, the "high" character-structure must largely be considered the outcome of our civilization. The increasing disproportion of the various psychological "agencies" within the total personality is undoubtedly being reinforced by such tendencies in our culture as division of labor, the increased importance of monopolies and institutions, and the dominance of the idea of exchange and of success and competition. This may help to explain the impression the reader may have gained from a detailed perusal of the material presented in this chapter, namely, that all in all the character of the extremely unprejudiced is less clearcut and pronounced than that of the extremely prejudiced, so that one may perhaps say that the high-scorer has more "high" traits than the low-scorer has "low" traits. Of course, a full picture of our civilization will also have to account for the characteristics of the typical low-scorer. A more detailed discussion of all this will be given in Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER XI

SEX, PEOPLE, AND SELF AS SEEN THROUGH THE INTERVIEWS

Else Frenkel-Brunswik

In the preceding chapter, family patterns have been described with the focus on the difference between the descriptions given by prejudiced as compared with unprejudiced individuals. Discussion has centered especially upon the following: authoritarian as contrasted with equalitarian approach, conventionality and stereotypy vs. genuineness and richness of affect, degree and type of dependence, love-orientation as contrasted with opportunistic orientation, openness and admission of hostility, differentiation in attitudes toward the parent of the same sex and of the opposite sex.

Similar themes will now be taken up in a consideration of the subjects' evaluation of, and contact with, the other sex and people in general, and, finally, their self-evaluation. It will be of special interest to investigate in these areas the recurrence or the modifications of the patterns found within the family.

A. ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The aspects to be covered in this section can best be seen from the list of categories used in rating the interview material pertaining to the area of sex adjustment. As is the case throughout the presentation of the Interview Scoring Manual used by the interview raters, the categories are presented in their skeleton form only, omitting the bulk of the extensive oral commentary and discussion offered to the raters. Some of these further specifications are presented together with the subsequent analysis and discussion of the results by categories.

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX

(to Table 1(XI))

PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANTS	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANTS
22. *Status via sex:* E.g., "conquests," emphasis on "dates"; rationalization of any failure or shortcoming	22. *Open admission of inadequacy* without rationalizing
23a. *Rejection of id:* Anti-id moralism; rejection of sex, or continued attachment to a frigid or impotent partner	23a. *Acceptance of id*
23b. *Promiscuity* as a prominent pattern (no extended love relationship)	23b. *Conscious inhibitions without moralism*
24. *Dichotomous sex attitudes:* Sex vs. affection and object-relations; pure vs. low women (in men); depersonalized sex relations or interests. Reference to specified practices	24. *Fusion of sex and affection:* Personalized sex orientation or relations
25. *Underlying disrespect-resentment* toward opposite sex, typically combined with externalized, excessive pseudo-admiration	25. *Genuine respect-fondness* for opposite sex, often with conflict about one's sex role and open ambivalence toward the other sex
26. *Power orientation:* Exploitive-manipulative (concrete benefits). In women: surface-submission plus aggression-castration	26. *Love-seeking* (warmth and affection)
27. *Values conventionally determined*	27. *Values individualized*

Traits desired:

Men in Women:	Emphasis on:
Giving (kind, generous)	Companionship, common interest
Pure (wholesome, "good personality")	Warmth, sociability
Submissive, "sweet"	Sexual love
Women in Men:	Understanding
Hardworking, energetic, go-getting	Liberal values
Moral model, clean-cut	
Deferent	

As can be seen from Table 1(XI), five out of the seven differences studied in comparing the attitudes toward sex of low-scoring and high-scoring men are statistically highly significant. For women three categories are sig-

TABLE 1 (XI)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD SEX

FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
22. Status via sex(H) vs. admission of inadequacy(L)	Men	8	2	1	8	16	3	5
	Women	10	1	1	12	22	2	1
23a. Rejection(H) vs. acceptance(L) of id	Men	17	2	6	4	21	8	
	Women	9	4	4	8	17	8	
23b. Promiscuity(H) vs. conscious inhibitions(L)	Men	0	0	1	0	0	1	
	Women	7	0	2	1	8	2	
24. Dichotomy(H) vs. fusion(L) of sex and affection	Men	11	4	3	6	17	7	
	Women	16	2	4	6	22	6	1
25. Underlying disrespect(H) vs. genuine fondness of opposite sex(L)	Men	13	4	2	7	20	6	5
	Women	12	2	1	11	23	3	1
26. Exploitive power-orientation(H) vs. love-seeking(L)	Men	13	4	2	10	23	6	1
	Women	9	2	2	14	23	4	1
27. Conventional(H) vs. individualized(L) values	Men	12	4	3	6	18	7	1
	Women	10	2	2	11	21	4	

nificant; the remaining ones likewise show the expected trend though in a somewhat less pronounced fashion.

2. STATUS VIA SEX

High-scoring individuals tend to view *sex as a means of obtaining status*, and to *rationalize failures or shortcomings* in this area (Category 22). Ten high-scoring and only 1 of the low-scoring men manifest this attitude. Similar is the proportion for women (8 to 1). These results also illustrate the general tendency of high scorers to speak well of themselves.

The typical high-scoring man apparently has a particularly strong need to conceive of himself as an ideal of masculinity, and so high-scoring men tend either to boast of their sexual conquests or to justify their lack of sexual experience or success by explanations in terms of moral restraint or unfortunate external circumstances. Embarrassment is shown about facts which might point toward a less glorious masculine role, e.g., about what is considered a late sexual start. In women a similar attitude is revealed mainly by reports about popularity with men. There is evidence both of excessive moralism (see below) and of crude promiscuity in the records of the high scorers; sex relations tend to be isolated and depersonalized and thus to become peripheral rather than being integrated with the ego. All this must be seen in the context of the general cultural confusion, and the breakdown of values in general and of sex values in particular in Western civilization; low scorers, although on the whole on better terms with their sex life, are by no means entirely free from this confusion (see below).

Examples from the protocols of interviewees scoring extremely high on the overt ethnocentrism questionnaire follow.

M45, a high-scoring man, boasts a great deal about his ability to seduce girls: (Where get sex instruction?) "In a parked automobile. (Q) I guess when I was about fourteen or fifteen.... Oh, wait a minute, I'll have to go back further than that. First time was when I was about eight years old. Of course, I didn't know what I was doing. It was my cousin . . . (by mutual agreement). It made me sick though. . . . (First intercourse?) Well, must have been fifteen. (Q) Girl I hardly knew. She must have been about twenty years old, out riding, two couples in the car, a Model A. She and I went off by ourselves. . . . A one-night relationship. I don't think I ever saw her again. (Did you have many intercourses before you married?) Yes. (All momentary relationships?) Yes, that's all. (What about second wife?) I was with her twice. I was twenty. The second time didn't last long. I always get married spectacularly. We got married in a taxi cab. . . . We had intercourse before we were married, after four months' acquaintance. She was a virgin."

M46 tells that "I have a peculiar characteristic which causes women to open up on short acquaintance and tell all about themselves."

M18 states that, since the age of 14, he has been "woman crazy" and expressed many fantastic ideas of his sexual power. States that he proposed matrimony many times, but was always repulsed because he could not support the girls. This subject seems to believe in his "sexual power," and the fact that he has been rejected by all

girls to whom he proposed marriage is completly rationalized on the grounds of his economic insufficiency.

Embarrassment about what is felt as an overly late first sex experience is shown in the record of *M11:* (What was your first sex experience?) "At the age of 17, I'm sorry to admit. I mean, it was so late."

F32, a high-scoring woman, remarks that she had always had "scads of boy friends." When she was in the fourth grade there was a boy who used to carry her books home and they remained friends for many years. There was no kissing or anything of that kind. Her father had a farm in _____ and the family spent their summers there for many years. One summer when she was about 18 something very dramatic happened. One night a farmhand who had been interested in her came around to the front door and told her parents that he would shoot himself if she would not marry him. When asked how far their relationship had gone, she denied that there had even been any kissing; "he was only a farmhand."

Our low-scoring interviewees, on the other hand, are mostly frank in their *open admission* without rationalizing, of whatever is thought to be an inadequacy or undue delay with respect to sexual attractiveness, development, or adjustment. The differences on the entire Category 22 are highly significant (at the 1 per cent level) in men and satisfactory (at the 5 per cent level) in women.

Examples from the records of low-scoring men are:

M15, a low scorer, is a good example of the men who frankly admit lack of sexual experience without feeling the necessity to rationalize on moral or other grounds: Picked up all his knowledge from older boys. Remembers some sex play with neighborhood children, but denies active participation. Felt guilty, afraid gang's activities would be discovered.

M49 is frank about the sexual difficulties in his marriage: "We don't—we used to have quite a bit of difficulty, but we're getting along much better now . . . after this operation, I didn't have much desire . . . for about 6 months. . . . I feel now that we're not too close to the peak . . . but it's so much better now."

M53 describes his earliest sex experience: "Oh, I think it was about 15 or 16. (Q) With a gal that was not very satisfactory. (Q) Someone I knew fairly well." Subject indicates later that this was intercourse, although not very successful.

M55: "Oh, about 14, though I wasn't very successful. . . . So clumsy, I don't know whether you'd call it experience, but imagine when I was about seventeen, in the back seat of an automobile." (Other sex experiences before marriage?) Subject mentions several incidental relationships, none of which led to affairs. . . . "I think that probably contributed to my feeling of not being successful and not being able to . . . afraid of being clumsy. . . ."

M56 tells that he has "always been rather inhibited about sex."

M59 admits that his girl left him for another man: "At 16 about a year and a half. I felt pretty bad about it when we split up. I got a job and she started going out with another man."

Likewise frank are the low-scoring women in their admission of difficulties in adjusting to a feminine role, or of a lack of attraction for men.

Thus *F62,* asked about her boy friends, reports: "I am avoided by the male sex perhaps because I am too heavy. I only have speaking acquaintances with boys. When I meet boys I immediately try to be witty and clever and this is a great mis-

take. I never go on dates; sometimes I am glad of it because I have more time for reading—and sometimes I am sorry."

F27 reports: (After you began to get acquainted with boys, were you at ease with them?) "Not for a long time. At first I didn't even enjoy a date. I was so busy worrying if he would ask me for another. I can't say I ever did enjoy boys very much. It is just the idea that they are boys. I never got all thrilled like some girls do. I never cared a lot about anyone until I met my husband."

F30 has no difficulties in admitting that she never had a date: "We became engaged without ever having a date. In fact, I never had dates. . . . We often laugh now about the fact that we got engaged and knew we wanted to spend our lives together without ever having had a date."

F63 tells about her difficulty in accepting the feminine role: "Can't make myself do anything. Never have been willing to accept my role as a woman. This is just one of a long series of depressions which have resulted from having my ambitions blocked. I really love my present husband, would like to get myself straightened out while he is at sea. If I don't I'll lose him too."

Generally, one of the most outstanding characteristics of our low-scoring subjects is their ability to admit shortcomings in themselves (see Section C). The above quotations show clearly that low-scoring men can admit sexual insufficiency, "awkwardness," and "clumsiness" without further rationalization. Similarly the low-scoring women are ready to face their lack of success in this field as well as their difficulties in accepting a feminine role. Especially in the last of the records there is clear indication of conflict between love for the husband and having one's "ambitions blocked" by marriage. At the same time, sex seems to be much more integrated with social relations in unprejudiced individuals, and much more oriented toward specific persons.

3. MORALISTIC REJECTION OF INSTINCTUAL TENDENCIES

It appears, furthermore, that high scorers tend to manifest what may be called a *moralistic rejection of the id* (Category 23a). The restricted type of prejudiced person manifests, in the main, explicit anti-id moralism; the less restricted—but often not less inhibited—type of high scorer, to be found primarily in our prison sample, manifests the same tendency though often more indirectly, e.g., by attachment to a frigid woman and often in context with promiscuity. If high-scoring subjects think of sex primarily in terms of success and failure, it is not surprising to find that they tend to reject the purely erotic or sensual.

Our low scorers, on the other hand, tending in general to be less repressed, seem to manifest more *acceptance of the id.* The results on the entire Category 23a show the expected trend without, however, reaching statistical significance. There are 17 positive as contrasted with 8 negative instances in men, and a similar and slightly higher ratio in women.

Examples of high-scoring men who are attached to a frigid partner are:

M40: In the past year subject has been very much in love with a married woman.

"She doesn't like her husband, but has a false loyalty to him because he is in the army, and makes herself miserable. I never met the man. I got fed up from her sheer stupidity! When I went East, I was to send her money to get her divorce and I wrote her daily and she never replied; and I came out to find out what had happened and she re-discovered her loyalty to him and she actually wouldn't let me touch her. He hurt her physically and she couldn't enjoy sex. She had a doctor treating her and she would say to me, 'I am only half a woman.' All that was a part of it all. I was prepared to take care of everything and I had arranged to take care of her younger brother and sister."

M45: (What sort of person was she?) "The type of person that you see a lot of. Wise and dumb, both. . . . Knows a lot about business, nothing about people. . . . She trusts everyone (subject gives an example). . . . We didn't get on too good sexually because she was kind of on the frigid line, but still in all I was in love with her and I still am. I'd like nothing better than to go back to her. . . . I don't think there's much chance of it though. . . ."

M51: (Marriage?) "She was 12 years older than me. (Q) She's a very literary person. We did have a lot of things in common. She's cold as a clam sexually (Did you have intercourse with her?) Yes, lots of times and I used especially . . . in the evening getting ready to go out. . . ."

M52: "She tried very hard to make me happy. . . . The thing that eventually broke us up was (proximity of her parents). She could always run home. . . . Another drawback was the sexual relationship. . . . She was the type that didn't care much for it. . . . She never had any desire for it."

Although rejection of the id, in the foregoing records of high-scoring men, is manifested mainly in the choice of, and attachment to, a frigid woman, it is interesting to note that some of the men at the same time show signs of crude and unsocialized sex impulses (see below). In these cases the inability to accept genuine sexuality leads to both a frequent change of the sex object without personal involvement, and involvement without sex.

Anti-id moralism is more clearly manifest in the statements of prejudiced women, who often have very definite ideas of what is to be considered as wrong. Examples from their interviews follow.

F22: "Sex isn't uppermost in my mind by any means. . . . I'm more for having a good time with the exclusion of sex interest. (Q) I've been shocked by the conduct of my girl friends. I didn't think they were that type."

F31: "I think a girl should be friendly, but I don't like necking in the back of a show. A boy and a girl should be just friends."

F74: "When at high school was first kissed." Subject didn't like it. She was frightened.

F71: (Proper?) "I don't believe in parking—no matter what you're doing. I believe in kissing. I've done my share of it, but I've never parked. . . . (A girl who did) I'd stick with, but wouldn't think much of her. . . . Mother says 'a boy admires a girl who admires herself.'"

Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, show more acceptance of sex in general, though not without evidence of conflict.

Acceptance of instinctual tendencies is shown in the following records of low-scoring subjects:

M56: (Importance of sex in marriage?) "Very high. I was fortunate in being perfectly mated to my wife, sexually, that is."

M55: (Sex adjustment with her?) "Very well, took quite a long time, though."

M16: Subject was in love several times—some of the times the girls were married or did not want to marry him. Once during the depression he had an affair with one girl for several years but did not want to get married because of financial circumstances. Subject married in _____ after living with his present wife for several years. "We get along pretty well, never quarrel. (How did you get along sexually?) Pretty well."

4. "PURE" *VS.* "BAD" WOMEN

It is probably the predominance of surface adulation of, and underlying resentment against, the mother, found in high-scoring men, that leads to what is here called their *dichotomous sex attitudes* as defined by the separation of sex and affect, or by the sharpness of the distinction between a "bad" and a "pure" woman. On the other hand, *fusion of sex and affect*, a tendency to more personalized sex relations, is found more often in low-scoring men (Category 24). The difference is significant at the 1 per cent level as defined at the end of Chapter IX.

In our sample of women we find the same trend, but the difference is not statistically significant.

Examples of the dichotomous conception of "good" vs. "bad" women, taken from the records of high-scoring men, follow.

M51: (Other relations with women?) "Well, yes, three or four, all older than me and they weren't anything but physical."

M52: "She taught me something that stuck with me all my life, that a woman is the most perfect thing in the world, that is, the right kind of woman."

M6: "I like a girl who is level-headed and can talk on several topics. I don't like the Maizie and Flo type or the sex boxes. Yes, I have been out with the latter, but you have to be careful. There's always the danger of disease."

The records of the following two high scorers show the kind of characteristics these men value most in the girls they would like to marry:

M14: (What about girls?) "Well, there is nothing definite yet, though I have known a lot. I never have found one I'd like to marry. I want a girl whose sole interest is in the home. I think a woman's place should not be in the business world. So many women have lost the sense of home. . . ."

M20: "They're (Indians) a reckless lot, careless about marriages and divorce. . . . (Q) Yes, I went through high school with one girl. . . . Very religious. Got with her around the church. . . . Never took each other very seriously, more or less, just accepted one another." The subject left and when he returned, she had gotten married. "She was more or less what I was looking for. Very religious. . . ."

The conception of marriage as a rather external affair not involving common interests, and also demonstrating conventional moralism, is given by the record of the following high scorer:

M41: (What was your wife like?) "A nice person. A nurse, before I married her.

(Q) Well, I liked her looks and manners. (In what ways were you most alike?) Well, we weren't much alike in any way. We got along all right. . . . Her mother was Christian Science. (What about her?) She was Christian Science. (Any children?) No. (In what ways most different?) Well, a little different in tastes about things. (Q) Most anything. I liked flowers and she didn't care much for flowers. (Main difficulties?) I didn't have any. We got along good. I let her have her own way. Takes two to start an argument. (Have her way in what things?) In most anything. Well, if we was going anywhere, if I went to buy a suit of clothes, I let her pick it out. If we wanted anything for the house, I let her pick it. (Childhood sex experiences?) Well, I don't remember any. When I was a kid, such things weren't taught. . . . Such things weren't mentioned by parents or anyone else. If you met a girl on the street, you'd blush. . . . I don't think it's a very good subject to teach. They learn it soon enough."

The lack of integration of sex and affection found in high-scoring men is likewise illustrated by some of these quotations. Quite commonly, in the girls they would like to marry, they require, above all, moral standards; often this is the only requirement. Frequently their marriages do not seem to be based on companionship or love. As far as their reports about premarital sexual relationships are concerned, they usually manifest contempt for the women involved. In both marriage and the more casual sex relationships there seems to be little concern with common interest and comradeship.

The difference in the attitude toward sexual relationships in high-scoring as compared with low-scoring men can perhaps best be exemplified by two records describing extramarital relationships. In both cases there is evidence of sexual and marital maladjustment. The differences, however, are characteristic of the two groups, respectively.

M58, a high-scoring man, reports: "And if you're not satisfied it might become uppermost in your mind, even above work, etc. . . . I believe I've seen where it is necessary for emotional stability, to relieve yourself regardless of marriage. (How do you mean?) First thing you know you're looking around . . . find something somewhere and relieve . . . then can go back and concentrate. . . . (What main difficulties have you found in your marriage?) My wife and I have always been thoroughly compatible . . . (only trivial daily problems) . . . can't think of anything . . . only one particular thing: I got to chasing around with another woman (although my wife had nothing to do with it; there was no conflict with her) it was in me entirely alone. . . ."

M10, a low-scoring man: "We have not enjoyed our sexual relationships almost since the first day of our marriage. I don't want it, and we often go for months without coitus . . . is that the word? My wife always takes the initiative in our relationships; she is very passionate. So am I—I have had three affairs since my marriage. I am having one now and she knows it."

The first of these men, a high scorer, talks about sex as though it were an ego-alien tension which has to be "relieved" for hygienic reasons. Thus, in the most intimate interpersonal relationships, he displays a utilitarian and (pseudo-)realistic outlook. The depersonalized attitude in this subject is drastically expressed by referring to his sexual partner as "something," and

in the phrase "find something somewhere and relieve." On the other hand, the low-scoring subject, in a somewhat evasive, unperceptive effort to integrate his extramarital relationships into his total life-pattern, exemplifies the inhibited and at the same time impulse-ridden maladjustment sometimes found in those scoring low on ethnocentrism.

5. EGO-ALIEN AMBIVALENCE *VS.* "FONDNESS"

The isolation of sex experience in the typical high scorers is connected with an ambivalent *underlying disrespect for, and resentment against, the opposite sex,* often hidden behind an externalized and excessive *pseudoadmiration.* Low scorers, on the other hand, manifest more often *genuine respect and fondness* for the opposite sex (Category 25). The difference is highly significant (1 per cent level) for men, and satisfactorily significant (5 per cent level) for women.

An example of the "High" type of ambivalence toward women is the following statement:

M81: "I don't think men respect women or anything about women, the way they ought to. . . . In other words, women aren't inferior to men. If anything, they are superior. After all, they are the hands that rock the cradle." His admiration of women goes hand in hand with his conception of women as weak. Subject argues strongly at this point that restrictions should be removed on women, but still expresses his disapproval of women in business on the grounds that it would spoil the dependent (i.e., the home type) woman's chances.

More open lack of appreciation is shown in the following description of his stepmother by a high scorer:

M40: (What sort of person was your stepmother?) "Pretty hard to describe, just another woman, I guess . . . nothing glaringly outstanding. (In what ways was she like your father?) She wasn't. (How different?) In every way. She wasn't his equal in anything—intellectually. More matter of convenience than anything else."

Undisguised contempt for girls is displayed by another high scorer:

M11: "But I can't stand being around a bunch of girls, a lot of senseless chatter. They are all the same. Sororities are the cliquiest and the snottiest."

One of the high-scoring prison inmates blames his fate on his wife:

M57: "This last one I married was really a corker. . . . She just got her divorce. . . . I found out she was married all the time to another man. . . . She got me in here, I guess I got pussy-simple."

Correspondingly, contempt for men is expressed in the following records of high-scoring women:

F24: "Of course, now if you pick a boy as a friend, right away they want to get juicy. You have to be careful about boys."

F31: "I wouldn't want to be a factory worker, either. It's not very good to say now, when they need everybody that's working in factories, but I can't see a girl

working in jeans and around grease and putting themselves on the same level with men."

Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, in seeking companionship with the opposite sex, more often manifest some measure of fondness. This attitude, shown by the following protocols, tends to increase in longer and more intimate relationships, as indicated by the statement of *M42* that "a successful marriage certainly leads to familiarity but not to contempt."

The necessity of frankness in marriage is emphasized by *M59:* "When I do meet the one girl for me, I shall explain all my past life to her, because I do not believe that happiness can be based on lies." The frankness but also the compulsive feature in this statement are characteristic of the type of low scorer with neurotic features (see below).

Another low scorer shows love and respect for a woman in spite of the fact that the marriage did not work out:

M50: "At that time I was too self-centered to be in love with anyone. . . . I did admire and respect and like her . . . but we never should have gotten married. . . . Today I think we could have a better chance of making a go of it . . . because I have grown up sufficiently."

This record further shows the inclination toward self-blame and intrapunitiveness often found in low scorers.

Real love and common interest with her husband is stressed by:

F30: "I thought _____ was wonderful. He was so brilliant and his ideas and aspirations and mine were just alike. . . . We were all good companions and chums, and _____ and I had settled all the world's problems but we had never really talked about ourselves."

6. EXPLOITIVE MANIPULATION FOR POWER

In their relations to the opposite sex as in other interpersonal relationships, high scorers tend toward an *exploitive-manipulative type of power orientation.* There is more of a *warm and affectionate "love-seeking"* attitude in the low scorers. Differences with respect to this pair of opposites (Category (26) are statistically highly significant (1 per cent level) for both men and women.

Thus, the traits which high-scoring men tend to emphasize in women are the giving of material benefits and submissiveness ("sweet," "kind and generous"), along with purity ("wholesome") and conventionality. They expect to get something from women often without giving much in return. As in the attitude toward their parents, it is again a dependence oriented primarily toward material benefits rather than a dependence stemming from the wish to give or to receive love, although the latter tendencies are by no means completely squelched. Examples are:

M40: (What sort of woman would you like to marry?) "Wealthy woman. Other

requirements?) Well, I'd like her to be maximum 35, preferably anywhere between 28 and 30. (Any other specifications?) I'll take that as it comes."

M45: "Was married three times. The first time in _____ at eighteen. It lasted six weeks. My partner in a dance walkathon. Married on the floor, no love, but received money for it from the spectators. . . . Sex relationship was more enjoyable than with either of my other wives."

In line with this, the traits which the typical high-scoring woman tends to desire in men are likewise primarily instrumental in getting the things she wants. They are: hard-working, "go-getting," energetic, "a good personality," (conventionally) moral, "clean-cut," deferent toward women. The next record shows clearly the two-sided nature of the demands high-scoring women tend to make upon a man. On the one hand, he must have a strong drive in order to get things for her; on the other, he must be deferent and "thoughtful."

F71: (Q) "Fine boy. Father a writer; grandfather secretary of _____ Canal; very wealthy family but he doesn't have the drive and ambition that I want; I just have to have more drive; somebody who doesn't have to lean on me. I had the feeling that if I walked away he would collapse. (War changed him?) He has more ambition but not the drive—I haven't seen him for a long time; that's why I haven't made any decision. Here you mingle with boys who have so much push and drive; another boy here has everything except that he isn't thoughtful like. . . . I've got to have someone who isn't selfish. I'm not critical—I know I'm not."

This as well as the next two records of other high-scoring women illustrate the inherently opportunistic point of view, the looking at men from the standpoint, above all, of social status and the ability to furnish support:

F22: "I'm going to look (among other things) for the fellow's views on supporting me. I'd like to marry someone, for instance, who is going into a profession—maybe a doctor. (Engagement?) It didn't take me long to get over it. His father died when he was 3; his mother was 40 when he was born. Father left mother lots of money. He was a playboy, worked but borrowed money from his mother. He was pretty much attached to his mother's apron strings. We were engaged 7 or 8 months. I'm not demanding, but he was selfish. We argued more and more, broke up by mutual consent. I learned a lot from it—not to go into things blindly."

F31: "But there is one thing that is bothering me. Saturday night I had a blind date, and I liked him a lot; only he is a sailor and my boy friend is an officer. It's not that I'm conscious of gold braid. . . . (Marriage?) Well, I'd like someone . . . with a good personality who mixes well with people. Someone who at the same time is serious about the future. My boy friend is an engineer."

By contrast, low-scoring subjects tend to emphasize as desired traits companionship, common interest, warmth, sociability, sexual love, understanding, presence of liberal values. Sometimes their quest for love is so intense and unrealistic that it becomes a source of disappointment to them. This search for the "great romantic love" seems to be based on a wish to restore a successful early relation with a parent, based on nurturance and succor-

ance. As they were found to be for parents, expressions of passionate love for sex partners are generally infrequent in our interview material, however.

Two records may suffice to illustrate, each in its own way, the different quality of what low-scoring subjects expect from their partners as well as a certain pervasive tendency toward self-blame.

F34: She talks of looking forward to marriage and children eventually, but she has modest financial requirements for a husband. She has had many boy friends and is the "romantic type." "I always want to feel this is my great love—and then it isn't. That sort of thing is all right when you are in school. But nowadays when your boy friend goes away to war and you write letters and build up a lot of things that may not even be there—it isn't fair to either person." She has been "sort of engaged" for two years to a boy she knew in school. He has been overseas in the navy and they have written regularly—romantic letters. She goes out with other boys and he knows this and doesn't object. She hasn't fallen in love with anyone else, but her worry is that her feeling for him is not love. He came home on furlough, and his family, who live in _____ now, had her come down to their home and stay there for several days while he was there. She feels that he sensed that she did not feel the same, and yet she could not bring herself to say anything. She believes this was very cowardly of her and shows an absence of character. She thinks it is quite possible the boy's feelings have changed too, "but why can't people be honest about things like that? And now he is gone and nothing is settled."

M44: Subject says that in visiting someone at the hospital, his wife seems to know naturally just how to act toward the person, or, at a public meeting knows just what kind of questions to ask to draw the person out further instead of shutting him up. "And she is a helper, she is the helpingest person, the most willing and helping person that I've ever known."

7. CONVENTIONALITY *VS.* INDIVIDUALISM

Again, as in other areas of life, the values of high-scoring subjects with respect to sex tend to be *conventionally determined* as opposed to the more *individualized* values of low-scoring subjects (Category 27). This variable differentiates significantly (at the 1 per cent level) between high- and low-scoring men; a similar trend, 18 positive and 7 negative instances, is found in women; because of the large proportion of "Neutrals," however, the difference is not statistically significant.

The following records show that in the choice of their mates high-scoring subjects tend to place a great deal of emphasis on socioeconomic status, church membership, and conformity with conventional values. The accent is on what is generally socially approved and accepted. Thus the men expect their future wives to stay home, take care of house and children, and attend church. This tendency is often found in the same men who show evidence of primitive and crude sex experience, outside of marriage (see above).

The conventional approach to marriage is best illustrated by the following records of high-scoring women:

F32: "Well, I think that because of the society in which we live, young people

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miss a great deal by not being married in the church of their faith. They lose the reverence for marriage and don't learn the true meaning of the marriage vows, when it is done so commercially (in a public office). I think that when people are married in church—by that I don't mean a large wedding necessarily—they have one of the most beautiful experiences of their lives. . . . The thing which the church can teach youth is 'to choose.' " By this, she means principally the choice between right and wrong, but also to choose one's friends. "In a church group one meets the right kind of young people; not the kind who hang around the lake shore at night."

F78: "It was just love at first sight. He has brown hair, brown eyes, white teeth, not handsome, but good clean-cut looking; beautiful smile; mixes well, easy to get along with but has a will of his own. He's lots of fun, interested in everything. He's a high school graduate, now a mechanic in the ground crew of the Naval Air Transport. He wants to go into something in the mechanical line. Before the war he was an apprentice in the auto industry. . . ." The vocation of her husband really wouldn't matter. She thinks boy friend has good chances of getting along, definitely. She would like a profession—"sort of middle class."

F74: "Too much emotional feeling involved under these conditions." (Desirable traits?) Boy friend should be about the same socioeconomic status. They should enjoy doing the same things and get along without too many quarrels.

Or in high-scoring men:

M58: (Wife like?) "Very good person. She has gone to church, and has continued to . . . ever since the child was born. A very good wife, good mother, and darned good cook. Considerate of my folks . . . helped my mother with money, of her own accord. (What do wife and subject offer each other?) Well, I'll be doggoned if I know. Doesn't seem as if any bonds at all. Just she belongs there and so do I."

M20: "In my mind, there's no doubt about it. Woman's place is in the home. . . . To keep up a home and make it right and a man should be able to provide for the family. . . . A woman has no business working whatsoever."

In contrast with the stereotyped and conventional description of their desired or real mates given by the high-scoring subjects, the typical low-scoring subject takes a much more individualized attitude, as shown in the following quotations:

M53: (What sort of girl appeals to you?) "I don't know. . . . I think I like the ones with more independent spirit. (Q) Well, looks, charm (laughs), humor and a certain freedom of spirit. In thought, I think, more than in action. . . . (Present fiancée?) Awfully hard to say when you're sold on a girl. . . . Seems to have all the things I like . . . fun to be with, brains, pretty. She likes me, which is important. We share things together. Music, reading, swimming, dancing. Most of the things we do don't require too much energy, which makes it good."

M50: (What about your first wife?) "She was an artist also and a really thoroughgoing individual. She had a tremendous amount of scope, both intellectually and individually. She is looking for something too. Not as serious as my case, just the case of a girl marrying the wrong person."

M44: (What sort of person is your wife?) (laughs) "She's a little bit easy to hurt or touchy about some things. . . . The most admirable thing, the most attractive thing about her is her hands. She has very small, delicate hands. She uses them very well and they're very expressive . . . and she also does things very fast, adept, sews

very well, very domestic, very much the mother. She was never really herself until she had this child, never really complete."

M2: (Ideal woman?) "She has to be (1) intelligent, (2) mature, (3) emotionally stable, (4) have adequate physiological characteristics, as well as have (5) culture and personality that goes with this. She should have at least as broad an interest and experience as my own, if not broader. She should have a maximum of femininity, since we're all bisexual. You can think of it in terms of a polyfactorial setup (subject then quotes Rosanoff's theory of four factors in sex)."

The preceding descriptions by low-scoring subjects of their real or ideal mates reveal a conception of real people and an expectation of finding a person with "independent opinions" and "independent spirit."

8. SUMMARY

Summarizing the attitude of the typical high-scoring subject toward members of the opposite sex, the following may be said: A lack of individuation and of real object relationship can be found in the field of sex as it was previously found in the attitude toward the parents. It is this lack which may be called upon to explain the attitudes described above, such as the relative isolation of sexual impulses from the rest of the personality, the paucity of affection, and the somewhat exploitive, manipulative approach in the choice of a mate. Much of this may be understood in terms of disappointments which apparently had been experienced by many of the extreme high-scorers in their first love-relations, those with their parents.

The same ambivalence which was found in the attitude toward parents can be found again in the sexual domain. Again there is surface admiration, coupled with underlying resentment against the other sex. Ambivalence also tends to be handled by establishing two separate images, one positive and one negative (good and bad women), without, however, being able really to love either of them.

Status-concern and conventionalized values again become predominant and take the place of a genuine and individualized approach. The expectations of qualities in oneself and in one's mate are quite stereotyped and rigid. Shortcomings in these respects are faced as little as they are in other fields. Thus, as pointed out above, high-scoring subjects often think of themselves as the ideal representation of the conventional conception of their sex role.

The attitudes of the low-scoring subjects reveal a rather different picture, though it is much less clear-cut than that of the high scorers. In other words, the "High" variants of the categories in question are often more typical for the high-scoring subjects than the "Low" variants are for the low-scoring subjects. On the whole, our low scorers tend toward a more individualized, more internalized, more love-oriented approach toward their mates. (See also Chapter X.)

This does not mean, however, that in most of the cases their problems in

this field are readily solved. On the contrary, some of the records of low-scoring subjects quoted above reveal a great deal of conflict in this area. Such subjects refer rather frankly to their inadequacies, inhibitions, and failures in sex adjustment. There also is evidence of ambivalence toward one's own sex role and toward the opposite sex although this ambivalence is of a different, more internalized kind from the combination of overt admiration and underlying disrespect characteristic of high scorers. Its clearest representation is the conflict of the man about his passivity and of the woman about her tendency to follow masculine interests. Ambivalence toward the other sex seems in low scorers often to be the consequence of an overly intense search for love that is not easily satisfied.

Low-scoring men sometimes seem to long for a restoration, in a close relationship with a woman, of the type of love they received from the mother, and this may become a source of dissatisfaction. As Krout and Stagner (65) have shown, male liberals claim less difficulty in expressing their affection for women and show preference for women of equal status. At the same time they experience more frustration in their love relations.

Low-scoring women, on the other hand, sometimes develop a conflict between the satisfactions derived from emotional dependence on the man and a striving for independence that leads to competition with men.

However, in spite of these conflicts, retardations, and ambivalences, there seems to be more actual or potential heterosexuality in low scorers. The interview material reveals a more genuine and more personalized relationship to members of the other sex, more fondness and ability to love in sexual relationships, more ego-accepted sensuality. Conflicts and inadequacies, being faced more openly, have a greater chance of being worked out successfully.

Since the typical low-scoring man more readily accepts his own femininity than the high scorer, and the low-scoring woman her masculine strivings, one important source of hidden aggression toward the opposite sex—and toward other people generally, as it seems—is reduced.

B. ATTITUDE TOWARD PEOPLE

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The part of the Scoring Manual covering social attitudes toward people in general is as follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: ATTITUDE TOWARD PEOPLE (to Table 2(XI))

PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANTS	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANTS
28. *Moralistic condemnation*	28. *Permissiveness* toward individuals; rejections rationalized by reference to principles.

29a. *Extrapunitiveness*	29a. *Impunitiveness* 29b. *Intrapunitiveness;* excessive guilt-feelings and self-reproach
30. *Distrust-suspicion,* people as threatening; *victimization;* survival of fittest idea, world as jungle	30. *Trustingness.* Openness; people essentially "good" until proved otherwise
31a. *Hierarchical conception* of human relations	31a. *Equalitarianism-mutuality*
31b. *Hero worship* of acquaintances	
32a. *Diffuse, ego-alien dependence;* non-love-seeking	32a. *Focal, love-seeking succorance*
32b. *Exploitive-manipulative opportunism*	32b. *Personalized nurturance*
	32c. *Genuine object-cathexis*

33. *Traits desired in friends:*

a. *Status* acceptable or admirable (economic or social)	a. Acceptable on grounds of *intrinsic worth;* companionship and common interests; intellectual-aesthetic approach; "easy-going" traits; social awareness and insight; liberal values
b. *Moral-conventional:* clean-cut, good manners, emphasis on honesty, poise, control	

As can be seen from Table 2(XI), the eleven categories in this area differentiate satisfactorily, on the whole, the two extreme groups that make up our sample of interviewees.

2. MORALISTIC CONDEMNATION *VS.* PERMISSIVENESS

High-scoring individuals were found to tend toward a *moralistic condemnation* of other people while *permissiveness toward individuals* is more common in our low scorers (Category 28). For both men and women this difference is quite significant (1 per cent level). For men there are 30 positive instances as contrasted with only 4 negative ones ("positive" and "negative" in the sense defined in the last section of Chapter IX); for women, the proportion is 24 to 6.

It is easy to understand why condemnation of people, based on an external and conventional set of values, should be closely connected with prejudice; in fact, such an attitude seems close to being the very essence of prejudice.

The records, quoted below, of subjects scoring high on overt ethnocentrism illustrate a readiness to condemn others on such external bases as absence of good manners, uncleanliness, "twitching the shoulders," saying "inappropriate" things (inappropriate, as will be seen, on a superficial level only), and so forth.

The statements show a great deal of indulgence in what is seen as "righteous indignation" about people considered as inferior. This indignation seems to serve the double purpose of externalizing what is unacceptable in oneself,

TABLE 2 (XI)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD PEOPLE

FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by: 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
28. Moralistic condemnation(H) vs. permissiveness(L)	Men	14	1	3	16	30	4	1
	Women	14	3	3	10	24	6	1
29a. Extrapunitiveness(H) vs. impunitiveness(L)	Men	17	1	1	9	26	2	1
	Women	15	2	2	3	18	4	
29b. Intropunitiveness(L)	Men		1		7	7	1	
	Women		2		6	6	2	
30. Distrust-suspicion(H) vs. trustingness	Men	14	2	3	14	28	5	1
	Women	19	4	3	9	28	7	1
31a. Hierarchical conception(H) vs. equalitarianism-mutuality(L)	Men	12	1	2	11	23	3	1
	Women	13	2	1	11	24	3	1
31b. Hero worship of acquaintances(H)	Men	1		1		1	1	
	Women	1		0		1	0	
32a. Dependence, diffuse, ego-alien (H) vs. focal, love-seeking(L)	Men	14	3	3	10	24	6	1
	Women	10	3	1	7	17	4	5
32b. Exploitive-manipulation(H) vs. personalized nurturance(L)	Men	6	3	1	9	15	4	
	Women	3	3	0	8	11	3	
32c. Genuine object-cathexis(L)	Men		1		13	13	1	5
	Women		3		8	8	3	
Traits desired in friends:								
33a. Status(H) vs. intrinsic worth(L)	Men	7	2	2	16	23	4	1
	Women	10	3	0	10	20	3	1
33b. Moral-conventional(H)	Men	11		4		11	4	
	Women	11		3		11	3	

and of displacing one's hostility which otherwise might turn against powerful "ingroups," e.g., the parents.

Furthermore, the subsequent records presented in the following contain statements referring to a positive ideal of how one should behave, the essence of which is expressed by one of the subjects in this group who demands that everybody should have a "set of rules"; these rules turn out to be determined either by convention or by a shallow interpretation of church dogma. The emphasis on conventional values is found in the respectable as well as in the delinquent high scorer (prison inmate; see also Chapter XXI).

Examples, for the various aspects listed, from the records of high-scoring male prison inmates follow:

M40: (What things offend you most in other people?) "Just that they're people. (Meaning?) Oh, the majority are ignorant, close to animals as anything else. I mean *dumb* animals. (Q) They haven't got sense enough to see things as they are; they are easily swayed, crude, uncouth; they are like a pack. Show 'em a leader and they will go anywhere. (Are most people like this?) Records show it. (What records?) Statistics. (Q) Like in here (prison). The average IQ is something around 50 or 60. Very, very low.... They carry a knife and cut some poor son-of-a-bitch, and think they're tough...."

M41: (What do you find most offensive in others?) "Well, some people are more attractive than others. Some people have no attraction. Don't take care of themselves. Don't keep *clean.* Don't have *manners*...."

M45: (What do you find most irritating in others?) "Petty habits. (What do you mean?) I've noticed some people have a habit of snorting or as if their nose is always running or twitching their shoulders or my wife's habit of picking at things with her fingernails. (Others?) Not being able to tend to their own business, not having sense enough to understand, to know when they're imposing on you.... It's changed around here (in prison) now, getting so many of these young kids, zootsuiters, don't have any tact at all.... (What else?) Greed, I can't stand anyone who will take something without thinking about the other person ... without any politeness.... You'd be surprised. You can find some of the politest people in the world right in here.... I believe in helping your fellow man regardless."

A positive ideal of behavior as derived primarily from religious convention is stated in the following records of high scorers:

M52: (Main differences between Christians and other people?) "Christians are people that at all times strive to do what is right and abide by God's word."

M58: "... and the person who has lived according to Christianity will live forever—those who have not will perish at that time."

M4: (Importance of religion?) "It's very important. It gives people an opportunity to utilize some of their extra energy, also helps to set a standard for behavior and conduct. Without religion, there would be a lot more crime and delinquency in the world. (Is the world getting better or worse?) It's getting worse—the younger generation is wilder, 17-year-old boys go out and get drunk; and science is responsible for all this, that is, provides motor cars for them to get out in, they start drinking."

In the records of high-scoring women there is a similar condemnation of people on moralistic and conventional grounds. Sometimes we find a general condemnation and contempt for an assumed inferiority of people which is quite similar to the statement of one of the high-scoring men, quoted above, to the effect that the "majority (of people) are ignorant, close to animals. . . I mean dumb animals." While rejection of other people is more common in high scorers, low scorers tend more toward self-rejection.

Illustrations from records of high-scoring women follow.

F66: (Why not social welfare?) "Well, some of the people you see—I just don't like them. I don't think I'd have enough patience to help them. . . . (Why not social activities?) I didn't like the people. We had just moved there and they just weren't my kind. (Q) They were too cliquish and infantile. They were silly, always giggling, wore jeans and dirty old plaid shirts. . . ."

F24: (Low income group?) "They don't think fast enough—can't make it. They haven't educated themselves for any line. Most people are like that all their lives. (Maybe they haven't had opportunities?) There's a way—there's always a way if they care enough. Maybe it's tough, but eventually you can get there."

F22: "I don't go in for petting; I can't see necking for hours either. (Q) I've been shocked by the conduct of my girl friends. I didn't think they were that type of girl."

By contrast, low-scoring subjects tend to be permissive and tolerant toward individuals (although not necessarily toward institutions). Or at least they make an attempt to understand behavior from a common sense (if not professional) psychological or sociological point of view; and they show generally more empathy. Whenever rejection of individuals occurs, an attempt is usually made to explain or to rationalize this rejection on the basis of violation of fundamental principles and social values rather than for surface reasons.

3. EXTRAPUNITIVENESS

Another attitude, quite directly akin to prejudice, is that of *extrapunitiveness*, to use Rosenzweig's term (16), i.e., a tendency to blame other people rather than oneself. As has been repeatedly pointed out in this volume, lack of insight into one's own shortcomings and the projection of one's own weaknesses and faults onto others is often found in high-scoring subjects. It probably represents the essential aspect of the mechanism of scapegoating.

An opposite variant to extrapunitiveness is *impunitiveness*, i.e., the tendency to refrain from blaming altogether, be it others or oneself.

The differential distribution of this pair of opposites (Category 29a) with respect to overt ethnocentrism is quite significant for men (1 per cent level)—26 positive and only 2 negative instances. For women there is a distinct trend in the same direction—18 positive as contrasted with 4 negative instances—but it is not statistically significant.

An "extrapunitive" attitude is manifested in the descriptions given by the following high-scoring women about their co-workers, fellow students or teachers:

F60: Subject just doesn't care for her fellow workers. "Some have all the PDQ's (degrees) but no common sense." She wouldn't like to mention names, but she'd like to tell me what goes on. "Some just spend their time gossiping together." She doesn't believe she should do more than just speak to her fellow workers. Very scornful of them, feels superior and aloof. They don't know her at all—no, indeed—implies she's a very special somebody and could reveal her gifts to them, but doesn't. She describes how she treated masturbation. The others were afraid to stop the children. But she just "popped" the little boys' and girls' hands and said, "Now, don't do that. It isn't good for you."

F71: Sister president of sorority in high school and of interclub council; thinks high school sororities "stupid and silly—dirty rushing, girls misplaced in clubs. Nothing as selfish and cruel as a little high school girl growing up. Noisy—no attention to business—it was just too much." Talks about high school teacher—thinks her aspiration level too high. "Too much screaming and yelling—has theateritis—polished and professional—too many students broke down—you have to be *stone* to take it."

F77, although talking about her mother, reveals her general attitude toward people in the following quotation: "This wouldn't have happened if I hadn't gone down. She's mean and inconsiderate and doesn't give a darn about anyone else but herself. I helped her with so many things. She hasn't helped me with one little thing—I can't stand it."

The foregoing statements illustrate the tendency of high scorers to blame others for difficulties that arise in their contact with other people or their work.

As was pointed out above, low-scoring subjects tend either not to blame at all (impunitiveness); or they may show exaggerated self-blame, *intrapunitiveness* (Category 29b). The latter tendency was found in 7 low-scoring men and 6 low-scoring women, while only 1 high-scoring man and 2 high-scoring women manifested this attitude. The tendency toward exaggerated self-blame in the low-scoring subjects must be interpreted as an expression of an internalized, and rather strict, superego of the sort that often leads to neurotic symptoms.

The following is a good example of a low scorer with good work adjustment who does not blame others for the difficulties which arise in cooperative work situations:

F63: "Money has never meant much to me. . . . Maybe it is stupid and unrealistic. But it is the work itself that gives me satisfaction. I work best by myself—have difficulty working with other people. I get along with them all right, but it's a strain on me. I'm rather shy and don't like competition, at least not directly with the people you work with."

The following 2 low-scoring men are described by their interviewer as suffering from excessive guilt feelings.

M42: He verbalized readily and spontaneously, and shows no reluctance to discuss any given topic. At the same time, however, he repeatedly deprecates himself, particularly as to his ability to express himself. He is quite abusive and appears to have no little moral masochism. His thinking and actions seem to be pervaded by doubt, hesitation, and indecision.

M55: Subject has a rather pervasive sense of humor which is often directed against himself. He seems to have a great deal of conscious feelings of inadequacy and inferiority and guilt.

The record of another low scorer gives evidence, over and above the absence of conventional moralism, and a stressing of intrinsic values, of a tendency not to think very highly of oneself:

M3: (Ideal wife?) "Attractive, at least average. I can't ask for too much there, with my looks. At least as much intelligence as I have. Fairly intelligent, in other words. I don't care about religion and morals, as long as they are not too bad. Her own damn business whether she is a virgin or not. . . . Essential that she be a good companion, keep me well amused; companionship includes everything from conversation to sex, with emphasis on congeniality."

Some of the low scorers come close to a tendency toward obsessional rumination about their faults and the mistakes they have made. The exaggerated feelings of guilt and self-deprecation constitute some of the major neurotic features common in low scorers. They are frequently accompanied by depressions. Instead of aggressive self-assertion, there is often an unhealthy trend toward withdrawal in the face of difficulties.

4. WORLD AS JUNGLE

Projection of one's inner impulses, particularly of aggression, onto others will naturally lead to a conception of a dangerous and hostile world and consequently to a general suspiciousness of others. Thus, it was found that typical high-scoring subjects tend to manifest *distrust and suspicion* of others. Theirs is a conception of people as threatening in the sense of an oversimplified survival-of-the-fittest idea. Feelings of victimization are often connected with such notions. The opposite variant was defined as *trustingness and openness*, as manifested by seeing people as essentially "good" until proved otherwise; it was expected to be found predominantly in the low-scoring subjects.

For both men and women, differentiation in terms of this pair of opposites (Category 30) was found to be highly significant (1 per cent level of confidence).

Emphasis on the "jungle-character" of the world[1] as just described, a world in which one has to destroy others to prevent them from destroying oneself, is best expressed by a quotation from *M41*, a high scorer: "Nowadays it's 'get the other fellow before he gets you.' "

[1] This, as well as many other findings reported in this chapter, is in perfect agreement with the description of the authoritarian character given by Fromm (42) and Maslow (79).

Another high-scoring man, *M57*, says: "Hell, you can't have real friends in here (prison), stab you in the back. Can't trust any of them."

Distrust in, and dislike of, other people is further manifested in the following records of high-scoring men.

M45: "Not being able to attend to their own business, not having sense enough to understand to know when they're imposing on you. . . ."

M47: (What dislike in others?) "Well, their actions, the way they talk. (How do you mean?) I don't know how to explain it. . . . Maybe a fellow comes up and gives me a couple of knick-knacks just to make up to me. I don't go for that. Some of these guys shove up in lines, go to the show and holler like little kids. (What do you find most offensive?) A guy trying to butt into my business."

M51: (You mentioned once before that as a child you didn't accept your father as a shining example which he was held up to you as. Tell me about your feelings towards your father as a child.) "Well, I resented a lot of things. I loved him. I always said I did. I used to have a kind of fit if I was ever taken away from him. . . . I always accused him of being harsh. . . . I never understood him. . . . And apparently this all falls in with Darwin's theory too."

The fact that the high-scoring subjects, more often than the low scorers, made inquiries as to the purpose of the interviews, as to the basis of selection of the subjects, and as to the publication of the material seemed to reflect the greater suspiciousness of the former. The general resistance to "being questioned" is clearly expressed in the records of the following high-scoring woman:

F72: (What kinds of things make you mad?) "Well, for instance, my sister. When I come home and she starts asking me questions about what happened and what did you do, I don't want to have to give accounts. Not that I've anything to hide. I don't have anything to hide, but I don't like being questioned. I don't like prying."

By comparison, the records of low-scoring subjects frequently reveal genuine liking of, and warm interest and concern for, people, along with belief in their essential "goodness." Examples are:

M42: (How did you come to be a service station operator?) "Just by accident. . . . I worked part time in school . . . another thing, I like to meet people . . . most people as a rule are pretty nice to me. . . ."

F30: "I would even be content to call 'evolution' my religion. When it comes to attending or working in a church I prefer the Methodist. However, that is not important. What is important is that people believe in humanity, in each other, and that the force of goodness, of progress, is the strongest force in the world."

F34: "I always made it a point to sit next to different people on the bus and get into conversation with them. Lots of people think that everybody is getting along fine now and making lots of money. Actually, people have a very hard time. And they are worried about the future. Everyone is under a terrible strain."

As may be suspected from the last of these records, many of the low-scoring individuals tend to be "worriers." Thus they assume that other

people suffer too. However, such feelings tend to be rather structured and specific (e.g., worry about the father) when compared with the vague and diffuse anxieties about a generally threatening environment or a lack of support which are typical of high scorers.

5. HIERARCHICAL *VS.* EQUALITARIAN CONCEPTION OF HUMAN RELATIONS

As mentioned above, the distrust of others displayed by the typical high-scoring subject may probably be ascribed to his conception of people as seeking only power and material benefits, and his assumption that, in this struggle and competition, the more ruthless must necessarily win out. His orientation in interpersonal relationships is thus toward getting power by associating with the powerful and influential, or at least toward participating in the power of those who have it. Admiration for the strong and contempt for the weak accompany this attitude. Thus, high-scoring subjects show predominantly what may be called *hierarchical conception of human relationships* whereas those who score low conceive of an *equalitarian mutuality* in such relationships (Category 31a).

There is a highly significant difference (at the 1 per cent level) for both men and women with respect to this pair of opposites. Examples of a hierarchical conception of human relationships are found in the following reports of high-scoring subjects:

M52: (How important is money really?) "I don't think the best things in life are free. I don't believe people would be happy if they worked for nothing. . . . Every man has a certain ego that he has to satisfy. You like to be on top. If you're anybody at all, you don't like to be on the bottom. . . . I believe in the Bible. I believe there is someone a lot bigger and stronger than anyone on this earth."

M51: "Well, there are the weak and the strong. I can't elaborate on it. (What about you?) I suppose I'm one of the weak ones (said somewhat hesitantly and reluctantly)."

M58: (What would money make possible?) "Would raise our standard of living; probably buy better or higher priced automobile; move into better residential section; associations with business and fraternal groups to be raised. . . . To those in a bracket higher, except for a few staunch friends which you keep always; naturally associate with people on a higher level—with more education and more experience. After you get there, and associate with those people . . . that fires you on to the next step higher, etc."

M4: Subject likes to mingle with people, likes big parties, used to have an inferiority complex, but now is at ease. Likes to associate and talk with famous people, to be in the "upper crust." "Well, I've met a lot of people since I've been up here; it certainly made a difference to me. I've set my goal, and I want to be one of them (mentions army and navy people, a lot of wealthy and socially prominent people)."

M13: "There are great possibilities there (in Alaska) in the future. If a person studies it carefully and locates properly, he goes up with a town."

F79: "In the SPARS I liked the training and the discipline and I would make a good officer. But the girls of my type had college educations and I was thrown with

waitresses, etc. I wanted to apply for officership. I admired the officers although all the other girls were interested only in boys. . . . It made me furious to see the great advantage of those who had had college education. Those I associated with were not my type."

F22: "In the first place, there have to be the ditch diggers. They can get what they want out of life. Certain people were cut out for certain things. People who are unhappy are the ones who have wasted their chances or are held back by lack of finances."

The foregoing records show how preoccupied these subjects are with social mobility, with the dichotomy of the "weak and the strong," "the bottom and the top," and with the idea of "moving upwards" through the help of the powerful and the influential. There is evidence of an almost compulsive acquisitiveness and striving for success. All this is in line with the picture of Western civilization generally presented by its students (e.g., Kardiner, 60; Mead, 82; Fromm, 43), although it appears here in a grossly exaggerated manner.

Fromm (42) states that the most important feature of the authoritarian character is its attitude toward power and its division of people into two groups: the strong and the weak. Love, admiration, and readiness for submission are automatically aroused by power of persons or institutions, while contempt is equally aroused by powerless persons or institutions. The very sight of a powerless person may lead to the urge to attack, dominate, or humiliate him.

Hero worship of acquaintances (Category 31b) which was expected to be a characteristic primarily of high scorers, yielded only a negligible number of ratings and is thus omitted from consideration as far as our material is concerned. As in other doubtful cases, one may also question the validity of our hypothesis underlying the definition of the category.

6. DEPENDENCE FOR THINGS

The orientation toward getting material benefits, predominant in the high scorers, tends to make for dependence on people, since they are used as a means for advancement. In the discussion of attitudes toward parents a distinction was made between "dependence for things"—found primarily in the high scorers—as contrasted with a "love-oriented dependence" found in the typical low scorers. A similar distinction has also been made in the case of the attitude toward people in general, setting off a *diffuse, ego-alien dependence* which is not really love-seeking against a *focal, love-seeking succorance* (Category 32a). The difference between high and low scorers with respect to this category is highly significant (1 per cent level) for men, and satisfactorily significant (5 per cent level) for women.

The examples given above for the hierarchical conception of human relationships illustrate one aspect of the utilitarian approach of the typical high-

scoring subjects toward other people. Here we are dealing with another aspect of utilitarianism, namely their orientation toward getting things and help in general. In the quotations from high-scoring subjects which follow we find friendship conceived of as a means of getting things rather than as a relationship based on mutuality in giving and taking.

M43: "Oh, help in lots of needs, sickness, money, well, a friend can just help in most any way."

M45: (What do you look for in friends?) ". . . even though there is no conversation between you, know that he's there at all times and if you need any help at any time. . . ."

In line with this, high scorers tend to be oriented toward persons in positions of authority or power, or toward support; low scorers tend to be longing for someone who will really love them without reservation the way they happen to be and "in spite of shortcomings." Low-scorers also tend to place emphasis more on expectations of receiving love, understanding, and companionship from their friends. Examples from the interview protocols of men scoring extremely low on the ethnocentrism questionnaire follow:

M48: (What do friends offer a person?) "Well, offer you an understanding—they understand you and make allowances for your shortcomings . . . and like you in spite of it."

M56: (What do friends offer us?) "That's another thing—I have always been so discriminating in choice that haven't had many friends . . . my friends have always been people I could confide in—faith, companionship."

M59: ". . . . A person has very few friends in a lifetime. A friend will overlook your faults . . . and stand by you."

The longing for intensive, personalized relations, in which there is complete mutual acceptance and overlooking of faults is evident in these records. At the same time, however, one gets the impression that a tendency to preoccupation with oneself, sometimes expressed in overcriticism, is characteristic of low scorers.

7. MANIPULATION *VS.* LIBIDINIZATION OF PEOPLE AND GENUINE WORK ADJUSTMENT

A similar differentiation was made between an *exploitive-manipulative-opportunistic attitude* as opposed to one of *personalized nurturance* (Category 32b). Differences between high scorers and low scorers here show the expected trend without being statistically significant. Nonetheless, there are 15 positive instances but only 4 negative ones for men, and 11 positive as compared with 3 negative for women.

An extreme example of a manipulative orientation toward people in general, and toward sex partners in particular, is given in the record of a high-scoring prison inmate:

M51: (Why pick on an older woman?) "Well, I forgot. She had money and I didn't. . . . I never had any relations with anyone that didn't have money connected with it, even those homosexual affairs. . . . I ran away from home and that's mainly the way I supported myself." Subject quotes Dr. _____ as saying that he was only interested in men for their pocketbooks and he didn't know if he would be safe with a mule. (Preference in type of homosexual partner?) "Yes, I always had preferences, but I never let the preference stand in the way of—only thing I was ever interested in was the rent. I wasn't faithful, in other words, I wasn't expected to be. I was alone so much, I got bored. (Did any men attract you aside from the money aspect?) Oh, yes, but I never let love, so called, stand in the way. . . ." Subject emphasizes that if he were a woman, he would not let any love aspect stand in the way of marrying for as much money as possible and getting all he could in the way of money out of the sex relationship.

This statement not only shows a particularly drastic form of opportunistic attitude but also the view that affect should not be allowed to interfere with one's advantage: "I never let love, so called, stand in the way."

A narrowly opportunistic, externalized attitude toward work and the persons connected with it is illustrated in the records of the following high scorers:

M40: (Advantages of designing?) "Fairly decent, remunerative enough, and contacts are better than that of an ordinary worker. (Else?) You got a better chance to get what you want. (How do you mean?) You're constantly being thrown in with people who are up there . . . if can't get anything in theater work, legitimate stage, voice, I'll go in for that."

M58: "They come to me and say, 'Can you do this and that for me?' To keep good will, you'll do a lot of things. And then I go to work—and that's a source of dissatisfaction, to think that I help those people who can hardly read or write . . . kinda gets me down—doing their work, and then I've got to go out and do shift work—something wrong there . . . it's disheartening. Wife says to get out of the ration board work, but I feel eventually it might give me the push I need to get into something different. . . . I don't know how to go out and look for work. . . . I've just done this kind of work, no education, can't offer anything definite other than oil. . . ."

F68: "This is a nine-to-five job and when I am through I am through. You don't have to worry about personal things on this kind of a job."

Fromm (42) emphasizes that for the authoritarian character the relationship with his fellow men has lost its direct, human character and has assumed a spirit of manipulation and instrumentality.

By contrast, the following records of low-scoring subjects illustrate their need to do something for people, to help them, to give, and to receive affection in return. They also show their tendency to libidinize their relations with people and to view their work from the standpoint of its social value rather than merely from that of external success.

M42: (Advantages of scouting?) "I like to work with young people . . . satisfaction of helping someone. . . . It doesn't pay financially, but . . . you are happier . . . makes good friends. . . ."

M49: "Yes, and I've always been impressed by articles I've read in magazines . . . about a small company built up by the manager from himself and a helper . . . and just got in people that were very agreeable . . . and the ideal was lots of benefits and fellows felt they had a share in things, and each worker wasn't a machine, but an individual. . . ." Subject emphasizes personal relationship in this example of employer-employee setup, with a strong personal nurturance by the former, and gratefulness and cooperation of workers. "I think I'd be happy if I could find that kind of a company, and it wouldn't really matter too much what the actual job was, that is, within reason. I've always thought those (personal relationships) were the most important thing in a job."

M54: "At 17, wanted to be a doctor, but it didn't materialize because joined the service." Subject can't remember the origin of this interest. Perhaps some friends whose parents were doctors and subject liked to help bandage up other kids, minor scratches, etc.

M55: (What would a lot of money make possible for you?) "Do some charitable work, though not in established patterns, for example help some of my friends. Contribute to the March of Dimes, to end cancer, etc."

M56: "Security and a chance to do something for others. Seems to me now I have been helping others all my life."

M59: "To treat others as a person would wish to be treated himself and to help those less fortunate than oneself, and to be a part of the community or society that one is in, to take an active part in it, and being kind and generous and to more or less have a high regard for your fellow man. . . . The only happiness that we really know of is . . . here on earth, so why not try to enjoy the people and things on this earth, rather than a life somewhere else. . . .(What attracts you in a friend?) A person on the same intellectual level and one who has common ideas. You enjoy going out with him. You enjoy conversation and you like to do things for a friend."

F70: "If I had a lot of money I didn't know what to do with, I might run a small private hospital. For instance, for rheumatic fever patients. There are so many children with certain diseases that can't get the proper medical care, because their parents can't afford to have them hospitalized sufficiently long—like rheumatic fever patients. I wish to do a few altruistic things like my own private charity or something. I don't think I'd buy expensive objects of art; well, maybe I would. I might buy quite a few material things, go to a lot of concerts and plays. One seems to be able to spend a lot of money on those."

F75: (What do you like about public health nursing?) "You get to know people. You have to. You go into their homes and see them when they are well, help them prevent sickness instead of just seeing them in bed sick. I think it is a more useful occupation than bedside nursing, but that is important too."

The foregoing records also illustrate the ability, characteristic of low scorers to form *genuine object cathexis* (Category 32c), an ability probably due to the fact that they formed better identifications in early childhood. Thirteen low-scoring and only 1 of the high-scoring men show evidence in their interviews of this ability to form genuine, nonopportunistic object relationships. It is also found in the records of 8 low-scoring and 3 high-scoring women. Here, as in the case of most other ratings, it is very difficult to evaluate sex differences since—as was mentioned before—the ratings of the sample of women show considerably higher numbers of "Neutrals."

8. SOCIAL STATUS *VS.* INTRINSIC WORTH IN FRIENDSHIP

In line with all this, the traits which high-scoring subjects tend to desire most in their friends are that their *social or economic status* be prominent or at least "acceptable." Low scorers, on the other hand, tend to accept a friend more often on the basis of *intrinsic worth* or the companionship and common interests he offers. Theirs is an intellectual-aesthetic approach, and they appreciate in their friends "easy-going" traits, social awareness and insight, and generally "low" values (i.e., values in esteem with low scorers as defined in this volume). The difference is significant at the 1 per cent level for both men and women.

Examples of emphasis on status in high scorers follow.

M52: (How do you choose your friends?) "Well, I have a standard based along my own expectations in life. Somebody's got to have a goal in life, got to have manners, don't have to be a big shot, but I like 'em to have some position. I don't like these fly-by-nights. . . . A lot of my friends are social people."

M58: (What would more money make possible?) "Would raise our standard of living; probably buy better, or higher-priced automobile; move into better residential section; associations . . . to those in a bracket higher . . . with people on a higher level."

M4: "Picked a chum—usually one close chum." In high school he got into the ruling clique because he worked on the other boys' cars and radios. Apparently going into this "ruling clique" has made a great impression on him. Before, he felt uneasy around many people, uncertain of his appearance. The girls he asked out hadn't accepted him; he felt much more secure after he got into this clique—he felt that he amounted to something; it helped him get over his inferiority complex.

F31: "When I was a child, I was brighter than I am now. Moving up here may have retarded me. I was very unhappy when we first moved up here. I cried and cried. It was about a year and a half before I got in with the right crowd and joined a high school sorority."

F60 tells the interviewer that she has "been a 'governess' in the home of _____ and in _____'s family—first in the home of the older son, and then the younger. Talked to _____ on the phone when she was _____ at the time of the birth of the third child. Also worked for _____ (Southern California)." And her sister worked for _____, who later was _____.

F78 reports that she has "no really close girl friends." She looks for someone "I wouldn't have to make excuses for—someone well brought up, nice appearance, who dresses neatly."

The foregoing records manifest once more the desire of many high-scoring subjects to associate with the "right kind of people" and their tendency to judge people on the basis of such external criteria as "position" and "nice appearance."

Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, not only tend to emphasize the intrinsic worth in their friends but tend explicitly to deny the importance of status. There may be, in some of these cases, an underlying concern with

status, but the fact that they disclaim it shows that they have at least some inclination to resist conventionalism. There are, furthermore, other goals which take the place of conventional ones. There is more acceptance of passivity and relaxation, more emphasis on enjoyment and "fun." At the same time, there is active pursuing of intellectual goals. Examples follow.

M49: "There was one Chinese fellow, and we used to go swimming and play ping-pong . . . and he was married just after I got there and . . . his home was in an alley with no street address; just plain, simple people; and they could be serious, but if you wanted to have a lot of fun . . . and they seemed to be more understanding . . . more appreciative of little things and more sympathetic."

M42: "I like a person who doesn't think money is the most important thing . . . but wants to better himself and have a better education; who likes to get along with people . . . my friends are all kinds of people. . . . I have a friend who is a Catholic . . . who knows the criticisms of the Catholic Church better than I do . . . but who can argue intelligently for the Catholic Church. . . ."

M53: "People you cultivate are usually people you want to be with. (What do you like to do together?) Well, depends on the friend. My own friends seem to have a variety of interests. I guess . . . talk. Takes up more time than anything else . . . and sometimes drinking parties with a group of friends who are fun to see once in a while."

F62: "We four girls have many discussions about ideas. We had a professor who taught us to think about education and social conditions. We talk about all those things, and we hope to be socially-minded individuals. We try to think. My closest girl friend and I don't go out with boys, but the other two girls do, and we enjoy their experiences, about which they tell us. I was made to be a follower and not a leader. My girl friends are more dominant."

F65: "My best girl friend I still have from high school days. . . . We have the same interests. . . . Now my close friend is a Chinese girl." The interviewer senses a protective attitude on the part of the subject toward this friend. "In general I like intellectual girls who are nice and who have the same ideas."

Just as the high scorers frequently desire to have friends with "accepted" or even "admired" social status, they also tend to emphasize *conventional values* in their choice of friends. Their requirements for friends are that they be moral-conventional, "clean-cut," honest, have good manners, poise, and control (Category 33b). The predominance of such requirements in the records of high-scoring as contrasted with low-scoring subjects was found to be in the proportion of 11 to 4 in men and of 11 to 3 in women. Illustrations from the records of high-scoring subjects follow.

M41: (What attracts you in a friend?) "Well, their manner and behavior."

M11: (What do you like best in your boy friends?) "I like them clean-cut. . . . They're all swell fellows and they come from marvelous families."

F71: "Never stuck close to one—like girls who like a lot of clean fun—high ideals and morals, no drinking."

The emphasis, in the foregoing references, on "clean fun," "swell fellows,"

and the like, carries the connotation of an almost moral pride in the fact of having a good time. This type of exhibited or "official" optimism has been described previously in this book; it is entirely compatible, and often concomitant, with an underlying sense of despair and futility.

9. SUMMARY

The prejudiced thus seem to tend toward an externalized relation to other people, appreciating those who are higher up in the social hierarchy and who conform to conventional standards, and unrealistically condemning deviations from these standards. It seems likely that this moral condemnation serves the purpose of externalization of, and defense against, temptations toward immoral and unconventional behavior.

Hostile feelings are likewise externalized and projected by conceiving of others as threatening and dangerous. The persecutory ideas about threats in the environment apparently reinforce the wish to be strong; such power is to be obtained by falling in line with what is seen as the general pattern of social relationships, that is, by associating with those who have power. Fear of failure and of being overwhelmed by outside forces leads to an exaggerated preoccupation with such dichotomies as power vs. weakness, top vs. bottom.

The choice of friends is almost exclusively determined by the wish to get support in the compulsive striving for success. Often little attempt is made to disguise the resulting crude form of opportunism. As in the attitude toward parents, the focus seems to be on "getting things," on utilizing people for obtaining the necessary supplies and the help to overcome obstacles. The inclination to conceive of the world as a "jungle" seems to reveal a panic lest supply may run short and one may be helpless in view of dangers which are all too readily anticipated. It is easy to understand that in persons possessed by such fearfulness, the approach to people will tend to be manipulative and exploitive.

Similarly externalized is the relationship to work, as manifested in indifference toward its content and in the emphasis on work as a mere means to success and power. To succeed in the struggle of competition by roughness and by "outsmarting" the competitor seems often an important component of the ego-ideal of the prejudiced men (see the next section).

Since unprejudiced individuals are less apt to be anxiety-ridden than are the prejudiced, they are free to search in their friendships for affectionate companionship, enjoyment, and common interests such as intellectuality, social values, appreciation of art. As they did with their parents, they tend to form comparatively internalized and affectionate relations with people in general, focusing more on the specific characteristics of the other person. The greater capacity for such libidinization is closely related to a permissive

and trusting attitude toward others. There is a tendency to conceive of the environment as congenial rather than as dangerous. Dependence on people thus tends to become focal and love-seeking rather than diffuse and ego-alien.

Often this search seems to be unrealistic and insatiable. This can be seen in the expression of longings for total acceptance and forgiveness for all one's faults as found in some of the low scorers. Such a high level of aspiration seems often the source of dissatisfactions with, and ambivalence toward, the object of love or of friendship.

Work seems likewise more libidinized in the low scorer than it is in the high scorer. There is often a persistent striving for intellectual achievement or for realization of productive social values. There is often concern with, and depression about, the possibility of failure along those lines rather than with respect to personal success. This is far from saying that the typical low scorer is indifferent toward success. But in him these tendencies are more often in conflict with, and partly inhibited by, a longing to be loved—a longing frequently crippled in the high scorer during early childhood.

At the same time there is more capacity for relaxation, passive enjoyment, and pleasure in general, as apparently due to the less rigid character of the defenses. Such values take the place of the external, conventional standards of the high scorers.

The tendency to focus on internal and intrinsic values of the individual must be seen as being directly connected with lack of prejudice. Rather than taking a stereotyped view of people and judging them on the basis of their place in the social hierarchy, low scorers are, in the manner described, more open to immediate experience and to an evaluation of people on the basis of individual and intrinsic merits.

C. ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT SELF

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The attitudes prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects assume toward themselves seem to be consistent with their attitudes toward family, sex, and people, as discussed in the foregoing pages. Thus the prejudiced tend toward self-glorification, conventionality of ego-ideal, and lack of insight; and at the same time they exhibit self-contempt which is not faced as such and which they try to deny. First, attitudes toward the "present self" will be discussed, followed by the conceptions of our subjects concerning their childhood personalities. The categories dealing with the first of these topics were defined as follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT SELF
(to Table 3(XI))

	PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANT	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANT
34a.	*Self-glorification.* Positive traits mentioned, negative traits rationalized; has overcome weakness, handicaps, victimization, persecution; self-estimate and ego-ideal tend to be the same	34a. *Critical self-appraisal.* Self-estimate and ego-ideal separate; occasional morbid self-accusations
34b.	*Ego-alien self-contempt* which is moralistic-authoritarian and semi-externalized. (Do not score unless there are some specific signs of self-rejection beyond compensatory self-glorification, etc.)	
	35M. *Self-estimate traits, Men:*	
a.	*Pseudo-masculinity.* Determination, energy, industry, independence, decisivenes, will power. No admission of passivity	a. *Ego-accepted admission of passivity,* softness, weakness, etc.
b.	*Conventionally moralistic.* Ideal of honesty, self-control; any violations regarded as essentially unexplained "break-through"	b. *Admitted fallibility of control,* not merely unexplained "break-through"
	35W. *Self-estimate traits, Women:*	
a.	*Pseudo-femininity*	a. *Ego-accepted admission of nonfemininity*
b.	*Conventionally moralistic.* Propriety, poise, self-control, unselfishness	b. *Admitted fallibility of control,* not merely unexplained "break-through." Admission of selfishness, etc.
36a.	*Self as "average"* and therefore all right. Attempted denial or "forgetting" of deviations, past and present	36a. *Self as "different,"* individualized, or unconventional
		36b. *"World identification,"* equalitarian-brotherhood ideal

37M-W.	*Ego-ideal:* Same as self-estimate traits	37M-W. *Ego-ideal:* Liberal values. Achievement, understanding, nurturance, affiliation; work for humanitarian values, to improve social relations, to improve self, etc.
38.	*Denial of psychological causes:* Explanations of self in terms of heredity, physical factors, accidental factors, etc.; or denial in effect of any casualty (e.g., of symptoms)	38. *Sociopsychological explanations of self*
39.	*Property as extension of self*	39. *Property as means to end*

Quantitative results concerning these categories are shown in Table 3(XI).

2. SELF-GLORIFICATION *VS.* OBJECTIVE APPRAISAL

The trend toward *self-glorification* in the prejudiced becomes evident in their tendency to ascribe to themselves predominantly positive traits and to rationalize whatever negative traits they are unable to deny. They are given to emphasizing that they have successfully overcome weakness, obstacles, and victimization. The opposite alternative, namely *objective self-appraisal,* is more common in low scorers. The difference between high- and low-scoring subjects, both men and women, is statistically significant at the 1 per cent level (Category 34a). Results already presented have indicated that prejudiced subjects tend to repress what may be unpleasant to face, and thus to narrow the scope of consciousness. One cause of these repressions may lie in the type of discipline to which these subjects were exposed, a discipline which required immediate submission. Apparently in a fearful attempt to please the parents, a "good" façade was presented and anything which did not fit in with this façade, such as, especially, resentment against the parents, was repressed and denied. This process very probably leads to self-deception, which may be of such crudeness that it seems obvious to anyone but the subject himself.

The following example illustrates the self-deception of a prejudiced man with respect to his will power and independence. He takes pride in certain decisions and actions of self-control which are obviously engineered by the father (see also Chapter II).

M13: "I grew up quickly. My father has allowed me to do as I pleased, although he forced some decisions upon me. About smoking, he said I must do it in front of him, if I must. He also provided wines and liquors in the ice chest. I soon tired of smoking and never took much to drinking. I have a stubborn nature, and if he had

TABLE 3 (XI)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT SELF
FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
34a. Self-glorification(H) vs. objective self-appraisal(L)	Men	12	3	3	15	27	6	1
	Women	13	4	1	12	25	5	1
34b. Ego-alien self-contempt(H)	Men	10		1		10	1	
	Women	10		2		10	2	
35. Self-estimates of traits:								
aM. Pseudo-masculinity(H) vs. admission of passivity(L)	Men	13	1	2	14	27	3	1
aW. Pseudo-femininity(H) vs. admission of nonfemininity(L)	Women	7	2	1	7	14	3	
b. Conventional moralism(H) vs. admitted fallibility of of control(L)	Men	13	1	2	13	26	3	1
	Women	19	2	3	9	28	5	1
36a. Self as "average"(H) vs. self as "different"(L)	Men	14	5	2	14	28	7	1
	Women	2	5	0	9	11	5	
36b. "World identification," equalitarian-brotherhood ideal(L)	Men		2		5	5	2	
	Women		0	4	4	4	0	
37. Ego-ideal:								
aM. Pseudo-masculinity(H) vs. achievement(L)	Men	16	1	4	13	29	5	1
aW. Pseudo-femininity(H) vs. achievement(L)	Women	8	5	1	11	19	6	2
b. Conventional morality(H) vs. humanitarianism(L)	Men	14	3	4	15	29	7	1
	Women	16	5	2	11	27	7	1
38. Denial of genuine causality(H)vs.socio-psychological explanations of self(L)	Men	11	4	1	14	25	5	1
	Women	14	2	0	11	25	2	1
39. Property as: extension of self(H) vs. means to end(L)	Men	14	2	3	15	29	5	1
	Women	13	7	0	13	26	7	1

tried to stop me, I probably would have taken it up. . . . I have always tried to live according to His Ten Commandments. . . . (What disagreements have you had with your father?) There haven't been any to any great extent. I had a mind of my own at a very early age. He has too. We've had arguments but I can't remember any lickings by him. . . ."

A general satisfaction with one's self is expressed by the following high scorer:

M58: "Well, I'm the head operator—shift foreman—rotating schedules . . . (subject emphasizes 'head' position)—small department . . . five in department . . . five in shift . . . I get personal satisfaction that I have five people working for me, who come to me for advice in handling the production that we make, and that the ultimate decision is mine, and in fact that in that ultimate decision, I should be *right*—and am usually, and the knowledge that I am correct gives me personal satisfaction."

As previously mentioned, high-scoring subjects, especially men, tend to succumb to the temptation of displaying independence, ability for decisions, and leadership qualities, probably as a defense against a possible "breakthrough" of their underlying passivity and anxiety. In general, prejudiced subjects, in pointing out how well they overcame handicaps, sickness, and calamities, are prone to emphasize the use of will power. The tendency to cling to the belief that "will power and cheerfulness" can solve all problems seems of special importance.

Examples from the records of high-scoring women follow:

F71: "Child—nervous because of mastoid operations . . . terrible time getting started in school . . . afraid of kids . . . this in first half of kindergarten . . . by second half I was a leader. Think one of my best assets is my poise—learned from moving around so much. Remember hospital clearly at 3 years old."

F38, in telling how she conquered infantile paralysis by will power, continues: "I've always had a happy disposition, and I've always been honest with my family. I appreciate what they did for me. I've always tried to find a way so that I wouldn't be a burden to them. I've never wanted to be a cripple. I was always dependable in a pinch. I've always been cheerful and I'm sure I've never made anyone feel bad because of my handicap. Maybe one of the reasons I have been cheerful is because of my handicap. I wore a cast on my leg until I was 4 years old. . . . He (husband) compares me with his first wife. She was unfaithful to him. I'm not like that. She was a drinker. I've never done that. I've never done things behind people's backs. I've always done things in the open. . . . (Habits?) I didn't have any bad habits as a child, no nightmares. I rarely dream even now, night or day. (Q) My mother was the chief disciplinarian. I always got along well with my brothers and sisters. I was always honest with them and let them know where I stood. I believe that all the relations between my brothers and sisters and myself were better than average. I think I'm the favorite of the whole family. I know I'm the favorite niece of all my aunts and uncles. . . ."

Similar is this passage in the record of a high-scoring man who had been told, after having gone through infantile paralysis, that he would never walk again:

M4: "But you see, I can get around, because I made up my mind to. If I made up my mind, I can be in the upper crust too."

Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, do not as a rule attempt to hide their feelings of insecurity, their shyness, and their dependence. For example:

M49 says about himself: "Well, I think social contact bothers me most. I could always talk with one person, but where there are several persons, I'll just stand there and not say 'boo.' I think that might have been due to our not having enough social contacts."

Or a low-scoring woman, *F63:* "I work best by myself—have difficulty working with other people. I get along with them all right, but it's a strain on me. I'm rather shy, don't like competition."

The fact that low-scoring men tend more often to admit their softness and their dependence on their mother is exemplified by the following quotation:

M50: "I don't mean I am in love with my mother, but I have a dependency complex . . . married a woman older than myself . . . and always depend on others . . . leave responsibility to others. . . . It seems on looking back that I have always done that . . . simply transferred my dependency on my mother and my wife and onto the (prison) authorities . . . now and in the future. . . ."

As was pointed out above, the dual phenomenon of surface admiration and underlying contempt revealed by the high scorers in their attitude toward the other sex, can sometimes be found in their attitude toward themselves as well. Statements of self-glorification are then followed by statements of self-contempt not faced as such. Such combinations indicate the profound doubt these subjects have about themselves, a doubt which they seem able to bear only by disclaiming responsibility for their own failures, projectively blaming instead other people, external circumstances, uncontrollable forces within oneself, or heredity. The trend of high scorers toward such an *ego-alien self-contempt* which is moralistic-authoritarian and semi-externalized (Category 34b) is distinct in both men (10 positive instances as compared with 1 negative) and women (10 positive vs. 2 negative instances). The difference between high scorers and low scorers, however, does not reach statistical significance on account of the large number of Neutral classifications in this category.

From ego-alien self-contempt there is a gradual transition to the self-condemnation of the typical low scorer. The latter is often characterized by a sober appraisal of intrinsic personality dynamics whereas the former is often warded off in thinly disguised attempts at self-justification in terms of factors beyond the control of the individual which are sometimes real, more often imaginary.

Examples of the type of self-rejection characteristic of high-scoring men follow. Although there is self-criticism in terms of conventional standards, the blame is being put on such factors outside of personality proper as heredity, other people, or external circumstances:

M40: "All the inheritance is all from the male side of the family for some reason or other. Except for my industriousness. That just doesn't exist. (Q) I guess I just got that from the other side of the family . . . just a black horse. . . . The whole trouble with me is I didn't grow up. I thought it was a big game of cops and robbers. I don't think any of . . . were malicious about it. We heard about others getting caught, but couldn't believe we would."

M57: "I'm kind of ashamed, I'm the only black sheep in the family . . . and I've made more money than all the others put together. Yes, a man of my intelligence let some damn broad put me behind bars."

In the following examples a weak ego is seen as possessed by alien forces within the personality, such as the "carnal self" or "weak flesh":

M52: "I've often stopped and more or less took an inventory of myself. I have let myself slip, let my carnal self get away from me. . . ."

M58: "Well, I'm a bad example—I don't live what I believe, possibly because the flesh is weak—don't have the stamina to stand up and live it—try not to harm somebody else. . . ."

Examples from the records of high-scoring women are:

F71: "I'm inclined to be nervous; haven't the confidence in myself. . . . I'm the clinging vine type and my sister is. My parents have always felt that I'm the backward one—need guidance. They gave me dancing lessons in grade school—knew I needed it. I made all B's in high school."

F77 says about the girl to whom she has a sexual attachment: "She is always the boss; although she's younger, she's mean, hurts my feelings awfully bad. I can't understand why I love a wicked girl so much."

The foregoing record of an otherwise conventional girl reflects rejection of an ego-alien part of herself, a part she is prone to link with an external temptation (see also Chapter XXII).

F79 is a good example of how derogatory the opinion about oneself can become: "I wanted to finish school after I got out of the SPARS, and I went to _____ Junior College although mother and father couldn't afford it. I didn't do much. I just ate and got fat and mother and father hit the ceiling. I was already neurotic, I guess. I didn't go out. I was in a rut and I got fatter. Mother and father made me do calisthenics by force. Then I went to _____ College summer school and was scared of the boys. Then I went to business school. I hated it; it was so boring just to sit and type. I could go to the University of _____ if I lost weight. My brother was going. I couldn't because I was too heavy. I felt out of place working in a jewelry store. I hated it and was awfully uncomfortable. I kept on eating; it was the only thing I could turn to, and mother and father got furious. Mother would get these terrific anger spurts. She would yell and I would yell, and then I would feel disgusted."

This is the same girl who at another place in her interview reported that she could get a sense of personal worth by reminding herself of her family background. The existing cleavage between pretense and reality is also revealed by her finding it a matter "of course" that her mother is "wonder-

ful" (see the passages, quoted in Chapter X, concerning idealization of parents and other contexts).

3. MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY

We turn now to the more specific aspects of the self-image of the high-scoring subjects as contrasted with that of the low scorers. In line with previous discussion, especially in Section A of this chapter, one might expect high-scoring men to think of themselves as very masculine, and that this claim would be the more insistent the greater the underlying feelings of weakness. Low-scoring men, on the other hand, having actually more personal and masculine identity—perhaps by virtue of having had less threatening parental figures—can afford to admit failures and doubts along these lines.

In fact, there seems to be, in the high-scoring men, more of what may be called *pseudo-masculinity*—as defined by boastfulness about such traits as determination, energy, industry, independence, decisiveness, and will power—and less admission of passivity. An ego-accepted admission of passivity, softness, and weakness, on the other hand, is found predominantly in low-scoring men. The difference is significant at the 1 per cent level (Category 35a). Examples of these two different attitudes in the realm of sex have been quoted in Section A of this chapter.

Similar attitudes can be found in the vocational sphere and in the approach to life in general. Thus, one high-scoring man discussed his successful techniques of "driving sharp bargains." "Certain ordinary ways of doing business," he said, "are too damn slow for me." Being successful by outsmarting others in the competitive struggle is part of the ego-ideal of the prejudiced man. Low-scoring men, on the other hand, more often refer to their dependence, to their liking of cooking and to other tastes usually considered as feminine. They are, furthermore, more often described by the interviewer as "gentle," "mild," "soft-spoken."

An analogous trend—although statistically not significant—toward what may be called *pseudo-femininity* is found in evaluating the self-estimates given by high-scoring women. These women tend to think of themselves as feminine and soft; no masculine trends are being admitted ("being a housewife is definitely my career"). As is not surprising, a rather crude aggression, directed especially against men, seems to go with this attitude, as revealed indirectly in the interviews and directly in the Thematic Apperception Test stories.

Low-scoring women, on the other hand—as was mentioned in Section A—often profess to have a real conflict over their femininity. They sometimes show envy of men rather directly and often engage in so-called masculine activities. At the same time a certain real fondness for men and the wish to be with them and to participate in their activities is revealed. Extreme exam-

ples of openly expressed rejection of the feminine role in low-scoring women are:

F62: "My mother always said that I would make a better boy than a girl. I was always hammering, building, and constructing something. In my adolescence, I was always wearing overalls. Today still when I am in despair, I build things—work it out physically."

F23: Subject wished very much that she were a boy and elaborated on the prejudice against women in her profession. She does not like to cook or sew. "If I were a man I could have a wife—that's what I really need, someone to cook and sew and take care of me." She feels that she is really quite dependent in this respect. Therefore, she will either not marry, or else will continue to work after she is married. Even if she had children she would want to go back to work and get someone else to bring them up after the first year. "I don't think I could bring children up very well anyway. . . . I liked everything the boys did and disliked everything the girls did. I wanted to play baseball with the boys and I did go out and play baseball with them. (What do girls do?) They sit around and talk about boys—and nothing bores me more."

4. CONVENTIONALISM AND MORALISM

Likewise in line with some of the findings reported earlier is the tendency of high-scoring men and women to think of themselves as basically highly moral and controlled and to consider any conduct which contradicts this norm as a "break-through" of tendencies which cannot be explained or influenced. The above quotations illustrate the tendency these individuals have to describe themselves as honest and as possessing high ideals and self-control in the sense of a *conventional moralism.* Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, more readily admit *fallibility of self-control* without trying to explain it away as a break-through of something foreign to their basic nature. This difference is significant at the 1 per cent level for both men and women (Category 35b). In the case of high-scoring women, the more detailed definition of the category, as given in the passages of the Scoring Manual accompanying the table, indicates special emphasis on such traits as propriety, poise, self-control, and unselfishness; these are contrasted with admission of selfishness in low-scoring women.

The importance of conventional traits in the self-image of high-scoring subjects may be considered as one of the aspects of their strong desire to belong to the powerful majority. There is reason to believe that a certain lack of personal identity is compensated for by a wish to "belong," and to conceive of oneself as *average and therefore all right*, with attempted denial or "forgetting" of deviations, may these deviations be past or present (Category 36a). A great deal of protection and security must be assumed to derive from the feeling of being, in this sense, part of a group. However, as has been mentioned before, this kind of belonging to a group is something quite different from genuine identification with other individuals and society. For prejudiced subjects, then, the greater the deviation, the more stress must be

laid on denying its existence. This is especially marked in our prison sample, from which the following quotations are taken.

M51: Subject says he robbed just once and blamed this on drinking. "I still don't consider myself antisocial. . . ." He emphasizes that he doesn't consider himself perverted. He remarks that a while back he took some glandular treatments and feels that these have made him more masculine.

M57: Subject expresses the superficial desire to understand why he had gotten in so much trouble when his brothers have not, and to straighten out. He spontaneously denies "that there is anything the matter with me."

These passages from the interviews of high-scoring deviates illustrate at the same time the tendency of high-scoring subjects in general to see their deviations and lack of control as a break-through in the sense defined in the discussion of the preceding category.

In contrast to this, low-scoring subjects tend to see themselves as *different, individualized, or unconventional* (Category 36a, continued). This can be seen from records quoted in previous sections. The difference for the entire category is significant for men at the 1 per cent level; for women there is a trend in the same direction (11 positive vs. 5 negative instances).

Apparently, the greater "personal identity" of the low scorers facilitates establishment of genuine object relationships. In the few cases in which low scorers referred to identification in the present sense of "belonging" it tended to be in terms of mankind in general, that is, as a form of "*world identification*" with the stress on an equalitarian brotherhood ideal (Category 36b; for "humanitarianism" see the next subsection).

5. CONFORMITY OF SELF AND IDEAL

Lack of insight and of self-criticism on the part of the typical high scorers is revealed in their tendency to mention as the type of person they would wish to be, as their *self-ideal, the same set of traits which they actually ascribe to themselves.* There is hardly any discrepancy between their image of what they ought to be and their conception of what they really are.

Thus, high-scoring men tend to mention as their ego-ideal the combination of traits characterized above as "pseudo-masculine" (determination, energy, industry, independence, decisiveness, will power, no passivity) as well as the syndrome of "moralistic conventionalism," likewise mentioned above.

An example of a more worrisome adoption of this type of ego-ideal in a high-scoring man is the following:

M52: (Worries?) "Well, I had worries, I remember that. I think my greatest desire was to be somebody in life. I did a lot of reading as a kid. . . . I was sort of a hero worshipper—nobody particularly—I wanted to be a success in business. I used to plan, and sometimes worried about whether I would."

The following quotations illustrate the admiration high-scoring men have

for men of action and success, such as MacArthur and Andrew Carnegie who "amounted to so much":

M47: "And then another one I like real well . . . this Patton. I like him for the same reason I like MacArthur. He went right up to the front. . . . He wouldn't send his men anywhere he wouldn't go himself."
M51: "Andrew Carnegie, I guess, I got from some of my relatives. . . . His coming over here with so little and amounting to so much. . . ."

High-scoring women likewise tend to list as the ideal the same traits which they mentioned in their self-description and which were summarized under the heading "pseudo-femininity" and "conventional moralism."

Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, tend to mention, as their ideal, traits which are different from, or at least differently conceived from those which they ascribe to themselves. Being basically more secure, it seems, they can more easily afford to see a discrepancy between ego-ideal and actual reality. Seeing this discrepancy enables them to strive toward a better fullfillment of the ego-ideal. A study dealing with mechanisms of self-deception seems to indicate that the more aware subjects are of falling short of their ideals, the nearer they actually are to the realization of these ideals (see 33).

Specifically, the values listed as ideals by low-scoring men and women may best be summarized as *real achievement.* There is also an emphasis on humanitarian values such as understanding, *nurturance* (the latter especially emphasized by women), affiliation, or work for liberal values such as the improvement of social relations or self-improvement.

The difference between the two types of ego-ideal (as covered by the ratings on Categories 37a and 37b) is statistically highly significant for both men and women.

Since the ego-ideal of the low-scoring subjects is closely related to their tolerance, several illustrations of this point will here be given from their records. Their emphasis on achievement as a value in its own right rather than as a mere means for some ulterior end is shown in the following examples:

M55: (I see you would like to be a Congressman?) Subject laughs. He indicates this is not a realistic choice, but that he would like to be a Congressman. He emphasizes what he calls the "in-values" here, "not working just for money, etc. . . but for what you accomplish . . . and though are likely to be defeated, you have the satisfaction of trying." (Attractions?) Not adept at personal relations, but enjoys this more than statistics or research, but would rather be out in contact with people . . . one war job at Bethlehem Steel involved some personal relations work. . . . "I may be aiming too high. . . . I might be an interviewer at an employment agency."
F62: "I would like to teach drama in high school. The reason for this seems perhaps sort of queer. I have always enjoyed drama very much and I thought the world should know more about the theater. I want people to know about good entertainment, high-class art."
F63: "In my art work I have been very interested in abstract forms, not so much

in representational forms. I have been very influenced by the Bauhaus kind of design." Now interested in writing. (Q) "I was at the _____ Art Gallery (school) and at that time there was a job open _____ art critic for the _____ which I took. I have also had other jobs for newspapers." Interested in experimental forms of writing.

F23: Subject has been employed as a junior chemist at _____ Development for a year and a half. She is disappointed in her job because she had hoped to do research, instead of which she is doing routine work such as could be done by a lab assistant. "You are not allowed to do things your own way, nor are you given any responsibility at _____ unless you have a Ph.D." Subject is also annoyed by the lack of honesty in her fellow workers: they practice what is known as "pencil chemistry"; i.e., if a reading fails to give the expected result, they will fake the result. She went and told the boss about this, but he did not do anything about it. "They won't do anything on your say-so, and he didn't even check the results for himself." In response to a question as to whether she had ever wished that she were a boy, subject replied: "Yes, I do very much because then I could do what I liked. When I first came here they asked me what I would like to do and I told them organic chemistry; so they asked me whether I would like to do organic analysis and I said, yes, without thinking very much about it. The work turned out to be simple filtrations which were interesting at first, but very easy to learn. . . . I want to quit next summer and get my Ph.D. because perhaps then I might have a better chance to do what I want."

M44: "One thing that I think was important, I always liked school and took pride in it. I was always afraid that I might lose out there."

Emphasis on humanitarian values is exemplified by the following records of interviewees scoring extremely low on the ethnocentrism questionnaire. Some of them refer to specific and concrete plans for help in the execution of a program with humanitarian implications, while others may do no more than pay lip-service in terms of vague generalities.

M53: (Satisfactions?) "Well, this is a little obscure . . . a certain justification of one's own existence . . . stocks and bonds never convinced me, because it didn't seem to me to make a damn bit of difference (to the public welfare). This work. . . . I can see results quickly . . . and honest-to-goodness results."

M59: "To help those less fortunate than oneself, and to be a part of the community or society that one is in, to take an active part in it, and being kind and generous and to more or less have a high regard for your fellow human being. . . ."

M15: "Started out in college with a strong interest in social studies, history. This interest is still strong, but now it is combined with a desire to work with people. Counseling appears to be my present choice. (Idea behind it?) Well, in our church I have observed how many people have problems. I think I would like to help them. (What kinds of probems?) Personal. . . . (Your religious point of view at present?) You might call it something like Social Religion. (Q) It is a sin to be indifferent to progress."

The statements just quoted are good examples of values important to low-scoring subjects: real achievement often accompanied by anxiety over possible failure, intellectuality, and socially constructive goals.

6. DENIAL OF SOCIOPSYCHOLOGICAL CAUSATION

In high-scoring subjects the general lack of insight and the unrealistic view of oneself seem to be connected with a tendency toward a certain

wishful *denial of genuine causality*—as revealed by easy explanations of one's own shortcomings in terms of heredity, physical or accidental factors, etc.—or the denial of the symptomatic character of one's behavioral manifestations. Thus, as will be discussed more fully in Chapter XXII, high-scoring subjects in the sample drawn from a psychiatric clinic tend to refer to their symptoms as something merely physical, or as caused by a "hereditary taint," or as otherwise alien to the ego of the subject.

On the other hand, low-scoring subjects tend in general toward *socio-psychological explanations*, conceiving of the present self in the context of its development under the influence of social and psychological factors. Thus, while talking about themselves, these subjects spontaneously refer back to their childhood, using explicitly such phrases as "it may go back to infancy" in describing the cause of behavioral deviations. One low-scoring subject relates his not having many fears to the fact that his "sister had a lot of fears." "I used that as a technique not to have any," he said. To be sure, all this should not be taken to imply that the low-scoring subjects in question necessarily possess the correct or full insight into themselves; it means only that there is a greater inclination to think in psychodynamic terms and to seek explanation of one's own behavior in these terms.

The difference between the two attitudes (encompassed in Category 38) is statistically highly significant (at the 1 per cent level) for both men and women.

7. PROPERTY AS EXTENSION OF SELF

The basic insecurity that lies beneath the overt denials and overconfidence of the high-scoring subjects may be a chief contributing factor in their exaggerated wish for property, in the sense of a conception of *property as an extension of the self*. There is an overlibidinization of money and property, per se. Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, tend to have a more realistic attitude toward money, knowing fully its value as a means, yet not overestimating it by making it an end in itself. They generally conceive of *property as means to an end.*

Differentiation between prejudiced and unprejudiced groups under this aspect (as covered by Category 39) is statistically highly significant.

The following quotations from high-scoring subjects are examples of their search for "basic security and independence" through money or through the accumulation of goods. It often seems that the need has become functionally autonomous, to use a term by Allport (9), and is as such insatiable.

F24: (How much is enough?) "Quite a bit—I have to make good—get lots of it and get it fast."

F32: The desire for $1000 a month or "all I could get" represents a wish for security. The more one earns, the more one can put aside.

M57: (What might a lot of money make possible for you?) "Buy more cattle, more land, that's my greatest ambition."

Records of low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, more often show emphasis on money as a means of obtaining some of the desirable things in life or else of achieving some socially constructive goal. They furthermore illustrate the greater casualness, passivity, and more pleasure-seeking attitude of the low scorers with respect to money and possessions. Enjoyment of music and books is often mentioned; and there is generally more emphasis on specific things to be obtained rather than on the more vague and perhaps imaginary goal of "security" as stressed by high scorers.

Examples are found in the following records of low-scoring subjects:

M42: "I think the best things are free, but lots of times . . . let's see . . . it takes a certain amount of money . . . to do a few things with friends, etc. (Saving vs. spending?) I don't believe in saving money to the point of a mania . . . but planning for the future is something. . . . I don't make a point of saving a certain amount of money every month . . . no use pinching pennies now, so that you can live better later. . . ."

M44: (What do you miss most that your present income doesn't permit?) "A good radio with a record player on it, but that's just an immediate thing. . . ."

M48: (What might a lot of money make possible for you?) "Mean just a good living. I like to go to plays, concerts, etc., to have a nice home, etc."

M49: (What do with $7500?) "Well, of course, it would give us a comfortable home, to begin with, and a good living, and my wife has always wanted to write, and she's started on several ideas, and that would give her enough to get materials and go ahead with her writing, and—if she did go into writing—we could hire the people to do the house cleaning and laundry, so as to give her more time . . . and she always likes to go to plays and concerts . . . and we could indulge in those things without jeopardizing. . . ."

F63: "Money has never meant much to me. Maybe it is stupid and unrealistic. But it is the work itself that gives me satisfaction."

F70: (If you had more, what would you do?) "I would probably spend it. (On what?) Well, maybe I would buy some more dishes and silver, although I have more than I can use now; probably not material things. If I had a lot of money I didn't know what to do with, I might run a small private hospital. . . . I don't think I'd buy expensive objects of art. Well, maybe I would. I might buy quite a few material things, go to a lot of concerts and plays. One seems to be able to spend a lot of money on those."

F27: "That isn't much, I guess. Neither of us wants much. (Is it enough for a family of six?) Well, what I meant was that we want a comfortable home without any worry, plenty of books, and a good record player with lots of records. We could be happy."

D. CONCEPTION OF CHILDHOOD SELF

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The discussion of attitudes toward oneself thus far has concerned traits which our interviewed subjects ascribed to themselves as of the present. As a regular feature of the interview, subjects were further asked the question: "What were you like as a child?" Obviously, answers to this question must not necessarily be taken to reflect the actual nature of the subjects as chil-

dren. The answers may well refer in part or predominantly to the subject's image of himself as a child. The two alternative interpretations of the material will have to be kept in mind throughout the discussion which follows. The results of a study on social discrimination in children, including interviews with their parents (30), give support to the assumption that the descriptions which our subjects give of themselves show at least a certain degree of correspondence with the actual facts.

The rating categories used in the evaluation of this part of the interview material are as follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: CONCEPTION OF CHILDHOOD SELF

(to Table 4(XI))

PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANTS	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANTS
40M. Traits ascribed to childhood self by Men:	
a. *Unmanageable, difficult,* stubborn, aggressive, spoiled, sensitive, etc.	a. *Quiet,* shy, self-conscious
b. *Bland childhood.* Happy, active, no worries, no shyness, etc.	b. *Adult-oriented, internalized standards.* Read a lot; interest in school and teachers; achievement striving
c. *"Gang"-oriented*	c. *Isolated* or sociable with few
40W. Traits ascribed to childhood self by Women:	
a. *Difficult child.* Nervous, frail, etc.	a. (1) *Quiet,* shy, self-conscious (2) *Tomboy,* independent
b. *Bland childhood*	b. *Adult-oriented, internalized standards*
41. *Discontinuity* between childhood self and now	41. *Continuity* between childhood self and now
42. *Childhood habits* (Write in each habit mentioned, e.g., nail-biting, thumb-sucking, bed-wetting, nightmares, fear of dark, fear of animals, etc.)	
43. *Time of earliest sex experience remembered* (Write in: *Childhood* [1–6]; *Prepuberty* [7–12]; *Adolescence* [13–19]; Adult life [20–])	
44. *Nature of earliest sex experience remembered* (Write in: e.g., homosexual or heterosexual sex play; dates; kissing; heterosexual or homosexual intercourse, masturbation)	
45. *Source of early sex information* (Write in: e.g., mother; father; male or female sib; other relative; other adult; books; the gang; etc.)	
46. *Little spontaneous comment*	46. *Considerable spontaneous comment*

TABLE 4 (XI)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDHOOD SELF
FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached (percentage)
40. Traits ascribed to childhood self:								
aM. Unmanageable, difficult(H) vs. quiet, shy(L)	Men	10	1	3	6	16	4	
aW. Difficult child(H) vs. quiet, shy, or tomboy; independent(L)	Women	9	5	2	7	16	7	
b. Bland childhood(H) vs. adult-oriented internalized standards(L)	Men	4	7	1	16	20	8	5
	Women	6	5	0	7	13	5	
41. Discontinuity(H) vs. continuity(L) between childhood self and now	Men	9	3	1	16	25	4	1
	Women	7	8	1	11	18	9	5
46. Little(H) vs. considerable (L) spontaneous comment	Men	11	4	4	13	24	8	2
	Women	10	5	1	10	20	6	2

Table 4(XI) presents the quantitative results of the analysis of the interviews. Categories 42 to 45 have been omitted from consideration since we gained the impression that there was a certain reluctance on the part of some subjects to talk freely about the topics concerned.

2. "DIFFICULT" CHILD

There is a tendency, though not a statistically significant one, for both high-scoring men and women to report more frequently than low scorers that they were "difficult" as children. Among the male interviewees, 10 high scorers as contrasted with only 1 low scorer describe themselves as *unmanageable, difficult, stubborn, aggressive, spoiled and/or sensitive* in childhood (Category 40a.M).

Aside from the possibility of this having actually been the case, it seems that some of the high-scoring subjects may seek in this way to justify the harsh discipline exerted by their parents by taking the blame themselves for any clashes that may have occurred. A further motive for this type of description may be the wish, known to be present in high-scoring men (see above, Chapter VII, to conceive of oneself as possessing "rugged masculinity." The following examples from the records of high-scoring men seem to support both of the latter alternatives offered here as explanations.

M40: (What were you like as a child?) "Rowdy, I guess. Typical fresh Irish kid. . . . Snot-nosed, they used to call it. (Q) Oh, steal Joe Blow's apples (and similar pranks). If there was any trouble, I was in it. (Q) Oh, just a kid—I mean, nothing serious."

M20: "I had a pretty mean streak in me, especially around ten, pretty mischievous. My grandparents tried to hold me back. See that I'd play with the right kind of children. When I was around 12, I began to be pretty snotty to them and run around any time I wanted to. Sometimes I didn't do my work. At times, I'd feel ashamed of myself. . . . Makes me feel bad now. . . . (Q) No money. I couldn't run around much without money. Always tried to make it some way. . . . Three or four of us ran around together. Pretty snotty. . . . Maybe they tried to hold me down too much when I was younger. Wouldn't let me play, only with certain children."

There is a corresponding though less pronounced trend in high-scoring women; they report that as children they were *difficult, nervous, frail* (Category 40a.W). Examples are:

F22: "All I can remember is that mother said I was very fussy and finicky especially about what I ate."

F31: "I used to cry all the time. I don't know why, but people hurt my feelings. My brother took that out of me. I fought with him, and it got to the point where I could dish it out."

F66: "I cried an awful lot when he died. Mother says I cried and ran out of rooms for years after he died because I didn't like to see her with any other man. She says I ruined her chances."

Low-scoring subjects, on the other hand, show a tendency to describe

themselves as *quiet*, *shy*, *self-conscious*, or as *unpopular* in childhood. Low-scoring women, furthermore, relate somewhat more readily than do the high-scoring to have been "*tomboys*" and *independent* as children (Category 40a, continued). Examples from the records of low-scoring subjects follow:

M48: (What sort of a person were you?) "Hard for me to say—you mean, was I quiet? Well, would like to have been noisier, was always somewhat repressed by the other kids . . . shunned by (the leading cliques in school) . . . though I finally got in with my own gang about my own level. . . ."

M53: (What sort of person were you?) "Hard to evaluate. . . . I think I was fairly quiet. . . . I was supposed to be pretty well behaved. Don't think I was remarkable in any respect."

M55: "Timid about dancing, afraid to dance; afraid to go out for sports for fear of being not a good player."

F27 "I was an awful drip really. I was a very unhappy child. I think it was because I was so fat. And I was abnormally shy. It used to make me mad when teachers would point me out as a model child for being so quiet. I knew I was only quiet because I was scared of everybody there. At home I was a noisy madcap. Of course, at home I was the center of the stage. Everyone thought I was wonderful. At school I guess I didn't feel appreciated. I knew I was very superior intellectually and was sort of a snob about that—but I didn't really care about that. I wanted to be liked and nobody liked me. So I just hurried home. All through grammar school I only had two friends—both girls. I never knew a boy well enough to really talk to. I guess those girls must have really tried to be friends with me because I never could have made any effort."

Floyd Allport and D. A. Hartmann (8) found similar results when they administered a scale to measure political attitudes as well as several personality schedules. They found that the liberals—to use our terminology—exceeded the conservatives in "tender-mindedness," awareness of inner motives and conflicts, touchiness in personal matters, sensitiveness to the opinions of others, and a retiring nature. They are less expansive and self-assertive.

3. BLANDNESS *VS.* ADULT-ORIENTATION

It was assumed, in line with their general tendency toward denial and toward reluctance to face difficulties, that high-scoring subjects would be inclined further to describe their childhood as *bland*, *happy*, *active*, and *without worries or shyness* (Category 40b). We were aware of the fact that this assumption is in apparent contradiction to the trend just referred to, namely that high scorers lean toward describing themselves as having been difficult children. However, it is quite common to find denial of difficulties in such subjects side by side with revelation of difficulties. In descriptions of the childhood self there seem to be on the whole fewer manifestations of denial than in any other field with which we have dealt so far. This might be due to the fact that childhood is a possible projection screen for undesirable traits, offering another possibility of rendering these traits "ego-alien." Obviously, there is comparatively little necessity to glorify one's childhood, a period so far away in time. On the contrary, some of our high-scoring sub-

jects seem to find satisfaction in stressing handicaps, such as bad constitution, as something they had to overcome, thus making their success appear the more impressive.

Another aspect of childhood (referred to in the opposite variant of Category 40b) is found with considerable frequency in the reports of low-scoring subjects. It may be summarized as *orientation toward the adult and the espousal of internalized standards*, as manifested in reading a lot, an interest in school and teachers, and in achievement striving. This trend is especially typical of the group of low-scoring men, in which 16 interviewees give a picture of themselves as having been adult-oriented in childhood, as compared with only 1 high-scoring man who does so. In women the corresponding figures are 7 and 0.

This picture is substantiated in the direct study by the present author, referred to above (30), of children scoring low on a prejudice scale especially designed for them. Though such children show less submission to authority, they tend to be genuinely more oriented toward adult values, such as interest in work.

Examples from both low-scoring men and women follow:

M53: (Especially remarkable?) "I don't know. I don't think so. I was a pretty good student in school. Seemed to have a lot of friends. I don't remember any outstanding disappointments. (Worries as a child?) Oh, let's see, that's difficult. I don't know. I can't remember any recurring worries as a child. (What about little things?) Well, let me think. Shortly after my father's death, I worried about that for a while. Growing up without a father. . . . In high school I think I worried a lot about future occupation and how to earn a living."

M56: (What were you like as a child?) "Oh, very serious . . . read Rippants' 'History of the World' at nine. My grandfather, when I was nine or ten, gave me Washington Irving's 'Conquest of Granada,' which meant a great deal to me—gave me a sense of objectivity in history . . . he sometimes gave me temperance books."

F27: "I was reading Dickens and Thackeray when other children were on Brer Rabbit, and knew all about the symphonies and operas while they were on nursery rhymes."

Along the same line is a certain tendency on the part of the low-scoring subjects to report relative *isolation* in childhood, while high scorers refer to what may be defined as *gang-sociability* (Category 40c), including such aspects as popularity and the holding of offices in clubs and high school fraternities and sororities. No figures for this trend are given in Table 4(XI), but examples from records of low-scoring subjects describing shyness and relative isolation in childhood are given here:

M59: (What were you like as a child?) "Always shy and when I was around a large group it was quite a while before I would enter into the spirit of things."

F27: "I knew I was quiet because I was scared of everybody there. . . . I wanted to be liked and nobody liked me. So I just hurried home."

F75: "In a way we are all alike in our family—shy and afraid of people. We don't discuss it but I have noticed it in all of us, even my sister who doesn't act like it often.

My mother has always pushed us and wanted us to be different—go-getters—but she isn't. I was the worst—the sort who would cross the street rather than say hello to a friend. . . . I remember wishing my mother would leave me alone to do what I wanted. That would have been bad though. I guess, because I would have grown up a hermit. Even now, I prefer to curl up with a book or go for a walk by myself."

M49: "Well, when we were small, we spent all the time we possibly could out-of-doors, and when we came out here, we never associated with . . . never had any contact with other children outside of school time (worked, helping at home) . . . just played together at home. . . . Neither of us ever went out for any sports . . . ."

4. CONTRASTING PICTURE OF CHILDHOOD AND PRESENT

The last two categories to be discussed under attitude toward one's childhood help to support and to round out the impression gained so far. It was pointed out above that high-scoring subjects seem to use their childhood as a projection screen for traits now considered as undesirable. This should make for *discontinuity* between childhood and present self (Category 41). Actually, such is the case, significantly more often in the high scorers (at the 1 per cent level for men and at the 5 per cent level for women) than in the low scorers, the latter tending to show *continuity* between childhood and adult self. High scorers even may give the impression of an actual break by glorifying the present self and by finding fault with the past.

On the whole, finally, high scorers tend to make *little spontaneous comment* while the low scorers offer *considerable spontaneous comment* about their childhood (Category 46), the difference being significant at the 2 per cent level for both men and women. This is but one more among several manifestations of the greater intraceptiveness of the low scorers, and of their greater inclination to explain human behavior in psychological and social terms.

5. SUMMARY OF ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT SELF AND CHILDHOOD SELF

As in the evaluation of their parents and of the other sex, high scorers tend in their self-evaluation to stress the positive and desirable aspects; or at least this is so on the surface level. They are prone to point to their "will power" and determination in overcoming the handicaps and vicissitudes of life. Energy, decisiveness, aggressiveness in competition tend to be particularly prominent in the ego-ideal of high-scoring men.

However, there is evidence that the repeated assertions of independence are a defense against strong feelings of dependence, passivity, helplessness, and sometimes even self-contempt. These feelings are but rarely recognized or accepted as such without making an attempt at self-justification.

What is not acceptable to the ego tends in the further course of events to become externalized, thus rendering the ego narrow and constricted. In further consequence, prejudiced subjects tend to regard themselves as conventional, not different, and therefore "all right," and their descriptions of themselves have a definitely moralistic tone. Deviations from the commonly accepted pattern of conduct, if admitted at all, are regarded as a "break-

through" of tendencies which are either beyond explanation or which are explained away by external factors and incidents over which the subject could not possibly have had control. Judicious explanations of the socio-psychological kind are avoided in this type of approach to the self. This makes for a comparative lack of experienced continuity between childhood self and present self. In line with this, high scorers are generally somewhat reluctant to make spontaneous reference to their childhood, thus trying further to disclaim for themselves and for their parents the responsibility for the outcome.

Unprejudiced individuals, on the other hand, seem to be on better terms with themselves, due perhaps to the fact that they have been more loved and accepted by their parents. Thus they are more ready to admit falling short of their ideals and of the roles they are expected to play by our culture. Impulses and tendencies which seem less desirable are nonetheless accepted as a part of the self, making for a richer, more complex, and more intraceptive content of the ego. Thus, as was pointed out in the first section of this chapter, low-scoring men prove themselves more able to afford frank admission of passivity and weakness without having to resort—to the same degree as high-scoring men may have to—to the use of rigid and counterphobic defenses against these feelings. In accordance with this, there is comparatively frequent evidence of open admission of conflict about the feminine role in low-scoring women, as well as of their genuine fondness of men.

Furthermore, low scorers tend to derive their security from recourse to their personal identity in addition to such external factors as group membership or property. Hence they tend to present themselves in their interviews as individualized and unconventional. Instead of trying to live up to conventionally defined rules and values, they tend to strive toward real achievement, toward understanding and affiliation, and toward the realization of humanitarian and liberal values such as the improvement of social relations or self-improvement. They seem to be interested in explanations of their present self in terms of their entire development. They make considerable spontaneous reference to their childhood. Their descriptions of themselves as children are often far from the picture of what would be generally called a well adjusted child. They report having been withdrawn, shy, and self-conscious; oriented toward work, reading, and an adult set of values. These reports are in accordance with direct findings, in an independent study, on the personality of extremely unprejudiced children.

As adults, low scorers often continue to manifest open anxieties and feelings of depression, due perhaps at least in part to their greater capacity of facing insecurity and conflict. Their greater readiness to introspect may be considered as an attempt to master these problems and to achieve a dependable and flexible form of adjustment. Sometimes it appears that they may succeed; in other cases it seems that there is but a morbid dwelling on psychological topics.

CHAPTER XII

DYNAMIC AND COGNITIVE PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION AS SEEN THROUGH THE INTERVIEWS

Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. DYNAMIC CHARACTER STRUCTURE

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

Throughout the preceding discussion of interview material repeated reference was made to a variety of so-called defense mechanisms. Among them were repression of sex and aggression, overemphasis on cleanliness, various forms of defense against one's own passivity, and the like. Again and again it became evident that the difference between the ethnocentric and the non-ethnocentric extremes hinges more on the rejection vs. the acceptance of such depth factors as homosexuality, or aggression, or passivity, or anality than it does on the mere presence or absence of one or another of these tendencies. In other words, it was not primarily the relative strength of such tendencies that seemed to matter, but rather the way in which these tendencies were handled in the motivational dynamics of the subject in question. In the framework of these dynamics, defense mechanisms are the instruments of rejection of those tendencies which the subject is not ready to face and to incorporate.

The categories of the Interview Scoring Manual discussed in the present chapter are centered about such defense mechanisms, per se, along with other dynamic patterns fulfilling a related function. Thus, some of these categories cut across a variety of aspects investigated so far, and offer the possibility of providing synopses of previous observations. By the use of these categories direct support could be found for many assumptions made previously on the basis of more scattered or indirect evidence.

The list of categories related to dynamic character structure is as follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: DYNAMIC CHARACTER STRUCTURE

(to Table 1(XII))

PRESUMABLY "HIGH" VARIANTS	PRESUMABLY "LOW" VARIANTS
47. *Counter-cathectic rejection of "erotic" orality* (of zone-sensuality and/or its sublimations, i.e., of verbal-emotional-artistic expressiveness)	47. *Positive expressions of "erotic" orality* (of zone-sensuality, e.g., food cathexis, oral perversions, and/or sublimations, i.e., verbal-emotional-artistic expressiveness-expansiveness)
48. *Rigid-moralistic-anal reaction-formations* as ends-in-themselves; overemphasis on, and preoccupations with, totalitarian-moralistic (positive and negative) typologizing (e.g., two kinds of people, "clean" and "dirty"); emphasis on money and property	48. *Anal reaction-formations functional and nonmoralistic.* Means-end relationship retained; or anal sublimations; or relative absence of anal reaction-formations
49. *Diffuse, ego-alien dependence.* Escapism, dodging responsibility; underlying ego-alien passivity; helplessness-weakness (expressed openly in men only when overwhelmed or victimized—e.g. "foxhole religion"—with all-or-none character). Characterized by affective poverty and exchangeability of object	49. *Love-oriented succorance-nurturance*, acceptance of dependency and affect, specificity of object cathexis
50. *Aggression:*	
a. *Diffuse, impersonalized;* sometimes replaced by ingratiation	a. *Focal, personal*
b. *Moralistic-authoritarian.* Totalitarian; punitive; often persecutory (pogrom frame of mind)	b. (1) *Principled - intellectualized* (2) *Love-oriented.* Especially in response to rejection by a cathected object
c. *Destructive-explosive.* Tending toward all-or-none, and toward physical expression	c. *Relatively mild, day-to-day.* Tending toward regular release, and toward verbal expression
51. *Ambivalence:*	
a. *Ego-alien*	a. (1) *Sometimes admitted openly;* ego-accepted (2) *Conscious inhibition of affect*
b. *Solved by dichotomies and displacement*	b. *Expressed sometimes openly toward original objects* or

	"reality representatives" of original objects (e.g. authority; mother figures)
52. Identification:	
a. *Inverted Oedipal attachment*	a. *Normal Oedipal attachment*
b. *Underlying ego-alien identification with opposite sex parent's role.* Emphasis on dominance-submission conflicts	b. *Genuine, ego-integrated identification with either or both parents*
c/M. *Pseudo-masculinity*	c. *Ego-integrated masculinity* and/or *femininity*. Emphasis is on character traits and internalized values
c/W. *Pseudo-femininity*	
53. *Externalized superego,* "social anxiety"; or rigid superego, unconscious guilt	53. *Internalized superego,* sometimes severe and irrational; conscious guilt
54. *Rejection and countercathexis of ego-alien impulses,* especially of sex, of aggression against parents and authorities, and of feelings of weakness and passivity	54. *Acceptance and sublimation of id,* often with conscious conflict between competing impulses; sometimes conscious inhibition of id
55. *Ego weak;* often skillful in attaining success and determined in overt action; sometimes combined with opportunistic over-realism	55. *Ego moderate strength, or strong.* Criteria: sustained effort, ability to postpone pleasure for sake of internalized values; ability to assume responsibility; emotional maturity, etc. Sometimes drifting into impractical pursuits
Further mechanisms	
56a. *Distortion of "reality"*	56a. *Realistic-objective* re world generally
56b. *Authoritarian moralism*	56b. *Intellectualization,* sometimes of the type of philosophical rationalization rather than of intellectual penetration
56c. *Denial of "negative things" in self, "official optimism"*	56c. *Open psychological conflict* concerning own adequacy, maturity, or the violation of liberal values, etc.
56d. *Concern with physical symptoms*	
56e. *Concern with physical appearance*	
56f. *Hysterical conversion symptoms* (especially in men)	

The quantitative results are shown, in the usual manner, in Table 1(XII).

2. ORALITY AND ANALITY

We turn first to the so-called oral and anal trends, especially their acceptance vs. rejection whenever this occurs in the two groups scoring extremely high or low on the overt Ethnocentrism scale. As in the preceding discussion, the terms "anality" and "orality" do not refer here to the earlier psychogenetic stages but rather to special character syndromes found in the adult personality; these latter have been described, likewise by psychoanalysis, in terms of present symptoms assumed to be connected with their respective counterparts in childhood.

It was first expected that in line with the general tendency toward repression, high-scoring subjects would tend to defend themselves against both the direct oral urge, e.g., indulgence in food, drinking, smoking, etc., as well as against tendencies assumed to be related to this urge—indulgence in talking, artistic interests, etc. The low scorers, on the other hand, were expected to show more acceptance of and more liking for manifestations assumed to be directly or indirectly related to orality. On this basis, *orality* was incorporated in the Interview Scoring Manual in the form defined by Category 47.

Although there actually is within our material a trend in the expected direction, especially for women (see Table 1(XII)), it is far from being statistically significant. This may well be due to the presence of an "oral demandingness" in the high scorers as manifested, for example, in a dependdence on getting "things," and a dependence on authorities and supernatural forces as discussed above. These specific manifestations were not fully anticipated at the time the definitions of the category were laid down, although they were given proper consideration throughout by the two raters, both being clinically trained and psychoanalytically oriented.

The original hypothesis proved most valid where rejection of drinking and smoking on the part of the typical high scorer was concerned, and this may well be seen as part of a general conventionalism.

As was expected, indulgence in what may be called direct orality is more often found in the low scorers. An illustration may be found in the following record:

F62: "For a while I wanted to be an actress but I love to eat and, strangely enough, the actresses seem not to eat. Because of not being able to reduce and because of the fact that the job of a teacher is more secure, I decided to become a teacher."

The various behavior forms assumed to be indirectly derived from orality do not show any pronounced differences, however. More detailed distinctions of the various levels and kinds of direct and devious manifestations of orality may well reveal striking differences between the ethnically prejudiced and unprejudiced.

In contrast to orality, the rejection vs. acceptance of tendencies customarily designated as *anal syndrome* (Category 48) proved significantly differentiating (at the 1 per cent level) for both men and women interviewees.

TABLE 1 (XII)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON DYNAMIC CHARACTER STRUCTURE FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached or surpassed (percentage)
47. Rejection(H) vs. positive expression(L) of "erotic" orality	Men	5	7	2	7	12	9	
	Women	8	3	2	5	13	5	
48. Anal reaction-formations rigid-moralistic (H) vs. functional and nonmoralistic(L)	Men	12	1	3	13	25	4	1
	Women	17	2	3	7	24	3	1
49. Diffuse, ego-alien(H) vs. love-oriented(L) dependence	Men	17	3	2	14	31	5	1
	Women	17	2	1	7	24	3	1
50. Aggression:								
a. Diffuse, depersonalized(H) vs. focal, personalized(L)	Men	17	2	2	13	30	4	1
	Women	13	3	0	11	24	3	1
b. Moralistic-authoritarian(H) vs. principled-intellectualized or love-oriented(L)	Men	15	2	2	12	27	4	1
	Women	16	1	2	10	26	3	1
c. Destructive-explosive(H) vs. relatively mild(L)	Men	9	2	2	10	19	4	5
	Women	6	3	3	9	15	6	
51. Ambivalence:								
a. Ego-alien(H) vs. sometimes admitted openly(L)	Men	15	2	4	12	27	6	1
	Women	16	4	2	9	25	6	1
b. Solved by dichotomies and displacement(H) vs. expressed openly toward original object(L)	Men	14	2	5	8	22	7	2
	Women	9	3	2	9	18	5	5

52. Oedipus complex:								
a. Inverted(H) vs. normal(L)	Men	6	4	3	12	18	7	
	Women	9	11	3	8	17	14	
b. Ego-alien identification with opposite sex parent's role (H) vs. ego-integrated identification with either or both parent(L)	Men	12	1	2	13	25	3	1
	Women	15	1	2	11	26	3	1
cM. Pseudo masculinity(H) vs. ego-integrated masculinity or "feminity"(L)	Men	15	1	2	10	25	3	1
cW. Pseudo femininity(H) vs. ego-integrated femininity or "masculinity"(L)	Women	4	5	2	11	15	7	
53. Externalized(H) vs. internalized superego(L)	Men	16	3	2	14	30	5	1
	Women	15	5	1	12	27	6	1
54. Countercathexis of ego-alien id(H) vs. acceptance and sublimation of id(L)	Men	14	1	5	10	24	6	1
	Women	21	1	4	7	28	5	1
55. Ego weak(H) vs. ego medium strength or strong(L)	Men	14	5	7	11	25	12	5
	Women	12	9	3	11	23	12	5
56a. Distortion of reality(H) vs. realistic-objective(L)	Men	8	3	4	10	18	7	
	Women	8	4	3	10	18	7	5
b. Authoritarian moralism(H) vs. intellectualization(L)	Men	14	3	3	12	26	6	1
	Women	16	1	3	9	25	4	1
c. Denial of negative things in self(H) vs. open psychological conflict(L)	Men	17	1	2	12	29	3	1
	Women	12	3	1	9	21	4	1
d. Concern with physical symptoms(H)	Men	7		3		7	3	
	Women	6		0		6	0	
e. Concern with physical appearance(H)	Men	3		5		3	5	
	Women	8		1		8	1	
f. Hysterical conversions(H)	Men	3		2		3	2	
	Women	7		3		7	3	

Thus it is that high-scoring subjects tend toward rigid-moralistic patterns of behavior, which are related in appearance to responses technically termed anal reaction-formations, and tend to conceive of them as ends-in-themselves; that they show overemphasis upon, and preoccupation with, such issues as money, neatness, "good clean life and hard work," etc.; and that they are given to totalitarian-moralistic typologizing (e.g., two kinds of people—"clean" and "dirty"), this typologizing being either positive or negative. These preoccupations may be considered as an outcome of a certain type of child training; thus, sociopsychological factors are brought into the picture. The affinity of these dynamic tendencies to the ideological issues in question seems evident on the basis of the above description.

Examples of this complex of attitudes in the records of high-scoring subjects are:

M41: "Lots of advantages . . . pensions. Put in 30 years and you retire. Good salary. Always something to see and learn in the army. Going different places. It's a good life in general. A clean life. . . . It makes a man of you. . . . (Main differences between Christians and others?) The Christian tries to live a Christian life and others go out and rob and steal, drink, carouse around, do a little of everything. . . . (What do you find most offensive in others?) Well, some people are more attractive than others. Some people have no attraction. (Interests, hobbies?) Well, I have no hobbies. I like fishing. I like hunting."

M51: (What is the core of your religious beliefs?) "No, I can't elaborate on that. I did answer that. That right thinking and right living. . . ."

F66: "Mother is a nurse, and I know the profession. I don't like dirty work. I don't like sick people. (About school.) They . . . wore dirty old plaid shirts."

F31: "I can't see a girl working in jeans and around grease and putting themselves on the same level as men."

F38: (What people have you disliked?) "I remember a man when I was 18 years old. I didn't like him because he was dirty and sloppy."

F78: She looks for similar interests, someone who enjoys the same things. "Someone I wouldn't have to make excuses for—someone well brought up, nice appearance, dressed neatly. I'm a very neat person."

Some of these findings corroborate earlier results by Krout and Stagner (65). They found that conservatives show more tendency to digestive disorders, more and an almost compulsive interest in washing and personal cleanliness.

Low scorers, on the other hand, tend toward anal reaction-formations which may be considered functional rather than moralistic, with the proper perspective upon their character as means to an end retained (Category 48, continued). More specifically, the more "central" attitude involved finds its expression on the functional level in a constructive inclination toward such frames of mind as planning, e.g., in scientific work; or else there is an absence of retentiveness altogether, as shown by a rather carefree, relaxed attitude. Examples of this latter subvariety from the records of low-scoring subjects are:

M42: "It may sound funny, but I don't particularly care to work really. . . . I like the independence of that kind of work. . . . I have the ability in such a job to simply go fishing on Saturdays or other days if I don't feel like working." Subject indicates that doing so was not a particularly rare occurrence with him. . . . "And I'm not as economical as my mother. I take after my dad probably in that respect more. In having a good time, I'm more like him. When I start out to have a good time, money doesn't matter. . . ."

M55: "I am inclined to be not very careful about spending money myself . . . my wife says so. . . . If I see something I like, I am inclined to buy it. . . . (About older sister:) However, a delightful person to live with. . . ."

M56: (Importance of money to father?) "Not important; never any money-grubbers in my family. My brother is a doctor who went to Ethiopia to help out as a doctor."

3. DEPENDENCE

Another "central" attitude which is not accepted and faced as such by the high-scoring subjects is "dependence." We made reference to this tendency in discussing the subjects' attitude toward their family, toward people, and toward themselves. Here we deal with dependence as a generalized trait in its various meanings and the ways in which it is handled by the subject. In Category 49, a *diffuse and ego-alien dependence* as manifested by escapism or the dodging of responsibility, a general underlying passivity, helplessness and weakness (in men expressed openly only when they are overwhelmed or victimized, as exemplified by "foxhole religion" and other all-or-none responses), accompanied by affective poverty, is contrasted with what has for the sake of brevity been labeled *love-oriented succorance-nurturance.* The first-named alternative is found significantly more often in high scorers (the difference being at the 1 per cent level of confidence) both in the case of men and women interviewees. Since the two patterns of dependence described have been discussed at length in previous chapters, it may suffice here briefly to remind the reader of the basic difference between affectionate love dependence and self-seeking dependence that is barren of affect.

The dependence on support in high-scoring subjects is furthermore clearly evident in their particular type of attitude toward religion. It is primarily when in need that they turn to the Bible; and it is support in the face of need rather than a system of ethics that they seek in religion. Frequently they become religious whenever "dependence on people" conflicts with suspicion, leading to isolation. Examples of this self-centered attitude toward religion from the records of high-scoring subjects are:

M13: (Under what conditions might you turn to religion?) "Yes, under some conditions I might. I have had a lot of sickness, stomach trouble ever since I was 12. I was in the hospital once for three months. During those periods, I like to turn to the Bible. I like the history and sayings of Christ, principally. . . . (What about your conception of God?) Well, I have none especially. The closest conception I got was when I was in the service, that is, God as strictly man, greater than any on this earth, one that would treat us as a father would his son. I don't think God is terrible in His justice."

M58: "Well, I'm not much on praying, myself, but instinctively . . . when a person needs something, when nothing else will help, the natural thing to do is turn to the Lord for help—whether prayers are answered, I dont know . . . but I believe prayers will be answered to those few who live and believe in religion, but to a person just to pray, no!"

F38: "Everyone should have a definite belief in a deity, instilled in childhood. Something to lean against, if you need it, for instance in case of a death in the family."

4. AGGRESSION

In considering the relationship of central dynamic tendencies to ethnic prejudice, the problem of "aggression" obviously calls for special attention. Indeed, prejudice seems to be but one of a number of manifestations of aggression. Thus a more detailed analysis of the degree and type of aggression found in the high scorer as compared with the low scorer seems appropriate. The subsequent distinctions of various aspects of aggression show a certain amount of overlapping. One of the foremost distinctions concerns whether aggression is an expression of a general and diffuse rage, with a tendency to be suppressed and to break through in an uncontrolled way, or whether there is a more specific reason for aggression, well integrated with the subject's ego, such as the violation of a principle or loss of love, in which case the expression of aggression is apt to be more specific and more channeled. A further distinction is as to whether the aggression tends to become displaced onto someone who is socially weaker or tends to be directed toward the actual source of frustration, even if this source should be found to be connected with those who are authoritative and powerful.

In accordance with these considerations, *three aspects of aggression* have been distinguished in the Scoring Manual for the interviews. In each case, the first of the two alternatives to be mentioned was actually found predominantly in the high scorers, the second predominantly in the low scorers, with the difference highly significant for the first two aspects, Categories 50a and 50b, in both men and women.

In particular, Category 50a distinguishes diffuse forms of aggression that are not integrated and have no personalized goal from an aggression that is both "focal" and personal. Reports about blind rage, temper tantrums, and bad temper in general, often found in the records of high-scoring subjects, are pertinent to the first of these two alternatives. The expression of aggression in low scorers shows, by contrast, greater awareness of the cause of aggression which thus tends to become more specific, and to be directed against a certain person or against violation of a general principle. At the same time there seems to be more open conflict and guilt over expressions or feelings of aggression in the low scorers.

Furthermore, aggression may be, on the one hand, moralistic-authoritarian, or totalitarian, or primitive, or even persecutory as in a pogrom frame-of-

mind; or it may be, on the other hand, principled and intellectualized, or else love-oriented, especially in response to rejection by a sought-after ("cathexed") object (Category 50b). The clearest expressions of these forms of aggression can be found in those passages of the interviews which deal with social and political issues, i.e., those excluded in order to make "blind" scoring of the interviews possible. In addition to these passages, however, there are throughout the interviews, especially those of the high scorers, aggressive references to people who are considered as socially inferior, uneducated, not religious, etc. It is to such references that this subcategory applies. Expressions of generalized tolerance, on the other hand, can be found in many of the records of low scorers.

The distinction between an aggression that is destructive and explosive, tends toward the all-or-none and toward physical expression, and an aggression that is relatively mild, has a day-to-day character and tends toward regular release and toward verbal expression, is incorporated in Category 50c. There is less clear-cut statistical significance for this subcategory, but the trend in the expected direction is nonetheless present.

Statements about differences in the kind of aggression displayed do not imply that low scorers tend on the whole to have successfully overcome the vicissitudes inherent in this crucial aspect of human behavior. It may well be that while they succeed more often than do high scorers in avoiding manifestations of aggression which are destructive of others, they do so at the price of increased self-destruction.

5. AMBIVALENCE

The problem of ambivalence is related to that of aggression. In discussing attitudes toward parents and sex, the comparative inability of high-scoring subjects to verbalize aggression and thus to face ambivalence was pointed out in detail. It was also intimated that it may be precisely the inability to face ambivalence toward the powerful which leads to socially dangerous forms of displacement of aggression. The following *two aspects of ambivalence* seemed especially important and are thus covered in the Scoring Manual:

Category 51a deals with what may be called the degree of awareness of ambivalence. In the typical high-scoring subject ambivalence is not being faced but rather is rendered ego-alien, whereas it is more often openly admitted in the low scorers. The difference is quite significant in both sexes.

Category 51b deals with the mechanisms which help to circumvent ambivalence or to keep it on an unconscious level. The most outstanding of these mechanisms consist in a thinking in terms of dichotomies, i.e., in terms of pairs of diametrical opposites, and in an inclination toward displacement. Thus, glorification of the ingroup and rejection of the outgroup, familiar from the sphere of social and political beliefs, can be found as a general trend

in some of our clinical data, predominantly in those relating to high scorers. Low scorers, on the other hand, tend toward openly expressing their ambivalence toward the original objects, or toward representatives of these objects in reality (e.g., toward authority, or toward mother figures, respectively.) The ability and the readiness to admit and to express aggression where it originates, instead of projecting and displacing it, provides one of the most important cornerstones of democracy, as was pointed out in parts of the previous discussion on the attitude toward the parents (Chapter X). Conscious aggression is apt to be less intensive than repressed aggression.

Quotations of records revealing underlying ambivalence in high scorers were given in one of the preceding chapters. We may repeat here only what seems a rather typical description of the mother, by one of our high-scoring woman interviewees. "Mother was, of course, a very wonderful person. She was very nervous. Irritable only when overdoing." There are, furthermore, indications in the records of high-scoring subjects of ambivalence toward members of professional groups who may be considered as parent substitutes, e.g., toward the priest, the doctor, the teacher, etc. To be sure, low-scoring subjects manifest a great deal of criticism toward such authoritative figures, but it is usually expressed more directly, and is characterized by a lesser degree of that type of anxiety which is not openly faced or admitted.

6. IDENTIFICATION

One of the aims of the present chapter is to take up topics, discussed in previous sections, under the aspects of personality dynamics as assumed by the school of psychoanalysis. In probing into what is called the "Oedipal" situation of the subjects and their "identifications" in general, we are seriously handicapped by the insufficiency of the data from which inferences about the psychogenetic picture could be made. It should be especially acknowledged and kept in mind therefore that in describing identifications in any particular subject we may well be wrong as to the ultimate interpretation. But since we are focusing on group trends, a certain neutralization of these sources of error is likely to be achieved.

The problems approached here in connection with the Oedipal situation coincide with those dealt with primarily in psychoanalysis: (1) the problem of cathexis, that is, of the choice of the parental love object, and (2) the problem of identification with one or the other parent. In Category 52a, the question was whether there is an *"inverted" or a "normal" Oedipal situation*, i.e., whether the subject has as his or her primary love object the parent of the same or of the opposite sex. Judgment in this respect involves a great deal of inference on the part of the rater. The hypothesis underlying the adoption of this category was that low-scoring subjects will reveal evidence of the normal trend of having more cathexis on the parent of the opposite

sex. This would be in line with his more clear-cut heterosexual attitude as referred to in one of the previous chapters.

Due perhaps to the insufficient material on this score, or to the fact that the crucial difference has to be sought in the way of handling—rather than in the mere presence or absence—of the normal resolution of the Oedipal situation, this anticipated difference did not turn out to be statistically significant. For our women interviewees the difference is altogether negligible. For men, however, it may well reach significance in a somewhat larger sample, since 12 of our extreme low scorers and only 4 of the extreme high scorers report greater attachment to the mother, and since there are totals of 18 "positive" as against only 7 "negative" instances on the category as a whole. Again it must be emphasized that while such results may be interesting as a group trend, in any individual case the relationship to the parents may turn out to be very different, on a deeper level, from what it appears to be on the surface or in overt verbalization. This fact notwithstanding, much in the personality structure of the typical unprejudiced man induces us to believe that his attachment to the mother was indeed close and that it is a source of his favorable attitude toward women and his courage in opposing the father and authorities in general.

The closeness between mother and son is described in the following excerpt from the interview of one of the low-scoring men:

M55: (Which parent closer to?) "Closer to my mother quite a bit, confided more than with father, but mostly just about casual things. I think she made too much of me; told me how bright I was, etc., but I was just better adjusted (than older sister). I think they were awfully thoughtless and cruel to her."

While preference for the parent of the opposite sex does not differentiate significantly between high and low scorers, there is a significant difference with respect to acceptance of, or defense against, identification with the parent of the opposite sex or with the "weaker" parent (femininity in men and masculinity in women). The respective category, 52b, contrasts an underlying *ego-alien identification with the role of the parent of the opposite sex* (emphasizing the dominance-submission conflict) with a genuine ego-integrated identification with either parent or with both parents. The difference, significant at the 1 per cent level, indicates that high-scoring men tend to repress their "femininity," high-scoring women their "masculinity." The following examples show how little resistance, on the other hand, low-scoring men seem to have to discussing their similarities with their mothers and to showing their partial identifications with them:

M48: (Parents' feelings?) "Of course, my mother I imagine thinks it's a pretty good idea. My family have always had (artistic talents). Mother married a second time—stepfather would be against it. . . . (How do you take after your mother?) Well, very peculiar thing. I never thought mother was too bright or intellectual and I'm not either."

M59: (Similarities to mother?) "Well, both of us are a little sensitive in tempera ment, kind of quiet. I think we both like a certain amount of solitude. I used to lik to take her out to dinner, to the theater quite often."

M42: (Which parent did you take after most?) "Well, I dont know. . . . I suppos I take after my mother's side of the family. I have a lot of traits like her father an brother . . . but she, herself, is more like her mother . . . although I have a lot of char acteristics of my father. I have quick temper like he does."

Alongside the repression of feminine trends, high-scoring men tend to display what may be called "pseudo-masculinity" whereas low-scoring men tend to develop more ego-integrated masculinity and an acceptance of feminine tendencies in themselves, the emphasis being on character traits and internalized values rather than on a display of masculinity. The difference within this category, 52c.M, is significant at the 1 per cent level. For women, the corresponding difference does not reach statistical significance although there is a trend in the expected direction.

7. SUPEREGO

It seems to be the lack of genuine identification with, and the fear of, the parents which leads in the high scorers to an *externalization of the superego*, with the punishing and rewarding authority seen as being outside rather than inside of oneself. By contrast, low scorers tend toward an *internalized conscience;* their behavior is primarily oriented toward genuine, intrinsic values and standards rather than toward external authorities (Category 53). Rated directly and as such, this difference turns out in a statistically highly satisfactory manner, thus supporting the inferences made so far on the more specific aspects of this basic distinction.

Examples of the leaning on external authorities in the records of high-scoring men are:

M58: "If you don't harm anybody else, it's all right. . . . If you break a man-made law, it's OK if you don't harm someone else—the law is made to protect people. . . . If you harm yourself then also it could be wrong. . . . (Example?) Well, drinking . . . if in your own home, nobody hurt and perfectly all right. . . . Law is broken every day in this respect. Adultery, as long as never found out, is OK—if found out, then it's wrong. Since some of the most respected people do it, it must be all right."

M41: (Views?) "Well, I believe a person should believe in religion. . . . Helps to protect society. (Q) A person that believes in religion, they're not apt to . . . or pull off any kind of crime."

M51: "It's mostly a matter of disciplining yourself. . . . I never was so disgusted in my life(i.e., with Christian Science). . . . (What kind of things do you pray about?) I don't. . . . I ask whatever power there is to guide me—whether that power is divine mind or mortal mind—and I know that I'll be guided rightly."

M57: "Well, I believe . . . there must be a power over us. . . . Always know if a man does something wrong, sooner or later he'll get punished for it, so there must be some power to punish us. . . ."

The orientation toward inner standards can be seen in the following records of low scorers:

M42: (Views?) "Well, I think it's silly. (Laughs) Not silly, I wouldn't say that either. . . . I think they're ignorant people . . . have to be scared into the right kind of living . . . by fear of Hell . . . but I think a man can have his own religion without ever seeing a church . . . the Golden Rule . . . I think people feel that in themselves, but they're not changed by churches, etc. . . . I think religion, as the churches teach it, (is useless)."

M53: "Impulses suggest that you've given it some thought . . . and if you've given it some thought, you're going to control it, if you have any sense at all. . . . I don't think I have any desires that I have any difficulty in controlling."

F75: "About sex—it wasn't discussed. I don't know how we did find out. From friends I guess before we went into training and really learned. I think people should have standards within which they can give themselves leeway. If you don't have for yourself there is nothing to guide you. But it's just as bad to have them so rigid you can't break with them when you feel it is all right for yourself to do so."

The crucial difference between externalization and internalization of moral values has been discussed repeatedly and in various contexts throughout this volume. It may suffice to recall here the self-negating, fearful submission to the parents on the part of the ethnocentric subjects as described in Chapter X. The type of discipline used seems to prevent a genuine incorporation and assimilation of social values. The child had to renounce instinctual and other pleasures for an exchange of love which was given him only sparingly, inconsistently, and conditionally. Since the moral requirements must have appeared to the child overwhelming and unintelligible and the reward small, submission to them had to be reinforced by fear of, and pressure from, external agencies. This need for permanent reinforcement persisted, to become a constant state of affairs in the adult.

According to psychoanalytic theory, the development of ethical principles normally proceeds from outside values, as first represented by standards upheld by adults, to an internalization of these values. High scorers, due apparently to lack of genuine identification with the parents, do not succeed in making the important developmental step from mere "social anxiety" to real conscience. Fear of punishment by external authorities rather than self-chosen and ego-assimilated principles continue to be the primary determinant of their behavior. At the same time there is resentment against these authorities which are mainly experienced as restricting and punishing. Readiness to exchange these authorities mainly in the direction of a better bargain is one of the consequences of these attitudes. The preferred authority is the one who promises most in terms of material goods and backing to some release from restrictions which seem intolerable. Such persons have a longing to overthrow the troublesome moral restraints and to live fully according to the pleasure principle. The repressed, unsublimated, and unmodified tendencies are ready to break through and to flood the tenuously maintained social superstructure.

In contrast to the psychopath, the typical high scorer remains dependent

on the blessing given by external authority. This makes for his accessibility to being manipulated by social forces, primarily those which give license for aggression, although he always stays potentially within reach of the more positively productive influences also, if they are powerful.

The internalization of the superego by the typical low scorer makes for more judicious and responsible citizenship in private and in public life. A certain proportion of the low scorers, however, tend to develop a harsh and irrational superego, with an effect not altogether dissimilar from the punitiveness and moral indignation frequent in high scorers, the difference being that the resulting guilt-feelings tend to be more conscious in the low scorers. Only very few of our subjects—all of them low scorers—seem to have succeeded in avoiding the "impasse" between an unduly severe superego, on the one hand, and an underdeveloped one, on the other.

Nonacceptance and repression of id-tendencies which have been rendered ego-alien, as found significantly more often in high-scoring subjects (Category 54), may be assumed to be the result of fearful submission to external authority. Under such conditions sex and aggression, not being integrated with the rest of the personality, continue to lead an independent existence. Although repressed, they tend to "break through" occasionally in an uncontrolled way.

Low scorers, on the other hand, tend significantly more often toward accepting and sublimating their id-tendencies (Category 54, continued). A greater ability for integrating and expressing aggression, for a successful fusion of sex and affection, for "love" in general, and for creative work seem to be among the many consequences of a not-too-drastic repression of instinctual tendencies as discussed before in this volume. Examples were given primarily in the section dealing with the attitude toward sex.

8. STRENGTH OF THE EGO

Since low scorers often tend toward a more successful integration of the various aspects of their personality, they tend to remain less immature and less infantile. They thus turn out to have more capacity for sustained effort, more ability to postpone pleasure for the sake of internalized values, more ability to assume responsibility, and more emotional maturity. The absence vs. presence of any or all of these characteristics may be summarized as a "*weak*" *vs. a* "*strong*" *ego*. Since it was not expected that low scorers would tend to exhibit superlative ego strength, Category 55 contrasts a weak ego with an ego of either moderate or great strength. As anticipated, the latter alternatives were found predominantly in low scorers, the first predominantly in high scorers, the differences between the two groups reaching the 5 per cent level of significance in both men and women. The fact that low scorers manifest relative strength of the rational tendencies as compared with the irrational may well be due to their attempt to master and

sublimate rather than to escape the unconscious. Thus the low scorers' adaptation to reality is more flexible in spite of the more open conflict and anxiety which accompanies the greater awareness of existing problems.

This greater awareness, integration and, therefore, control of impulses is exemplified by the following record, quoted above, of a low-scoring subject:

M53: Subject questions the meaning of desires and impulses. "Impulses suggest that you've given it some thought . . . and if you've given it some thought, you're going to control it, if you have any sense at all. . . . I dont think I have any desires that I have any difficulty in controlling."

On the other hand, instinctual impulses are experienced as something overpowering and evil by the typical high-scoring subject. Repression of certain deeper tendencies on the part of the typical high scorer does not lessen their potential force. On the contrary, these frequently tend to find "projective" and other devious outlets. Excessive repression and counter-cathexis of unacceptable impulses requires inordinate expenditures of energy. This in turn contributes to the weakening of the ego, increasing the danger of a break-through of some of the repressed tendencies.

In spite of these over-all results, a certain type of ego-strength, that connected with the tenacious pursuit of success, is a frequent characteristic of the high scorer. On the other hand, low scorers sometimes dissipate their energies in internal conflicts or daydreaming. The Interview Scoring Manual concentrates on certain aspects of ego-strength; more detailed consideration of such further aspects as energy and determination in overt action may yield a somewhat different picture or even reveal a trend in the opposite direction than that noted in the preceding paragraphs (see also Chapter XI).

9. DISTORTION OF REALITY

One of the outlets for repressed instinctual tendencies is *distortion of outside reality*, as contrasted with a realistic and objective evaluation of reality (Category 56a). The difference between high- and low-scoring interviewees along this dimension is significant at the 5 per cent level for women, and there is a numerically similar trend—18 positive as against 7 negative instances—for men. (This, however, misses statistical significance due to the somewhat different proportion of interviewees in the two extreme groups as shown in the top portion of Table 1(XII)). In those parts of the interview that deal with political and social issues—omitted from the records as handed to the raters—this difference is more striking. It is there that we see most clearly the distortion of social reality, a reality which seems to serve primarily as a projection screen for repressed needs whenever repression transcends certain limits.

Less drastic but still apparent is the distortion manifested in the high scorers' evaluation of other people and of themselves. There also seems to be

a paradoxical connection between distortion of reality and overrealism in the high scorer: The distortion in the conception of other people is built into the framework of an anxiety-ridden, overrealistic idea of a bitter, competitive struggle.

Awareness of the difficulties in judging distortion of reality of such controversial issues as the evaluation of social groups and social events led the author of this chapter to a series of experiments in children on perception and related cognitive problems which were to test distortion on a more neutral ground. Preliminary results indicate that there is more distortion of memory material and of perceptual stimuli in ethnically prejudiced than there is in ethnically unprejudiced children (see 37 and forthcoming reports).

Another expression of repression, this time primarily of sex and aggression, is *authoritarian moralism* (Category 56b). By this is meant a moral indignation about manifestations of what is considered improper behavior especially when it occurs in persons considered socially inferior. This mechanism gives opportunity both for the release of aggression toward someone who cannot very well retaliate, and for projecting repressed sexual needs onto an "alien" group. Since this mechanism, of which ethnic prejudice is but a part, is widespread and socially accepted, a kind of pseudoreality is thus constructed which helps to keep the individual unaware of his distortions.

The fact that the difference between high scorers and low scorers with respect to an authoritarian moralism is statistically highly significant is of course not to be construed as indicating that low scorers tend to have a fully integrated personality without undue repressions. In the preceding chapters the repressions and conflicts characteristic of the low scorers have been pointed out in some detail. But instead of crudely projecting these tendencies onto outgroups, low scorers seem to tend toward what may be called *intellectualization* (not necessarily intellectual penetration) of their conflicts (Category 56b, continued). That is to say, they make a serious attempt at understanding what is going on in themselves by thinking about it and thus getting some clarification and integration, a procedure that may or may not be entirely successful. Their approach in general tends to be cognitively less diffuse and more structured than that of the high scorers.

The further mechanism of *denial of "negative" things in oneself*, predominant in high scorers, is clearly related to what has just been discussed, in the context of repression, as well as repeatedly pointed out elsewhere in this volume. The responsibility for that which is considered bad is shifted away from the subject and from the ingroup in general. The contrasting variant, completing Category 56c, is described as open psychological conflict concerning one's own adequacy, maturity, or the violation of liberal values by oneself. It is significantly more often (1 per cent level) found in the low scorers.

Examples from the interview records illustrating the denial of negative

traits, often manifested in a general, "official" optimism, have been quoted above (Chapter XI); a few further examples, again from the records of subjects scoring extremely high on the Ethnocentrism questionnaire, are:

M51: He does not feel that he has any serious problem except a tendency to get very drunk when discouraged, which he thinks he has conquered, pointing out that his recent drunkenness was purely a good-natured relaxation while he played juke boxes and had a pleasant evening before going to the hospital and that he wasn't arrested for that, but for being struck on the head.

M57: Though he expressed the superficial desire to understand why he had gotten in so much trouble when his brothers have not, and to straighten out, he spontaneously denied "that there is anything the matter with me." He also sought the interviewer's reassurance "that there is nothing the matter with me."

Admission of difficulties by low-scoring subjects is illustrated by the following quotations:

M16: During the interview he referred to himself wistfully "I guess I am a mature person now—or maybe not, otherwise I wouldn't be coming here," and "I guess I am a neurotic. . . . Well, that's just my trouble, I'm not at all aggressive. That's why I'm coming here. . . . I have reached a block in my work—something is hanging over me—always nervous—the sex problem."

M49: (What worry about most?) "Well, I think social contact bothers me most. I could always talk with one person, but where there are several persons, I'll just stand there and not say 'boo.' . . . Yeah, that's been one of my main problems. . . . I started here once in General Curriculum, and then stopped. I couldn't see any sense in going any further if I didn't know what I wanted to take."

10. PHYSICAL SYMPTOMS

The assumption that further manifestations of the repression tendencies typical of high scorers would be found in the more frequent occurrence of certain physical symptoms, as a type of "*projection onto the body*," did not materialize to a statistically significant degree although there is a trend in this direction (see below). The absence of clear-cut results in this respect may be due to the very high number of "Neutrals" (small total of H and L ratings) on the categories concerned, 56d and 56f.[1] This in turn may have been occasioned by our refraining from making a special inquiry concerning this point, or else by the fact that these symptoms are not general enough. Or, perhaps, both high and low scorers tend to use this mechanism to about the same extent.

More evidence concerning these alternatives might be obtained by further scrutinizing the available data. Six high-scoring but none of the low-scoring women show particular *concern with physical symptoms* (Category 56d). Similarly, 7 high-scoring and 3 low-scoring men show this concern. Furthermore, 7 high-scoring and 3 low-scoring women reported what amounts to

[1] Significant differences were found in a group of psychiatric clinic patients (see Chapter XXII).

hysterical conversions (Category 56f). However, the corresponding difference in men is altogether negligible (3 to 2). In a larger sample such differences might turn out to be significant, especially those for women.

Examples of concern with physical symptoms in high-scoring subjects follow. Whether and how much the complaints have a basis in reality is of course difficult to decide in the individual case; the fact remains that high scorers seem particularly inclined to dwell on their symptoms or disease records.

F71: Wouldn't like to be a nurse or M.D.—admires anyone who does, but "I hate hospitals. . . . I've been in so many; two mastoid operations and heart murmur. I have a great fear of doctors' offices. My heart has been giving me trouble so I go to the doctor for checkups but haven't really been sick. Now I'm full of energy but they think its nervous energy. I tire easily. I had scarlet fever when I was 10."

F33: As a child subject had rickets. Later, the whole family with the exception of the mother came down with typhoid fever. Subject's sister caught it first, but it was not recognized at first and the doctor diagnosed it simply as a common cold, so that the subject was allowed to stay in the room with her and caught it from her as a result. In school the subject broke a leg. She suffers from severe menstrual cramps and menstruation has always been highly irregular. Her chief complaint, however, is a nervous stomach resulting in frequent stomach upsets with frightful nausea and vomiting. She is often unable to keep anything on her stomach for days at a time. She has always had a somewhat delicate stomach, but her first severe upset occurred the day after she announced her engagement to be married. Since her marriage she has had frequent severe upsets, some of which have necessitated hospitalization and intravenous injections of glucose. Subject does not smoke or drink but states that she does not mind being in the company of people who do, provided their drinking is moderate. There has been no thumb-sucking, nail-biting, or bed-wetting but there were feeding difficulties in early childhood because she could not take milk.

M13: "He (father) hasn't worked for thirty years. At the time he worked, the wage was around $75 a month. He had stomach trouble. . . . I have had a lot of sickness, stomach trouble ever since I was 12. I was in the hospital once for three months. During those periods I like to turn to the Bible. . . . They found I was anemic at the age of 12. I had my first hemorrhage from the stomach when I was 18. It always comes when I start working too hard. . . . I found out that she wasn't interested in money, but was interested in me in spite of my discharge from the army, my poor health and possibilities. . . . She is a good cook, and that is an asset, what with my stomach condition."

M45: "Always sick, always going to the doctor. (What was wrong with you?) Well, I don't think they ever knew."

M51: "Wasn't it Emily Brontë who wrote so much, with tuberculosis? . . . It's not laziness (with the subject)." Subject goes on about his tuberculosis and its enervating effects upon him and the restriction which this places on what kind of work he can do, etc. (Are you an active tubercular?) "I'm an arrested tubercular, inactive . . . still. . . ."

M45: "They thought it might be sugar diabetes. . . . In my childhood, something that held me back, my kidneys. . . . I wet the bed all the time, consequently couldn't visit other boys, etc. . . . Might have given me a kind of complex. . . . Though I couldn't help it. But I thought that other people might think that I could help it. . . . Finally stopped when I was about 12."

Within the general framework of preoccupation with one's body there is

also some tendency, especially in high-scoring women, to put *exaggerated emphasis on physical appearance* (Category 56e). As many as 8 high-scoring women and only 1 low-scoring woman spontaneously refer to this aspect when describing people (see Chapters X and XI). The difference is, however, not significant, perhaps again due to the large number of "Neutrals." For men there is no trend in the direction indicated; in fact, there is even a slight reversal.

B. COGNITIVE PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION

1. DEFINITION OF RATING CATEGORIES AND QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The last subsection of our Scoring Manual refers to those of the more general factors in personality orientation which are of a more specifically cognitive, or perceptual, character. Some of their special forms have been discussed repeatedly in the chapters dealing with the clinical aspects of the interviews. As in the preceding sections of this chapter, discussion can therefore again be brief and often will take the form of a summary.

The section of the Scoring Manual referring to cognitive factors follows:

INTERVIEW SCORING MANUAL: COGNITIVE PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION

(to Table 2(XII))

Presumably "High" Variants	Presumably "Low" Variants
57. *Rigid set and outlook;* preconceived categorizations, inaccessible to new experience	57. *Flexible:* more adaptable to changing circumstances, more open to rational argument
58. *Intolerant of ambiguity*	58. *Tolerant of ambiguity*
59. *Pseudoscientific or antiscientific;* implicit denial of personality dynamics; ready explanation by accidental factors, heredity, etc.; superstition	59. *Scientific-naturalistic* orientation toward social and psychological dynamics
60. *Anti-intraceptive*	60. *Intraceptive*
61. *Suggestible,* gullible	61. *Autonomous*
62. *Autistic* thinking in *goal-behavior;* unrealistic view of means-end relationships	62. *Realistic* thinking in *goal-behavior*

The quantitative results are shown in the usual manner in Table 2(XII).

2. RIGIDITY

The first two categories, *rigidity vs. flexibility* (Category 57), and *intolerance vs. tolerance of ambiguity* (Category 58) cover related personality trends. Most subjects received the same rating on the two variables. Differentiation between low scorers and high scorers in the anticipated direction

TABLE 2 (XII)

INTERVIEW RATINGS ON COGNITIVE PERSONALITY ORGANIZATION
FOR 80 SUBJECTS SCORING EXTREMELY "HIGH" OR "LOW" ON THE ETHNIC PREJUDICE QUESTIONNAIRE SCALE

Interview rating categories (abbreviated from Manual)	Sex	Number of "High"(H) and "Low"(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of instances "positive"	"negative"	Level of statistical significance reached or surpassed (percentage)
57. Rigid(H) vs. flexible(L)	Men	18	2	3	13	31	5	1
	Women	18	4	2	8	26	6	1
58. Intolerant of ambiguity(H) vs. tolerant of ambiguity(L)	Men	16	2	2	17	33	4	1
	Women	19	2	4	8	27	6	1
59. Pseudo- or anti-scientific(H) vs. scientific-naturalistic(L)	Men	12	3	1	15	27	4	1
	Women	16	1	0	14	30	1	1
60. Anti-intraceptive(H) vs. intraceptive(L)	Men	16	4	3	16	32	7	1
	Women	18	2	1	14	32	3	1
61. Suggestible, gullible(H) vs. autonomous(L)	Men	13	2	2	15	28	4	1
	Women	9	3	1	11	20	4	1
62. Autism(H) vs. realism(L) in goal-behavior	Men	13	5	7	8	21	12	
	Women	8	9	3	11	19	12	

is significant at the 1 per cent level throughout. High scorers show more rigidity and avoidance of ambiguity; low scorers tend toward greater flexibility and acceptance of ambiguity. The inability, on the part of typical high scorers, to face "ambivalence"—which is emotional ambiguity—has been discussed previously, mainly in connection with their attitude toward parents and toward the other sex: in these and other areas hostile emotions were found to have been repressed and hidden behind a façade of glorification. A rigid, and in most instances, conventionalized set of rules seems thus to determine the conception the typical high scorer has of his own and of other people's behavior. Values and religion are often taken over in their most dogmatic form. Quotations cited in the previous chapter revealed these rigid conceptions on the part of the high scorers in many a sphere of life.

On the other hand, the openness of conflicts and doubts in the case of low scorers likewise became obvious. Over and above the previous quotations the following records from the interviews of low-scoring subjects show their readiness to think over matters and to come to a solution through their own thinking as well as their unwillingness to take over traditional and fixed concepts and ideals without scrutiny:

M42: He shows much philosophizing about the purpose of it all, involving much questioning of prevailing values about work, success, etc. But, on the other hand, he keeps pulling back and is overcome with doubt and indecision about these things. He emphasizes the basic importance of happiness and the emptiness of "success" without any personal satisfaction.

M44: His speech abounds in qualifying phrases and overintellectualization. He seems repeatedly unable to verbalize a generalization before he is overwhelmed by a rush of qualifications. Further, his thinking is rich in philosophizing, psychologizing, and poetic statement. Moreover, these characteristics are not shallow but have much substance. ". . . Well, I don't think you should obey anyone or anything without question. I think it's man's unique function to question and when he ceases to question, he ceases to be man. (Have you ever had serious doubts about your religious beliefs?) Oh, not especially serious, I'd say, because I believe there should be changes."

M48: "I'm what they always call an agnostic. Sounds sort of prosaic. . . . I'm skeptical—though I believe Christ was a great man . . . persecuted. . . ."

M53: (How do you account for your growing away from the conventionalism of your background?) "I don't know. It wasn't simply a change of locale. I think, probably, through reading. From 15 to 16 I did a lot of reading and became rather dissatisfied with it (i.e., with conventional ideas with which brought up). (Were there any people who especially influenced you?) No, must have been a hell of a lot of people. (Q) I don't know. I think through reading. I enjoy reading for reading's sake as well as a means of securing information."

There is in the records of the low scorers a tendency to use a great deal of qualifying phrases and other devices characteristic of an approach that is judicious rather than prejudicial through dogma, convention or a fixed set. Impressionistic ratings based on synopsis as employed here are perhaps not

the best means to nail down this difference. More concrete experimental studies on intolerance toward ambiguity now in progress (for an advance report see Frenkel-Brunswik, 37, and forthcoming papers dealing with the relationship between emotional ambivalence and perceptual ambiguity), and on rigidity (Rokeach, 98) point toward the relative prominence in ethnically prejudiced as compared with unprejudiced children of a tendency to impose, in a rigid manner, certain preconceived sets upon ambiguous perceptual data or upon the solving of reasoning problems.

There seems to be a general tendency on the part of low scorers to expose themselves to broad experience—emotional, cognitive, perceptual—even at the risk of having to modify one's preconceived notions and of having to sustain conflicts. Thus all the evidence seems to point toward a greater overall rigidity in the high scorers as compared with the low scorers. These results however, as many others, may well be valid only for the extreme groups. In the medium range, on the other hand, rigidity may be neither pervasive nor relatively absent throughout the personality as a whole, but may be differentially distributed over some areas of personality whereas other areas retain their flexibility.

Although low scorers seem in general to accept more realities even if complex and unstructured, there is a distinct sub-variety of the ethnically extremely unprejudiced who cling to the liberal ideology in a rigid and stereotyped manner. This often goes with a personality structure not dissimilar to that of the typical high scorer. (See also the characterization of the "rigid low" in Chapter XIX.)

Intolerance of emotional and cognitive ambiguity seems not only to be a characteristic of the personality of the ethnically prejudiced; it also appears as part of the explicitly stated ego-ideal of exponents of the Nazi ideology in professional psychology. The most notable case is that of E. R. Jaensch with his programatic glorification of a personality type characterized by fixed relationships between stimuli and perceptual responses, and with his rejection of the school of Gestalt psychology mainly on the ground of its stress on the concept of ambiguity. (For a summary on Jaensch see the paper by Boder, in Harriman, 47; see also 37.)

3. NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD SCIENCE. SUPERSTITION

The inability to "question" matters and the need for definite and dogmatic answers, as frequently found in high scorers, leads either to an easy acceptance of stereotyped, *pseudoscientific* answers, of which escape into ready-made hereditarian explanations is but one manifestation, or else to an explicitly *antiscientific* attitude. Explanations by accidental factors are likewise included under this general heading. Its opposite is a *scientific-naturalistic attitude*, found predominantly in the low scorers. The entire Category 59 encompassing these alternatives differentiates significantly (at the 1 per

cent level) for both men and women. The difference in attitudes involved has been described previously, primarily in discussing the subjects' concepts of their "selves." It will be remembered that it was the low scorers who showed a tendency toward explanations in terms of sociopsychological dynamics.

The antiscientific thinking of the typical high scorer is closely connected with his tendency toward *superstition*, as discussed in Chapter VII. The tendency toward superstition is illustrated by the following records of high-scoring women:

F31: "I am not superstitious. Mother is a little bit superstitious. She believes in old-world customs and palmistry. I'm not a fatalist, either; what I do will control my life, what I make of it. But I don't know about that—there are the boys on the battlefield, for instance. They say a bullet has your name on it."

F36: Subject does not believe in formal religion; this is why she likes the Unitarians. She does not think the churches should have a narrow, strict creed and tell you exactly what you should believe. She has read a great deal of theosophy, Madame Blavatsky, etc. She believes in reincarnation and divine will: reincarnation in the sense that the soul goes from one body to another and that you will be subjected to those experiences that are necessary to learning, to enable the soul to reach a higher state.

F60: (Why did you come to _____?) "Why, I don't know! It just happened. Don't you think some things just happen to us?" (Superstition?) She was just "called" to do it. Once she was out walking in the early morning—the birds were singing—she raised her hands and her face to the sky, and they were wet. (What was it?) She considered it a supernatural phenomenon.

Along the same line Lentz (67) reports that conservatives are more antagonistic to science, especially with regard to its future activities, and, conversely, are more superstitious. They feel much more favorable toward the conventional, the traditional, and the routine. They are less tolerant and sympathetic towards the underdog, less aesthetic and less imaginative.

The fact that high scorers on ethnocentrism are more often given to stereotyping, pre-judgments and ready generalizations, or else to overconcreteness, should not blind us to the fact that there also are tendencies of this kind in the low scorers. The increasing complexity of the social realities and their partial unintelligibility to the individual sometimes may necessitate a falling back on stereotypes so that opaque events appear more comprehensible (see Chapter XVII). Ethnic prejudice is but one of many possible media for this tendency. It must be held in favor of the ethnically unprejudiced, however, that they make a serious effort to counteract such stereotyping in one of the areas of paramount social significance.

4. ANTI-INTRACEPTIVENESS AND AUTISM

Likewise previously discussed but rated here directly and in its own right is the tendency, found primarily in the high scorer, toward what may be

called *anti-intraceptiveness* as contrasted with a greater readiness toward intraception in the low scorer (Category 60). The difference is significant at the 1 per cent level. The concept of intraception covers the tendency toward introspection, as well as a readiness toward gaining insights into psychological and social mechanisms. It is contrasted primarily with externalizations of various kinds as referred to above. The greater creativity, imagination, and ability for empathy of the low scorers just discussed is likewise related to their greater intraceptiveness.

It may suffice to cite here in addition to previous quotations only one record of a low-scoring woman and one of a low-scoring man in which the tendency toward reflection becomes apparent.

F70: Always wanted to work with people. . . . (What does religion give you?) "I suppose going to church takes a load off of me of thinking about things I should think about. I think it covers my social ideas, and it causes me to think about things I must think about for some reason. (What about?) Moral values, the relative value between peace and liberty in wartime, for instance. Pacifism and its ins and outs, interpersonal relationship as moral values. I don't think of those values as right or wrong, except as it has social implications."

M50: (Future?) "I don't know. I just recently came of the opinion that it is not necessary for me to be a commercial artist. Important to do whatever I do well. Not important what I do any more (Q) Well, I was the prima donna type . . . built up myself into an idea that not suited for the work . . . now it doesn't matter any more . . . it began when I was here about a month . . . the child guidance center psychologist gave a speech . . . he gave the idea that (deviation in behavior has a cause). . . . It may go back to infancy. . . . I play around with it (leading to nothing) . . . until a friend also interested made a startling remark. . . . Then I thought a lot about it . . . put down reasons on both sides, on two sheets of paper and decided he was right. I don't mean I am in love with my mother, but I have a dependency complex . . . married a woman older than myself . . . and always depend on others . . . leave responsibility to others . . . it seems on looking back that I have always done that. . . ."

The absence of proper orientation toward social and psychological dynamics in the typical high scorer may be linked to a general tendency toward *autistic thinking in goal behavior* as contrasted with the somewhat more realistic attitude that might be expected to be present in the typical low scorer (Category 62). Though not significantly differentiating between the two extreme groups of interviewees, this category shows a distinct trend in the direction that we expected (21 positive as compared with 12 negative instances in men, and 19 positive as compared with 12 negative instances in women). The trend is particularly evident in the vocational choices and economic expectations of our subjects.

The somewhat adolescent and fantastic, glamour-seeking character of the vocational ambitions of high-scoring subjects is illustrated by the following records:

F66: "If you're good, you can get up to ambassador. I think there have been

some women ambassadors. Or maybe there were only women ministers. I made the choice about three years ago. I just heard some friends of mine talking about it, and it sounded interesting. (Why vocational choice?) Well, salary had a little to do with it. I think if I could really put myself to it, I could do it. If I really wanted to and had nothing else to stand in the way. The times have much to do with my choice. I would like to know why they do what they do."

F34: Subject wants to be a journalist. This is purely utilitarian. She likes journalism, but her real desire is to do creative writing. She has imagined herself as a great actress. "But my acting is purely amateur stuff. I was always active in school dramatics as well as high school journalism. The family used to laugh because I was always play-acting. I always said I'd earn my living at either acting or writing. . . ."

5. SUGGESTIBILITY

Submission to authority and lack of independence and of critical judgment tend to lead the high scorer toward being *suggestible and gullible*, as contrasted with the greater *autonomy* of the low scorer (Category 61). Again, the difference is significant at the 1 per cent level for both men and women. The social implications of a tendency on the part of the gullible person to fall easy prey to unsound and destructive political propaganda are obvious. The high scorer's dependence, in his personal life, upon authority, conventionalized values, church dogma, public opinion, and prestige figures, and the low scorer's relative independence of, and occasional rebellion against, these authorities have been pointed out so often throughout this volume that no further comment seems necessary.

The present chapter will be summarized together with a general synopsis of the interview results at the conclusion of the chapter which follows.

CHAPTER XIII

COMPREHENSIVE SCORES AND SUMMARY OF INTERVIEW RESULTS

Else Frenkel-Brunswik

A. THE DISCRIMINATORY POWERS OF THE MAJOR AREAS STUDIED

1. VERIFICATION OF ANTICIPATED TREND BY CATEGORIES

In the preceding four chapters (IX to XII), the technique of interviewing was described, and specific results of interviews with eighty subjects scoring extremely high or extremely low on the overt anti-Semitism or Ethnocentrism scales were presented and discussed in terms of the approximately ninety rating categories of the Scoring Manual used to classify the records of the subjects.

As shown in the tables of these chapters, a sizable proportion of the categories differentiated high scorers from low scorers to a statistically significant degree in the direction anticipated for either or both sexes. The vast majority of the remaining categories showed at least a trend in the expected direction. For men, there are only three out of the eighty-six categories for which the number of "positive" and "negative" instances is equal, and only one (Category 23c) which shows a slight trend in the direction opposite to the one expected. As can be seen from Tables 3(X), 1(XI), and 2(XI), to which the four exceptions are limited, the absolute number of ratings involved is very small in each case; the items involved deal with certain aspects of attitude toward siblings, sex, and people. For women there are two out of the ninety categories that show equality and four that show reversal, all six exceptions being confined to Tables 1(X), 2(X), and 3(X), and dealing with aspects of the relationships to parents and siblings. In no case does the reversal approach statistical significance; nor does it appear in the case of any category that yielded less than 50 per cent "Neutral" ratings and was thus included in the list of those for which intensive evaluation was undertaken (72 for men and 65 for women, see end of Chapter IX).

TABLE 1 (XIII)

COMPOSITE RATINGS (MEANS) FOR MAJOR AREAS OF STUDY FOR "HIGH" AND "LOW" SCORING GROUPS OF INTERVIEWEES

Based on categories presented in tables	Dealing with	Sex	Means of High(H) and Low(L) ratings received by 20 men and 25 women "high scorers" H	L	20 men and 15 women "low scorers" H	L	Sums of Means "positive"	"negative"
1(X), 2(X), 3(X)	Parents and Childhood	Men	8.68	1.37	3.11	8.42	17.10	4.47
		Women	7.47	3.26	1.68	5.11	12.58	4.94
1(XI)	Attitude toward Sex	Men	10.57	2.86	2.57	5.86	16.43	5.43
		Women	10.43	1.86	2.29	9.00	19.43	4.14
2(XI)	Attitude toward People	Men	10.67	1.67	2.22	11.67	22.33	3.89
		Women	10.67	2.78	1.44	8.00	18.67	4.22
3(XI)	Attitude toward Present Self	Men	13.00	2.44	2.44	13.11	26.11	4.88
		Women	11.33	3.56	1.11	9.67	21.00	4.67
4(XI)	Attitude toward Childhood Self	Men	8.50	3.75	2.25	12.75	21.25	6.00
		Women	8.00	5.75	1.00	8.75	16.75	6.75
1(XII)	Dynamic Character Structure	Men	11.65	2.53	3.10	11.35	23.00	5.63
		Women	11.75	3.59	1.95	9.12	20.87	5.54
2(XII)	Cognitive Personality Organization	Men	14.67	3.00	3.00	14.00	28.67	6.00
		Women	14.67	3.50	1.83	11.00	25.67	5.33
All tables	All categories	Men	10.91	2.24	2.81	10.59	21.50	5.05
		Women	10.38	3.34	1.69	8.10	18.48	5.03

Thus there are no "negative validities" in the evaluation of the interviews. This result is not surprising in view of the fact that the categories of the Scoring Manual were derived from previous empirical evidence, including a preliminary inspection of the interview material; even so, the fact that the subsequent "blind" rating procedure supported most of the hypotheses with which the evaluation began is strong evidence of their validity.

2. COMPOSITE RATINGS FOR SEVEN MAJOR AREAS

Considering the almost universally confirmatory trend of the results just discussed, the computation of average ratings for larger groups of categories seems justified. The results of this procedure are presented in Table 1(XIII) in the same manner as in the preceding tables except for the fact that indication of statistical significance is here omitted.

As can be seen by an inspection of the last two columns of the table, differentiation between high scorers and low scorers is consistently somewhat less clear-cut for women than for men. This may be due either to the unequal size of the two samples of women interviewees, or to the fact, repeatedly referred to above, that women were in the main interviewed at an earlier stage of the investigation than were men. It may also be that, in our culture at least, patterns of behavior and ideology are more coherent and consistent in men than they are in women.

Among all the areas studied, that of attitudes toward present self yields the most clear-cut differentiation between high scorers and low scorers. The ratio between "positive" (confirmatory) and "negative" instances is among the most favorable. At the same time, the absolute values of the positive instances are among the highest. This indicates, furthermore, that the number of "Neutral" ratings is relatively low for this area.

The categories pertaining to dynamic and, especially, cognitive personality organization likewise show excellent differentiation, a very high proportion of the differences being statistically significant.

Contrariwise, over-all results are least sharply defined in the area of attitude toward parents and siblings, for reasons outlined in Chapter X. This is in line with what was stated above concerning absence of reversal of the expected trend in the case of a few scattered categories pertaining to these topics. Even for this area, however, the ratio of positive to negative instances is, for the men, better than three to one, and thus the differentiation is quite satisfactory.

An explanation of the differences in discriminatory power among the various major areas covered by the ratings of interviews may be in the following. An adequate survey of the early family situation requires a great deal more specific information than could be obtained in our necessarily circumscribed interviews, and this made for the large proportion of "Neutral"

ratings. Such aspects as cognitive organization and attitude toward self, on the other hand, may be inferred from expressions in a greater variety of fields, and thus the likelihood of insufficient information is reduced. Over and above this, the very nature of such formal variables permits the subject himself to choose from among a variety of "alternate" manifestations, many of them encompassed in a single rating category. This principle of shifting expression of identical motivational tendencies is apt to give an advantage to motivational categories regardless of how complete the specific information on any particular aspect of life may be. It is for the same reason that the value of generalized, synoptic ratings, as contrasted with specific or situationally limited quantification, was so much stressed at the beginning of the discussion of the problems connected with the evaluation of interviews (Chapter IX; see also 31, 32, 34, 36).

B. VALIDITY OF OVER-ALL SCORES AND RATINGS OF THE INTERVIEWS

1. INDIVIDUAL COMPOSITE SCORE BASED ON ALL AREAS OF RATING

Composite ratings, covering the entire range of the areas of rating, were also obtained for each individual interviewee. In a sense, these composite ratings define what may be called the "score" of the subject on the interview. (It was with a view to this final score that the manual was designated as the Interview Scoring Manual in spite of the fact that for each of the constituent categories ratings rather than scores were obtained.) Since, as was pointed out in the preceding section, there were no reversals of the expected discriminatory trend on any of the categories yielding less than 50 per cent "Neutral" ratings, all of these categories were included in the final score. These scores are shown, for all the 80 subjects interviewed, in Tables 1(IX) and 2(IX). The score itself is given in two parts, defined by the sums of the "High" and of the "Low" ratings received by the individual. The difference between the sum of these two parts and the fixed total (72 for men and 65 for women), not shown in the tables, indicates the number of "Neutral" ratings received by the individual on the categories in question.

The column referring to composite standing shows the letter H or L, depending on the preponderance of the High or the Low score in the preceding pair of columns.[1]

Means of the quantitative data are shown in the bottom rows of the tables. The ranges of the number of "high" and "low" interview scores for each of the four groups can be read directly from the two tables.

[1] Concerning the use of capital and lower-case symbols and other technical data pertinent to this section see Chapter IX, Section F, 3.

2. OVER-ALL INTUITIVE RATING AND ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE COMPOSITE SCORE

The last column in Tables 1(IX) and 2(IX) adds what was briefly mentioned in Chapter IX as the intuitive rating of the interviewee. This is based on an informal synopsis and estimate after the blind interview-rating procedure had been completed, and it was made without the rater's making explicit to himself the quantitative results in terms of specific ratings on the single categories.

Composite scores and intuitive ratings agree very highly with one another. There is only one subject, *F72*, among the 80 interviewees for whom there is a discrepancy between the two values. In her case the composite score (H) is correct; the over-all intuitive rating (L) is incorrect.

3. AGREEMENT WITH THE QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

It will be noted that while there is consistency as to "low" vs. "high" standing in the A-S and E columns of Tables 1(IX) and 2(IX)—this standing having been the very criterion of selection of the interviewees—the subsequent columns show a good deal of inconsistency. This inconsistency reaches major proportions in such cases as *F21* or *F39*, both overt low scorers who nonetheless score among the highest on the interview, with respect to both the composite score and the synoptic over-all ratings. Similar instances of opposition, though not all as striking ones, can be found among the high scorers. Various other kinds of inconsistency of trend may be noted upon inspection of the tables.

The general agreement between various columns in Tables 1(IX) and 2(IX) containing letter indices may be expressed conveniently in terms of percentage. "Percentage agreement" is then defined as the percentage of equal-letter combinations (HH or LL) in any pair of columns considered. The figures on percentage agreement could easily be transformed into tetrachoric correlation coefficients.

The defining criterion of selection, extremely high vs. extremely low standing on the overt anti-Semitism or Ethnocentrism scale, shows a percentage agreement of about 85 with both the over-all intuitive ratings and the composite standing on the interview. (This figure is an average of an agreement of about 95 per cent achieved by the rater whose material happened to include the most complete interviews, and of an agreement of 75 per cent achieved by the other of the two raters whose data were more fragmentary.)

Since composite ratings agree with intuitive ratings almost completely (see above), the figures for the agreement of overt ethnocentrism with the intuitive ratings are practically identical with those mentioned above for composite ratings.

Intuitive as well as composite interview ratings show slightly less agreement with standing on the F and the PEC scales, but even here the figures are between 75 and 80 per cent.

C. SUMMARY OF THE PERSONALITY PATTERNS DERIVED FROM THE INTERVIEWS

1. INTRODUCTION

The results of the "blind" ratings of the interviews, as discussed in the present and in the preceding four chapters, have shown that individuals extremely high on overt ethnic prejudice tend to differ with respect to a great variety of personality traits from those extremely low on prejudice. Some of the personality traits discussed were also measured by other techniques, especially the questionnaire. The results obtained by the various methods independently are very similar. However, rating by categories describes and substantiates in a more systematic, organized, and controlled way the impressions formed about the personality differences between high scorers and low scorers in the course of intensive study of individual cases.

It has to be emphasized, of course, that these differences are based on an analysis of group trends within statistical samples and do not imply that every individual will exhibit most or even a large proportion of the features belonging to either the "high" or the "low" syndrome, as the case may be. As can be seen from Tables 1(IX) and 2(IX), certain individuals seem to possess a relatively large number of either "high" or "low" features while others seem to have features of both patterns, with a relatively slight prevalence of one or the other. It should thus be kept in mind that the summary which follows deals with composite pictures of these patterns, abstracted from the study of groups, rather than with individual cases. Were we to lay greater stress on concrete personalities, the most frequent syndromes or combinations of trends within single individuals would have to be determined as an intermediate step, leading to the definition of subtypes within the prejudiced and the unprejudiced patterns. Some remarks pointing in this direction will be made in the following summary. The typology, as such, of the ethnically prejudiced, will be taken up more systematically in Chapter XIX.

The results are furthermore limited to trends found in individuals with extreme standing on the prejudice scale. How far the relations would hold for those with middle scores on prejudice has to be left open, since such individuals were not included in the present intensive investigation by means of interviews.

Finally, it remains for future investigation to ascertain how far the interrelationships found are interculturally valid or whether they are restricted

to certain specific cultures or subcultures, such as the one from which our sample of subjects has been drawn; namely, an urban and suburban population on the West Coast of the United States.

In an attempt to summarize the social and psychological factors which, within our limited framework, have been found to be related to prejudice, we will proceed in the following manner: First, the aspects and "themes" of the personality structure of the high scorer as differentiated from the low scorer will be described in a synoptic fashion. Next, hypotheses concerning the genetic aspects of these two distinct patterns will be put forward. And finally, an attempt will be made to relate both patterns to the over-all cultural pattern.

2. REPRESSION *VS.* AWARENESS

In summarizing differences in the personality structure of our two groups, we may best start with the findings discussed in the preceding chapter under the heading of "defense mechanisms." Regardless of whether the specific topic was that of ambivalence, or aggression, or passivity, or some other related feature of personality dynamics, the outstanding finding was that the extremely unprejudiced individual tends to manifest a greater readiness to become aware of unacceptable tendencies and impulses in himself. The prejudiced individual, on the other hand, is more apt not to face these tendencies openly and thus to fail in integrating them satisfactorily with the conscious image he has of himself. The resultant break between the conscious and the unconscious layers in the personality of the high scorers, as compared with the greater fluidity of transition and of intercommunication between the different personality strata in the low scorers, appears to have the greatest implications for their respective personality patterns.

3. EXTERNALIZATION *VS.* INTERNALIZATION

Among the tendencies which the typical high scorer attempts to keep in a repressed state (but which nonetheless find indirect expression in the interview) are mainly fear, weakness, passivity, sex impulses, and aggressive feeling against authoritative figures, especially the parents. Among the rigid defenses against these tendencies there is, above all, the mechanism of projection, by which much of what cannot be accepted as part of one's own ego is externalized. Thus it is not oneself but others that are seen as hostile and threatening. Or else one's own weakness leads to an exaggerated condemnation of everything that is weak; one's own weakness is thus fought outside instead of inside. At the same time there is a compensatory—and therefore often compulsive—drive for power, strength, success, and self-determination.

Repression and externalization of the instinctual tendencies mentioned reduces their manageability and the possibility of their control by the individual, since it is now the external world to which the feared qualities of the

unconscious are ascribed. As long as social conditions are conducive to and furnish acceptable outlets for compensatory tendencies, a relative mental balance within the individual may well be achieved in this manner.

Another aspect of externalization may be found in a tendency toward avoidance of introspection and of insight in general, thus rendering the content of consciousness relatively narrow. Since the energy of the person is in this case largely devoted either to keeping instinctual tendencies out of consciousness or to striving for external success and status, there appears to be relatively little left for genuine libidinization of one's interpersonal relationships, or of one's work, as ends in themselves. The comparatively impoverished potentialities for interpersonal relationships may exhibit themselves either in a relatively restricted, conventional, but dependable approach to people, as found primarily in the more conservative subgroup of the high scorers, or in a ruthless, manipulative approach, as found in the more delinquent subgroup.

There also seems to be relatively little enjoyment of sensuality or of passive pleasures such as affection, companionship, or art and music on the part of the typical high scorer. Instead of these internalized pleasures, there is an inclination toward mobility and activity, and a striving for material benefits.

The composite picture of the low scorer, on the other hand, not only reveals greater readiness to accept and to face one's impulses and weaknesses, but also to ruminate about them. While for the high scorer possible loss of energy is connected with his tendency toward rigid repressions, the low scorer is apt to waste energies by indulging in often unfruitful introspection and by placing the blame for mishaps too much upon himself. In contrast to the high scorer's tendency toward externalization, the typical low scorer is prone to internalize in an excessive manner, and this in turn may lead to open anxiety, feelings of guilt, and other neurotic features.

The positive aspects of this latter kind of orientation are a more closely knit integration within the individual and a more internalized and more intensive, though not conflict-free relation to others. The low scorer also tends to be oriented, more than is the high scorer, toward real achievement, toward intellectual or aesthetic goals, and toward the realization of socially productive values. His greater capacity for intensive interpersonal relationships goes hand in hand with greater self-sufficiency. He struggles for the establishment of inner harmony and self-actualization, whereas the high scorer is concentrated on an effort to adjust to the outside world and to gain power and success within it.

One of the results of greater internalization is the generally more creative and imaginative approach of the low scorer both in the cognitive and in the emotional sphere, as compared with a more constricted, conventional, and stereotypical approach in the high scorer.

4. CONVENTIONALISM *VS.* GENUINENESS

Conformity is one of the major expressions of lack of an internal focus in the high scorer. One of the outstanding characteristics to be found in both the conservatively inclined, as well as in the delinquent subvariety of the high scorer (see Chapter XXI), is the adoption of conventional values and rules. High scorers generally seem to need external support—whether this be offered by authorities or by public opinion—in order to find some assurance concerning what is right and what is wrong.

Conformity to externalized values in the extremely prejudiced can be observed in a variety of spheres of life. One of the earliest expressions of this conventionality is to be found, probably, in the high scorer's attitude toward his parents. It is one of stereotypical admiration, with little ability to express criticism or resentment. There are many indications that there actually is often considerable underlying hostility toward the parents which—though not always expressed—prevents the development of a truly affectionate relationship.

The greater genuineness of the low scorer is evident in his attitude toward the parents. His is an equalitarian conception of the parent-child relationship. This makes it possible for him to express criticism and resentment openly, and at the same time to have a more positive and affectionate relation with the parents. The descriptions of the parents given by the low scorers have an aspect of spontaneity: they depict real people with all their inherent assets and shortcomings.

External criteria, especially social status, are the yardsticks by which the high scorer tends to appraise people in general and the ground on which he either admires and accepts, or rejects them. Such values form the basis of a hierarchical order in which the powerful are seen at the top and the weak at the bottom. This may well be an over-all tendency in modern culture which, however, the high scorer displays to an exaggerated degree. The typical low scorer, on the other hand, seems to have developed for himself an image of other people which includes congeniality even with outgroups rather than conceiving of them mainly as a threat or danger. Feeling more secure, he searches in his relations with other people primarily for a realization of positive and individualized values rather than being oriented primarily toward getting support and help from the powerful as is the typical high scorer.

The high scorers' conception of the sex roles is likewise highly conventionalized. The high-scoring man tends to think of himself as active, determined, energetic, independent, rough, and successful in the competitive struggle. There is no room in this ego-ideal for passivity and softness, and thus strong defenses are erected against these attitudes in general, the effect being that only their opposites are established in consciousness. Nonetheless,

inclinations toward dependency and a far-reaching passivity are evident in the interviews of high-scoring men although these remain unaccepted and ego-alien.

The role of the woman, as seen by the high-scoring man, is one of passivity and subservience. She is an object of solicitude on the part of the man. The hierarchical idea involved corresponds to the well-known conventional cliché and at the same time offers the high-scoring man the much-needed opportunity of asserting his superiority. There is, however, ample evidence that the high-scoring man wants to be on the receiving end in his relation to women; from them he wants material benefits and support more than he wants pure affection, for it would be difficult for him to accept the latter. There is relatively little genuine affective involvement in his non-marital sex relations, and of his wife he tends to require the conventional prerequisites of a good housewife. On the whole, sex is for him in the service of status, be this masculine status as achieved by pointing toward conquests, or be it social status as achieved by marrying the "right kind" of woman.

Low-scoring men, on the other hand, tend to look primarily for companionship, friendship, and sensuality in their relations to the other sex. They are able openly to take and to give nurturance and succorance in their relations with women. In fact, we often find a rather insatiable search for love and complete acceptance by the woman in low-scoring men, and this is often a source of open ambivalence toward her. Passivity and softness is thus an accepted part of the ego-ideal of the low-scoring man, who at the same time is often more capable of giving real protection and support in return. All degrees of expressiveness, ranging from extreme sexual inhibition, due to an overly developed and powerful superego, to a conscious tendency toward impulse-riddenness, may be found among low-scoring subjects.

The extremely unprejudiced woman likewise looks primarily for mutual interests and affection in her choice of a mate. As the low-scoring man shows greater readiness than does the high scorer to accept feminine features in himself, so the low-scoring woman tends not to repress but rather to accept and to sublimate her masculine tendencies by pursuing so-called masculine interests and activities. Though this often leads to open competition with, and envy of, men, there is at the same time more understanding and more genuine liking for them. There is more evidence of an open conflict about the feminine role, and at the same time evidence of more clearly focused heterosexuality and of more intensive maternal feelings.

The high-scoring woman, on the other hand, clings to a self-image of conventional femininity defined by subservience to, and adulation of, men. At the same time there is evidence of an exploitive and hostile attitude toward men, expressed only indirectly in the interviews and shown quite directly in the stories of the Thematic Apperception Test (see Chapter XIV). Since the high-scoring woman tends to renounce inclinations toward interests con-

sidered masculine in our culture, and since the home does not provide her with satisfactory forms of expression, her underlying bitterness often assumes deviously destructive forms. One way in which such a negative attitude is manifested is in her exaggerated demands on men as providers; another is the living out of her thwarted ambitions through the medium of the man. Again it may be that it is the general cultural plight of the woman that finds an exaggerated release in the high-scoring woman; indeed, low-scoring women seem by no means untouched by the difficult situation imposed upon them by our civilization. But whereas the high-scoring woman tends to give preference to the ideal of a restricted rather than a vaguely defined role for women, the low-scoring woman is more apt to take on the conflict and to face it openly.

As was anticipated above, the element of conventionality in the conception of sex roles is only part of a more general conventional self-image found to be characteristic of the high scorers. Good manners, attainment of success and status, self-control, and poise are some of the further requirements. Deviations from this ego-ideal are usually considered as inexplicable "breakthroughs" of forces that lie beyond the responsibility of the individual, such as external stress, heredity, etc.

Low scorers, on the other hand, are worried, in their self-evaluation, about attainment of goals in the realm of achievement, about the realization of socially constructive values, about success or failure in friendship, and about guilt resulting from aggression and ambivalence.

5. POWER *VS.* LOVE-ORIENTATION

The orientation toward conventional values in the high scorers as compared with orientation toward more intrinsic and basic values in the low scorers was found to extend over different areas of life. Related to conventionalism is the tendency toward admiration of, and search for, power, likewise more pronounced in the typical high scorer.

The comparative lack of ability for affectionate and individualized interpersonal relations, together with the conception of a threatening and dangerous environment, must be seen as underlying the prejudiced individual's striving for the attainment of power, either directly or by having the powerful on his side. In this vein, weakness is considered dangerous since it may lead to being "devoured" by the strong (see Simmel, 111), or at least to deprivation or starvation, dangers only too readily anticipated by the high scorer.

In this context we often find a frame of mind best characterized as "overrealism," a tendency to utilize everything and everybody as means to an end. Needless to say, such overrealism seems but rarely to lead to a real attainment of the goals involved and thus to ultimate satisfaction; it often involves strained interpersonal relations and possible or actual retaliation, of which

there is much fear. The conflict arising between an unaccepted and unrecognized dependency on others for things and benefits, on the one hand, and the hostility stemming from distrust, envy, and feelings of being thwarted, on the other, cannot be resolved.

It is especially the prejudiced man who—as mentioned before—often considers ruthless opportunism as an essential attribute of masculinity. As a reaction to his fear of his passivity and dependency, he develops a propensity for power and success as the only measures of his value.

Modern authors have repeatedly stressed the fact that status as a measure of one's worth is a general phenomenon in American civilization. Assuming that this is the case, there still is a difference between the picture of the composite high scorer and of the composite low scorer in this respect. Whereas the striving for status and power, in their purely external aspects, seems to be the major concern of the extremely prejudiced, the unprejudiced individual—though as a rule by no means disinterested in status—still has a greater variety of other resources and pleasures at his disposal.

The search for affection and love in one's personal relationships is an important determinant of the behavior of the typical low scorer. To develop a satisfactory relation to one's mate and to friends is considered essential for happiness. In fact, much thought—often of an obsessional intensity—seems to be devoted to the striving for such ideal bonds, and to anxiety over the actual or potential failure of this striving. If successfully established, such intense relations constitute one of the most important sources of gratification. At the same time, the often insatiable wish for being fully accepted and loved leads to frustration and open ambivalence for the object of attachment. Thus it is that low scorers often manifest painful emotional dependence on others; this is a further way in which they may become maladjusted.

Not only contact with other people but also work tends to become more libidinized in the low scorers than in the high scorers. Though far from being indifferent to recognition, low scorers place comparatively little emphasis on their activities as means to an end; rather, these activities tend to become a source of pleasure and satisfaction in their own right, or else the emphasis lies on their social implications. Activity contributing to the realization of what may be called liberal values may also become important to the low scorer. Finally, interest and liking for art, music, literature, and philosophy are more often found in the low scorer. It may be considered that such interests contribute substantially to the greater resourcefulness, and to the comparative diversion from power and status, that is characteristic of the low scorer.

6. RIGIDITY *VS.* FLEXIBILITY. PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT

One of the most pervasive formal aspects of the personality organization of the extremely prejudiced individual is his rigidity. This must be seen as a

consequence of the features discussed so far. In order to keep unacceptable tendencies and impulses out of consciousness, rigid defenses have to be maintained. Any loosening of the absoluteness of these defenses involves the danger of a breaking through of the repressed tendencies. Impulses and inclinations repressed too severely, too suddenly, or too early in life do not lose their dynamic strength, however. On the contrary, abrupt or unsuccessful repression prevents rather than helps in their control and mastery. An ego thus weakened is more in danger of becoming completely overwhelmed by the repressed forces. Greater rigidity of defenses is necessary to cope with such increased threat. In this vicious circle, impulses are not prevented from breaking out in uncontrolled ways. Basically unmodified instinctual impulses lurk everywhere beneath the surface, narrowing considerably the content of the ego so that it must be kept constantly on the lookout. Rational control extends to a small sector of the personality only. As long as situational conditions of life draw on this sector only, and as long as our culture provides socially acceptable outlets for suppressed impulses, smooth functioning and fair adjustment can be achieved within the given framework.

But it must be kept in mind that the adjustment of the typical high scorer depends on conditions that are comparatively narrowly circumscribed. The idea of a sharp ingroup-outgroup dichotomy provided by our culture makes it possible for the high scorer to suppress the feared awareness of his hostility against the prestige figures, on which he is dependent, by displacing it onto weak outgroups from whom no retaliation need be feared. This mechanism enables him, furthermore, to remain relatively unaware of his own psychological weaknesses, since he now may feel superior to the socially weaker groups. Among other things, fear of one's own immoral tendencies can be alleviated by exaggerating and condemning the immorality of others, particularly outgroups.

As far as positive goals are concerned, the relative lack of individuation is compensated for by taking over conventional clichés and values. Rigid adherence to substitutes and crutches of this kind is found in various spheres of life. However, the tendency toward externalization, if kept within bounds, may often be in harmony with a healthy concern for external goals. Without such a tendency toward externalization, the individual might frequently go down in a competitive society.

In order to keep the balance under these conditions, a simple, firm, often stereotypical, cognitive structure is required. There is no place for ambivalence or ambiguities. Every attempt is made to eliminate them, but they remain as potentials which might interfere at any time. In the course of these attempts a subtle but profound distortion of reality has to take place, precipitated by the fact that stereotypical categorizations can never do justice to all the aspects of reality. As long as such distortions remain part and parcel of the cultural inventory, the removal of prejudice from the potentially

fascist person may well endanger his psychological balance. The social implications of such a step have therefore to be carefully anticipated and preventive measures to be devised in advance.

The avoidance of ambiguities and the rigidity of mental sets in the ethnically prejudiced also becomes evident in the handling of perceptual and other cognitive materials free of immediate social and emotional implications (37; 98). The tendency to impose preconceived and often stereotypical categories upon experience may thus be envisaged as a more general trait in subjects scoring extremely high on Ethnocentrism. It must be reiterated, however, that there is a distinct sub-type among extreme low scorers in whom liberal ideology becomes a cliché that may include an undue glorification of the underdog, and who at the same time shows signs of rigidity in his personality makeup. On the other hand, it is primarily the conservative type of high scorer who displays rigidity, while the skillful manipulator among the high scorers is often characterized by a great deal of flexibility (see Chapter XIX). On the whole, however, it is in the low scorer that we find the more flexible emotional and cognitive adjustment; this is also reflected in his greater reluctance to "reify" concepts, in his more pronounced appreciation of the complexity of social and personal relations, as well as in his more profound sympathy with the psychological and social sciences studying these relations.

Whereas the extremely prejudiced person often exhibits a rigid form of superficial adjustment, interspersed with some measure of psychotic mechanisms stemming from the necessity of distorting reality, the extremely unprejudiced individual gives evidence of a more flexible kind of adjustment, although this goes with neurotic trends in a number of cases. An extreme tendency toward internalization can often be seen in the low scorer's preoccupation with his feelings and impulses, however unpleasant they may turn out to be. Far from escaping his emotional ambivalences and his feelings of inferiority, of guilt, and of anxiety, he even tends to dwell on them. This is not to say that he is free from self-deception. Dwelling on his feelings is often morbid and far removed from real insight. But the conscious consideration and comparative acceptance of instinctual impulses—especially in childhood—may well prevent the development of overly rigid defenses and disguises. Mechanisms of projection and displacement would thus be reduced to manageable proportions as far as cognitive mastery of reality is concerned.

Although the average unprejudiced individual in our culture is perhaps not free of some neurotic tendencies, it is in this same group that the relatively rare case of an individual, very well adjusted and mature, may also be found. It is only when conflicts, shortcomings, and unacceptable impulses are frankly faced that their mastery may be furthered to the point of perfection and the maximum potential for dealing adequately with varying conditions may be achieved. Temporarily, however, such frankness may well

lead to increased anxieties and depressions, and some contestants may, for better or for worse, be left by the way.

7. SOME GENETIC ASPECTS

When we consider the childhood situation of the most prejudiced subjects, we find reports of a tendency toward rigid discipline on the part of the parents, with affection which is conditional rather than unconditional, i.e., dependent upon approved behavior on the part of the child. Related to this is a tendency apparent in families of prejudiced subjects to base interrelationships on rather clearly defined roles of dominance and submission, in contradistinction to equalitarian policies. Faithful execution of prescribed roles and the exchange of duties and obligations is, in the families of the prejudiced, often given preference over the exchange of free-flowing affection. The hypothesis may be offered that some of the traits of the prejudiced personality are an outcome of this family situation.

These as well as the other results concerning the family situations have been directly substantiated by a study of social discrimination in children which included an investigation of their parents. The remainder of this subsection is a summary taken, with minor modifications, from an advance report on that project (Frenkel-Brunswik, 30):

Forced into a surface submission to parental authority, the child develops hostility and aggression which are poorly channelized. The displacement of a repressed antagonism toward authority may be one of the sources, and perhaps the principal source, of his antagonism toward outgroups. That is to say, the prejudiced subject's ambivalence toward his parents, with a repression and externalization of the negative side of this ambivalence, may be a factor in determining his strongly polarized attitudes, such as his uncritical acceptance of the ingroup and violent rejection of the outgroup.

Fear and dependency seem to discourage the ethnocentric child from conscious criticism of the parents. It is especially the prejudiced man who seems intimidated by a threatening father figure. Display of a rough masculine façade seems to be a compensation for such an intimidation and the ensuing passivity and dependency. Rigid repression of hostility against parents may be accompanied by an occasional breaking through of drives in a crude and unsocialized form; under certain circumstances this may become dangerous to the very society to which there seems to be conformity.

The fact that the negative feelings against the parents have to be excluded from consciousness may be considered as contributing to the general lack of insight, rigidity of defense, and narrowness of the ego so characteristic of high scorers. Since the unprejudiced child as a rule does not seem to have to submit to stern authority—a fact supported by interviews with the parents—he can afford in his later life to do without strong authority, and he does not need to assert his strength against those who are weaker. The "anti-

weakness" attitude referred to above as characteristic of the prejudiced child seems thus to be directly related to the fearful submission to authority.

It may be noted that the parents of prejudiced subjects not only seem to have been rigid disciplinarians; they also tended toward preoccupation with problems of status, communicating to their children a set of rigid and externalized rules. Status-concern may well be assumed to be the basis of such a rigid and externalized set of values. What is socially accepted and what is helpful in the climbing of the social ladder is considered good, and what deviates, what is different, and what is socially inferior is considered bad. Quite often, the parents of the ethnocentric subject seem to be socially marginal. The less they were able to accept their marginality, the more urgent must have been the wish to belong to the privileged groups. The feelings of marginality involved do not seem to be related to the gross economic conditions of the families in question but rather to those more subtle factors which determine the relationship between social aspiration and effective social status.

The influence of the parents must be considered at least a contributing factor to the tendency, observed in the ethnocentric child, to be more concerned with status values than are low-scoring subjects. He expects—and gives—social approval on the basis of external moral values including cleanliness, politeness, and the like. He condemns others for their nonconformity to such values, conformity being an all-or-none affair. The functioning of his superego is mainly directed toward punishment, condemnation, and exclusion of others, thus mirroring the type of discipline to which he himself was apparently exposed. There is more moralistic condemnation on the part of the prejudiced and greater permissiveness toward people in general on the part of the unprejudiced. The difficulty which children growing up in such an environment as that pictured by our prejudiced subjects, seem to have in developing close personal relationships may be interpreted as one of the outcomes of the repression of hostile tendencies, which are not integrated or sublimated, but which become diffuse and free-flowing.

As was pointed out above, the low scorer seems more oriented toward love and less toward power than is the high scorer. The former is more capable of giving affection since he has received more real affection. He tends to judge people more on the basis of their intrinsic worth than on the basis of conformity to social mores. He takes internal values and principles more seriously. Since he fears punishment and retaliation less than does the ethnocentric person, he is more able really to incorporate the values of society imposed upon him.

As a child, he seems to have enjoyed the benefit of the help of adults in working out his problems of sex and aggression. He thus can more easily withstand propaganda which defames minorities or glorifies war. By virtue of the greater integration of his instinctual life, he becomes a more creative

and sublimated individual. He is thus more flexible and less likely to form stereotyped opinions about others. He possesses a better developed, more integrated, and more internalized superego. He is able to express disagreement with, and resentment against, the parents more openly, thus achieving a much greater degree of independence from the parent and from authorities in general. At the same time, there is love-oriented dependence on parents and people in general which constitutes an important source of gratification. Possible frustration, however, may result from the exaggerated demand for affection sometimes found in individuals in this group.

8. CULTURAL OUTLOOK

Ethnic prejudice and its opposite have emerged, on the basis of the interviews, as two distinct patterns of life. Other kinds of approach have revealed these same patterns. In asking oneself how these two patterns may be related to general cultural trends, one may point toward the fact that by virtue of our evidence the outlook of the prejudiced individual, with his emphasis on status, power, and conventionality, seems to be the more salient of the two patterns. The outlook of the unprejudiced person, on the other hand, is characterized by relative absence of the undesirable features just listed. There is, furthermore, more basic uniformity in the prejudiced group, differences among them having more aspects of variations on the same theme. The unprejudiced group, on the other hand, shows greater diversity among its members.

It may be ventured that the greater uniformity of the prejudiced sample derives from their greater closeness to the broader cultural pattern of our society. There can be no doubt that our prejudiced group shows a more rigid adherence to existing cultural norms and that its emphasis on status is in line with what has been designated by several authors, such as especially Horney (54), Kardiner (59, 60), R. and H. Lynd (77), and Mead (82), as the general trend of Western civilization. More specifically, a feature especially emphasized by Mead as a characteristic of American culture, namely the "fear of being a sucker," is also typical of our high-scoring men.

On the other hand, the same author describes "identification with the underdog" as another outstanding characteristic of American culture; it represents one of the many influences of Christian ethics in general. Obviously, however, this is more common among the low scorers. It appears that both trends, as well as the conflict between them, are major characteristics of our civilization, with only relatively few individuals exhibiting the one or the other extreme in pure form.

The political and social ideology of the two personality structures differentiated throughout has been discussed in detail elsewhere in the volume. Here we shall confine ourselves to a summary of some of the consistencies that exist between personality structure and the social and political outlooks as assimilated from the possibilities available in our culture.

Admiration of power and a longing for strong leadership on the social scene as predominant in the high scorer may readily be interpreted as a carry-over from the hierarchical evaluation of interpersonal relations. Extreme personal opportunism is often, though not always, connected with ideological opportunism and indifference toward ideological content. Status anxiety, adherence to external criteria in value judgments, thinking in stereotypes, and the lack of a concept of equality is closely related to a contempt of what is allegedly socially inferior. Fear of one's own weakness and emasculation prevents the development of pity for the weak.

Rigid adherence to conventional values will render one inaccessible to groups and nations who deviate in some respect from one's own cultural norms. The striving toward being like the others and the shying away from being "different" lie in the same general direction.

Outside groups, on the other hand, also lend themselves as a projection-screen for wishes and fears, often so strongly repressed in the high scorer. Immoral tendencies are easier perceived in, or ascribed to, groups which seem not fully assimilated or are altogether foreign. Hostility and the fear of being victimized can be expressed against these groups without restraint or expectation of retaliation. Even if such outgroups as the Jews are described as powerful, it is the knowledge of their ultimate weakness which makes them suited for scapegoats. Toward the really powerful groups the ethnically prejudiced will more likely exhibit submission and suppress rather than manifest his hostility.

The high scorer's feeling of really belonging to the privileged group is highly tenuous. Due to his real or imagined social and psychological marginality he feels persistently threatened of being degraded in one way or another. It is as a defense against the possibility of being grouped with the outcast and underdog that he rigidly has to assert his identification with the privileged groups. This loud and explicit assertion of being on top seems to ensue from his silent and implicit conviction that he really is, or belongs, at the bottom (see the discussion concerning self-contempt, Chapters XI and XII). The obvious function of the mechanism described is in helping to keep existing anxieties and guilt-feelings in a repressed state.

All these repressed but no less turbulent inconsistencies and the conflicts resulting from them contribute to what may be called personalization of social issues which is so typical of the high scorer. Low scorers, on the other hand, tend to take their conflicts up where they originate: with their parents and with themselves. Thus there is less need for carrying them into the social sphere. There is greater accessibility to fact and to rational argument. Although confusion and biases are by no means excluded. they stem from a greater variety of sources and are less rigid than those typical of the high scorer. The greater readiness of the low scorers to face themselves goes with a greater readiness to look more objectively at man and society in general.

It is perhaps mainly the readiness to include, accept, and even love differ-

ences and diversities, as contrasted with the need to set off clear demarcation lines and to ascertain superiorities and inferiorities, which remains as the most basic distinguishing criterion of the two opposite patterns. Members of an outgroup representing deviations from the cultural norms of the ingroup are most threatening to one who must conceive of the cultural norms as absolute in order to be able to feel secure.

It would go beyond the scope of this volume to ascertain fully the determinants of this need for homogeneity and simplicity in all the various spheres of life. In some cases concern with the *status quo* and resistance to change might be a more primary need as determined by various social and psychological factors. In other cases it might be a secondary reaction to a situation that grew too complex for mastery by routine means of adjustment. As was pointed out by Fromm (42), this was probably the case with Nazism in Germany. Thus under certain socioeconomic conditions an entire nation may become inclined to "escape from freedom."

In our present-day struggle to achieve a strengthening of the tolerant, liberal point of view we may have to avoid presenting the prejudiced individual with more ambiguities than he is able to absorb and offer instead, in some spheres at least, solutions which are constructive and at the same time serve the general need for avoidance of uncertainties. Efforts to modify the "prejudiced" pattern may have to make use of authorities—though by no means necessarily of authoritarian authorities—in order to reach the individual in question. This follows from the fact that it is authority more than anything else that structures or prestructures the world of the prejudiced individual. Where public opinion takes over the function of authority and provides the necessary limitations—and thus certainties—in many walks of daily life, as is the case in this country, there will be some room for the tolerance of national or racial ambiguities.

It must be emphasized, however, that the potentially beneficial aspects of conformity are more than counterbalanced by the inherent seeds of stereotypy and pre-judgment. These latter trends are apt to increase in a culture which has become too complex to be fully mastered by the individual. The inevitability of certain developments toward stereotypy are being pointed out elsewhere in this volume. On the other hand, forces endeavoring to penetrate to the underlying causes of social trends in spite of their confusing manifestations are likewise as strong as never before, and they are rapidly spreading from the ivory tower of science to public opinion at large. The struggle between these opposing forces characterizes not only our culture as a whole, but every single individual as well. How this struggle will end does not hinge on psychological factors alone. As such factors are in the end manifestations of broader cultural influences, it is only by an understanding of the interplay of sociological and psychological phenomena in their entirety that a full appraisal of the relative potentials of the opposing trends can be achieved.

PART III

Personality as Revealed Through Projective Material

CHAPTER XIV

THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST IN THE STUDY OF PREJUDICED AND UNPREJUDICED INDIVIDUALS

Betty Aron

The Thematic Apperception Test (T. A. T.) offers another avenue of approach to the study of the personality patterns of our high and low scorers, further substantiating some of the aspects that have been discussed in previous chapters and touching upon still others. This test was developed by Morgan and Murray (83) in 1934 and it has been the object of much study since that time (14, 81, 94, 99). It consists of a series of ambiguous pictures, about each of which the subject is asked to tell a story. It is assumed that in describing the characters depicted, in setting forth their actions and the stimuli which affect them, the subject indirectly tells something about himself.

By means of this indirect approach, areas of the personality that cannot be tapped by verbal questioning are sometimes revealed. Here the subject often allows himself a greater degree of freedom of expression because he is not openly telling about himself and giving his own ideas about real people and how they act. Although he is likely to identify himself with the content of the story, this is not usually apparent to him. Unlike the interview situation, in which the subject attempts consciously to defend himself against expressing feelings or desires which he would rather not recognize as belonging to himself, in the T. A. T., where the subject usually is motivated by the desire to succeed at a creative enterprise, he tends to be unaware of the significance of the content of his creation. Consequently, although much of the content produced in the T. A. T. is similar to that expressed in the interviews, other productions appear to differ, even to contradict, the interview data. These discrepancies can be understood only when the differences in defenses operating in each case are recognized. This relationship between expressions elicited through the interview and through the T. A. T. will become clearer with the comparisons in this chapter between the two types of data.

The theory behind the present technique assumes that the particular stories that the subject tells represent his fantasied environment and fantasied

way of dealing with that environment. Various investigators of T. A. T. have pointed out the psychic determination of the individuality of these fantasies (14, 81, 106, 120). They have found that the content of these stories reveals desires or needs of the personality. Any person in the story with whose actions the subject concerns himself (we will speak of such persons as "heroes") represents a medium through whom the subject expresses his own inner tendencies, and the actions themselves are indicative of the nature of these tendencies.

When we speak of underlying desires or "needs," we do not refer to instinctual impulses nor do we wish to imply that these desires are innate. Rather, we refer to tendencies within the personality that result from the developmental pattern—from influences of the environment upon the basic psychic structure. We use the term "underlying" to refer especially to those tendencies which are not ordinarily allowed expression.

These underlying desires are, of course, not always revealed directly even in the T. A. T. They are transformed by unconscious ego defense mechanisms into acceptable expression. It is thus necessary to be familiar with the techniques of language that the individual learns to employ, in the service of ego defense mechanisms, in order to be able to understand the relationship between the verbalized expression of a particular desire and an underlying motivation. To give a simple example: Certain needs may be obscured by mechanisms of *denial*—the individual describes these needs in the story but condemns the hero for the actions representative of these needs or blames external forces for precipitating such action on the part of the hero. In fact, if certain desires are too anxiety-producing to be allowed expression, they may be inhibited altogether. In order, therefore, to get a clear picture of the motivations of our various subjects, we shall be concerned in the following pages not only with the expressed needs but also with cues indicative of motivation that is protected from open expression by defense mechanisms.

A. TESTING PROCEDURE

1. THE SAMPLE TESTED

The test was administered to a group of 80 subjects, consisting of 20 high-scoring (prejudiced) and 20 low-scoring (unprejudiced) men, and 20 high- and 20 low-scoring women. In the main, these were the same subjects who were called for interviews (see Chapter IX). The groups from which the sample was drawn and the number in each group are given in Table 1 (XIV).

It will be noted that all of the women in this sample either had a college education or were then taking classes, day or night, at the University. However, only a little more than half of our men were college educated. (The 16 men who were veterans or Maritime School officer candidates were not

TABLE 1 (XIV)

DISTRIBUTION OF THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST SAMPLE AMONG THE SEVERAL GROUPS PARTICIPATING IN THE STUDY

Group	Men		Women	
	Low Scorers	High Scorers	Low Scorers	High Scorers
University of California Extension Psychology and Testing Classes	7	4	2	4
Employment Service Veterans and Maritime School Officer Candidates	8	8		
University of California Students	5	8	16	15
Professional Women			2	1
Totals	20	20	20	20

obtained from a college population, and most of them had not had any college training.) The lack of male students during wartime forced us to go outside of the University to find subjects. Although we were somewhat hesitant at first to consider in one group stories of people of different educational levels, we were interested to find that the veterans and officer candidates usually told stories that were similar in content to those of our other subjects and quite as representative of the high- or low-scoring group to which they belonged. Often their stories were less articulate, less literary, and less complete, but the main themes were not different from those found in our college group.

The ages of our female subjects ranged from 17 to 49, the bulk of the range falling between 17 and 27. Three low-scoring women, and 4 high-scoring women were over 27 years of age. The age range of the men was from 17 to 47, 5 low- and 5 high-scoring men being over 27. It will be observed from Table 2 (XIV) that the women in our sample are slightly younger than the men.

The test was administered to most subjects by four examiners, two men and two women. Each of these examiners tested both men and women. It has not yet been established to what extent the sex of the experimenter affects the subject's responses. Whatever effect it might have had in this case, however, should have been canceled out by the fact that equal numbers of low-scoring and high-scoring men were tested by a male experimenter, and that approximately equal numbers from each group were tested by a female

TABLE 2 (XIV)

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS RECEIVING THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST

Age	Men		Women	
	Low Scorers	High Scorers	Low Scorers	High Scorers
Under 20	3	3	9	7
20 - 27	12	12	8	9
Over 27	5	5	3	4
Total	20	20	20	20

experimenter. As will be noted in Table 3(XIV) below, there is a slightly greater discrepancy between the amount of testing done by male and female

TABLE 3 (XIV)

DISTRIBUTION OF THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST SUBJECTS WITH RESPECT TO THE SEX OF THE EXAMINERS

Examiner	Men		Women	
	Low Scorers	High Scorers	Low Scorers	High Scorers
Men:				
Dr. W. M. Wickham	3	8	5	11
Dr. W. R. Morrow	6	7	1	
Dr. Alex Sherriffs	1		2	
Dr. Boyd R. McCandless	3			
Dr. D. J. Levinson	1			
Total subjects tested by men	14	15	8	11
Women:				
Dr. Suzanne Reichard	4	2	7	7
Betty Aron	1	3	5	2
Maria Levinson	1			
Total subjects tested by women	6	5	12	9
Over-all total	20	20	20	20

experimenters on each of the groups of women, but the discrepancy is still not great.

Further, it should be noted that on the whole the examiners who tested low-scoring men tested an almost equal number of high-scoring men and that those experimenters who tested women, tested an almost equal number of low- and high-scoring women. Thus, small differences in administration between individual testers should have affected high- and low-scoring groups of the same sex equally. Since our comparisons are always between high and low scorers in each sex group, such differences in administration will always be approximately equally distributed between compared groups.

2. TECHNIQUE OF ADMINISTRATION

Before the pictures are presented to the subject, he is given the following instructions:

> You are going to be shown a series of pictures. I want you to tell a story about each picture, telling what's happening in the picture; what events led up to it; and how it will turn out; in other words, a complete story—the picture being an illustration to the story.

Each picture is presented in turn, and the subject has an opportunity to express his fantasies in story form, as a piece of fiction. The story is recorded verbatim by the examiner.

The examiner encourages the subject to explain more fully whenever it seems that valuable information can be elicited by elaboration of a particular idea that the subject has expressed. Under no circumstances is the examiner allowed to offer a remark or question that would be suggestive of a particular answer. The subject is always left free to invent his own story.

There was some variability in the amount of questioning that was done by different examiners. However, we have considered the variability in administration to be a small factor, since each experimenter tested both low- and high-scoring subjects, and since the responses resulting from questioning were given very little weight in scoring.

3. THE PICTURES USED

A set of ten pictures was used in the present study. Seven of these pictures were the same for men and women. In the cases of the first, the fifth, and the seventh pictures presented we used alternative pictures for the two sex groups, pictures that would call for a story with masculine identification being given to the men, and pictures that would call for a story with feminine identification being given to the women. We chose all our pictures, except two, four, six, and nine (numbered according to the order in which they were administered), from a group of Thematic Apperception Test pictures introduced by H. A. Murray. Analysis of stories given in response to these published pictures had already been made at the Harvard Psychological Clinic and by others using the T. A. T. technique (94, 99, 106), and it

TABLE 4 (XIV)

STIMULUS VALUES OF THE TEN THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST PICTURES

Active humans in picture usually represent:	Identification usually closest to:	Reveals relation to:	Environmental stimulus:	Mood of main character:
Pictures from the Murray Set				
M1 Father and son "Younger man and older man"	Son	Father	A[a]	Somber, sad, thoughtful, determined
F1 Father figure	?[b]	Father	A	Sad or thoughtful
3 A	Either person A man - for males A woman - for females	Love object	A	A
M5 Young man	Man	Female sex object	Common reaction to dark background and passivity of female figure as foreboding	Guilt, fear, shame, expressed
F5 Young girl	Girl	?	A	Guilt, fear, shame, expressed
M7 Mother and son	Son	Rejective mother	Mother with back turned to son (rejective)	Somber, sad, thoughtful, determined
F7 Old woman, young woman, mother and daughter	Young woman (sometimes old woman with older subjects)	Older woman (mother) Young woman with older subjects	Pressing old age	A

8	1. Dominant man 2. Passive man	A (either figure)	1. to passive submissive figure 2. to dominant aggressive figure	A	1. Dominant sometimes aggressive 2. Passive
10	A (young boy, young girl, child)	A	Environmental stimuli	Religious, ethereal background	A
Special Pictures					
2	Adolescent boy and girl (zootsuiters or young jitterbugs)	Both or neither (identification stronger with same sex as subject)	A (sometimes opposite sex when identified)	Peculiar clothing A background	Gay
4	Man, woman in background	One, both, or neither	A	Slum area. Dark, somber. Heavy clothing-	A
6	Man (usually foreign, police suspect) Police	One or neither generally	A	Bars of prison	Suspect: fear Police: A
9	Negro mother or grandmother Young boy	Boy (older women sometimes identify with grandmother)	Mother figure	Home surroundings	A

[a]A: Ambiguous.
[b]?: No clue in picture.

had been established that they were sufficiently ambiguous so that the subject could project his own personality into the story. Pictures two, four, six, and nine were selected by the study staff from current magazines. The people in these pictures were intended to suggest minority group members. We expected to obtain an expression of attitudes toward minority groups that was more spontaneous than that obtained through direct questioning.

We selected this particular set of ten pictures because we thought they would give us the maximum amount of pertinent material in approximately one hour's testing time, the amount of time that was allotted for this part of the clinical investigation of a subject.

We sought pictures that were dissimilar from one another, offering the subject a variety of possible story heroes and a diversity of suggested situations. We also wanted to make sure that each picture would allow for a variety of different themes, and hence provide a basis for comparing our different subjects. In short, we tried to find a series of pictures that would elicit as much information as possible about the individual's conceptualized environment, and his personality needs striving for expression.

Each picture has certain stimulus values that are fairly stable for all of our subjects (see Table 4(XIV)). Beyond these consistent similarities we found certain striking differences. The remainder of this chapter will be concerned with the methods by which the responses of high- and low-scoring subjects were compared, and the results obtained thereby.

B. METHOD OF ANALYSIS OF THE STORY PROTOCOLS

The T. A. T. stories were subjected to analysis by two separate techniques. First, they were scored according to Sanford's revised Murray need-press system (105). The second technique, based on Murray's concept of thema and adapted to the present study by the writer, was used to examine differences in the patterns of combinations of need-press variables.

A device for analysis of story outcomes was also applied. However, at the time this project was under way the outcome analysis technique was still in its undeveloped stages (12). Consequently, the results obtained added little to this investigation, and we shall, therefore, refer to them only briefly.

1. THE MURRAY-SANFORD SCHEME

a. Explanation of the Method. The Murray-Sanford scheme for scoring Thematic Apperception Tests is a device by which the subject's stories are measured in terms of certain variables.[1] These variables are conceived as a kind of shorthand representation of psychologically meaningful content of the fantasy of an individual as expressed in response to the T. A. T. pictures. The variables fall into two groups, those that represent the direction

[1] The method and variables used in this study differ somewhat from those presented in the book referred to above.

of activity of the characters within the story and those that denote environmental (personal or physical) influences that act upon these characters. The former variables are termed *need* variables, the latter *press* variables. In a particular story, the hero's (or heroes') behavior (i.e., the actions of the central figure or figures) is noted by use of the proper need variable preceded by an "n." Reference to activity from external sources imposed upon the hero (or heroes) is noted by use of a press "p" variable. Secondary characters or central figures in the story who are openly rejected by the storyteller, and whose actions are not directed toward the hero, are termed *objects* and their behavior is recorded by use of need variables, preceded by the notation "on." Similarly, environmental impositions upon these characters are referred to by use of *object press* "op" variables. A list of these variables and an explanation of each follows:

Need Variables

(*These need variables are also used as press variables.)

n Abasement:	To comply, surrender, accept punishment. To apologize, condone, atone. To depreciate oneself. Masochism.
n Achievement:	To work intensely and persistently towards a goal.
**n Acquisition:*	To take, snatch, or steal objects. Greedily to work for money or "goods." To bargain or gamble. To want possessions.
**n Affiliation:*	To be sociable. To make friends. To love.
**n Aggression:*	To fight. To criticize, blame, accuse, or ridicule maliciously. To injure or kill. Sadism.
n Autonomy:	To resist coercion. To be free and independent.
n Blamavoidance:	To avoid blame by inhibiting asocial impulses. To fear censure, ostracism, or punishment. To be well-behaved.
n Blamescape:	To escape blame by flight or by concealment of guilt.
**n Cognizance:*	To observe, inquire, explore, and investigate. To acquire facts.
n Construction:	To organize and build things. To produce.
n Counteraction:	To restrive after failure and to overcome weakness.
n Defendence:	To defend the self verbally against blame or criticism.
**n Dominance:*	To influence or control others. Leadership.
**n Deference:*	To admire and follow a superior allied object.
n Excitement:	To seek adventure and excitement. To enjoy thrills, new sensations, drama.
**n Exposition:*	To relate facts. To explain, judge, interpret.
n Harmavoidance:	To avoid or flee from danger. To fear injury, illness, or death. To hide or take protective measures.

n Infavoidance:	To avoid shame. To escape failure or humiliation.
**n Nurturance:*	To nourish and protect a helpless object. To express sympathy. To mother a child.
n Nutriance:	To seek food and drink.
n Passivity:	To be relaxed and inactive. To receive benefits without effort. To allow others their way.
n Play:	To relax tension and alleviate stress by pleasurable and humorously irresponsible activity—motor, verbal, or mental.
n Recognition:	To seek attention, praise, appreciation, honor, fame.
**n Rejection:*	To exclude or scornfully ignore inferior objects.
**n Retention:*	To retain possession of objects. Economy, frugality, miserliness, to defend property.
n Seclusion:	To be alone or inconspicuous. To maintain privacy.
n Sentience:	To enjoy sensuous pleasures—sights and sounds.
**n Sex:*	To participate in a heterosexual love relationship. To court, to enjoy intercourse.
**n Succorance:*	To seek aid, protection, or sympathy. To indulge in self-pity.
n Understanding:	To think out explanations, develop logical relations, work out plans of procedure.

Press Variables

Psychological Press: These variables have the same meaning when used as need or press variables. When used as press variables they represent activity imposed upon the hero rather than expressed by the hero.

p Acquisition
p Affiliation
p Aggression
p Cognizance
p Dominance
p Deference
p Exposition
p Nurturance
p Rejection
p Retention
p Sex
p Succorance

Enviromental Press:

p Affliction:	The hero is the victim of an illness or disease, is a dope fiend or chronic alcoholic.
p Bad Luck:	The hero experiences misfortune which he himself has not created.
p Claustrum:	The hero is forced into confinement.
p Death of Hero:	The hero dies.
p Death of Object:	Someone other than the hero dies.
p Failure:	The hero fails in his attempts to gain personal achievement.
p Gratuity:	The hero is endowed with money or personal success although he has not striven for this particular gain.

p Inferiority: The hero is an "innately" inferior person.
p Injury: The hero is physically injured.
p Lack: The hero suffers from economic or environmental barrenness.
p Loss: The hero loses something or someone (money, job, friend, opportunity).
p Old Age: The hero is victimized by old age.
p Physical Danger: The hero is exposed to physical danger from sources such as animals, a flood, a tornado, or by a warring national enemy.
p Superiority: The hero is endowed with a superior personality.
p Task: The hero is given something to do; practice on a violin, study. He is sent on a mission to serve his employer, a cause, or his country.
p Uncongenial Environment: The hero's physical environment is unpleasant: ugly, sordid, noxious, dreary, or noisy.

Each story is analyzed separately and every variable reflected in the story content is noted and given a value of 1 to 5. The score thus assigned is based upon the degree of intensity of expression in the case of the particular variable and upon its importance to the story as a whole. We shall refer to these quantified scores as *intensity* scores. The following discussion will be concerned primarily with the comparison of scoring of a particular variable for all pictures in the case of unprejudiced men (or women) and in the case of prejudiced men (or women). In some cases reference will be made also to the number of times a variable is recorded for each of the two groups, regardless of the numerical intensity values that were assigned. These scores will be referred to as *frequency* scores.

b. Results of Scoring. The results of scoring by the Murray-Sanford scheme are given in Tables 5(XIV)A and 5(XIV)B. Twenty of the 80 records used in this sample were rescored by a second scorer for purposes of reliability testing. Rank order correlations of the two scorers' ratings of the stories of the twenty individuals for each variable varied between +.41 and +.83 except for one *r* (for n Rejection), which fell to .26. The fifteen variables with the highest reliability ratings (between +.63 and +.83) are designated in the tables.

The sum of the scoring of all variables was somewhat higher for the unprejudiced than for the prejudiced women (Low-scoring Women 4581/High-scoring Women 4186). However, this difference was not apparent in the case of the men (Low-scoring Men 4183/High-scoring Men 4254). In both cases, however, the subjects scoring low on ethnocentrism expressed more material that could be scored as needs (Low-scoring Women 2473/High-scoring Women 1966) (Low-scoring Men 2154/High-scoring Men 1896) but less that could be scored as object needs (*on*) (Low-scoring Women 276/High-scoring Women 333) (Low-scoring men 323/High-scoring Men 516). In our sample, both of men and of women, the total press

TABLE 5 (XIV) A

INTENSITIES OF NEED AND PRESS VARIABLES AS EXPRESSED IN STORIES TOLD BY MEN

	Picture 1				Picture 2				Picture 3				Picture 4				Picture 5				Picture 6			
	Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers	
Need Variables:	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on
Abasement[a]	19	5	30	8	8	0	8	5	5	0	5	9	15	0	10	4	51	9	49	14	14	8	25	7
Achievement[a]	5	0	0	2	9	0	11	0	7	2	3	0	9	0	9	4	3	0	2	4	3	0	4	0
Acquisition[a]	2	0	13	0	10	3	5	4	3	0	4	0	37	8	24	14	9	3	9	3	5	9	14	5
Affiliation[a]	6	0	9	0	38	1	27	10	27	0	18	0	10	0	7	2	12	0	14	2	4	3	2	2
Aggression[a]	27	7	31	2	7	1	0	0	6	0	6	7	8	0	1	6	28	6	8	14	32	13	23	34
Autonomy	25	6	18	3	7	3	6	13	6	0	8	0	6	3	6	11	4	9	3	7	35	7	23	16
Blamavoidance	6	0	10	3	3	0	10	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	9	0	8	0	4	0	4	8
Blamescape	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	5	4	4	0	10	3	4	2
Cognizance	16	0	5	1	10	0	5	2	6	0	0	0	18	0	17	5	4	0	2	0	0	0	4	3
Construction	5	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Counteraction	9	2	18	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	11	0	2	0	2	0
Deference	17	3	8	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	3	2	3	0	2	0	0	0	4	0
Defendance	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dominance	8	0	6	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	4	4	3	6	0	3	3	0	3	0	4	0	6	7
Excitance	0	0	0	0	16	2	5	14	1	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	6	0	2	0	0	0
Exposition	12	0	7	0	8	0	3	0	4	0	6	4	6	0	5	2	8	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
Harmavoidance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	27	4	23	6
Infavoidance	3	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Nurturance[a]	11	0	3	0	4	0	9	1	34	0	25	2	7	0	12	3	10	0	0	0	2	0	2	0
Nutriance	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0
Passivity	2	0	1	0	2	2	3	0	9	0	3	0	9	0	9	3	3	2	6	2	3	0	0	0
Play[a]	0	0	0	0	34	0	21	10	4	0	4	0	0	6	0	1	13	0	3	0	3	0	0	0
Recognition[a]	3	0	0	0	29	3	25	13	0	0	3	0	0	0	9	0	9	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Rejection	17	4	6	0	5	0	3	3	6	0	5	3	13	2	10	6	12	3	5	8	8	0	6	5
Retention	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	6	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Seclusion	3	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	4	19	5	17	4	3	2	11	10	0	0	7	2
Sentience	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sex[a]	8	0	4	0	18	1	19	10	22	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	43	7	28	5	0	2	2	8
Succorance[a]	15	3	21	1	3	1	2	0	23	1	13	11	18	0	11	0	18	0	24	3	8	5	3	4
Understanding	10	0	1	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Press Variables:	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op
Abasement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Acquisition	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Affiliation	3	3	10	0	34	1	27	8	29	0	21	0	7	0	6	3	10	0	13	2	0	2	0	3
Aggression[a]	23	5	26	0	5	2	0	6	7	0	7	4	4	0	2	3	10	4	4	6	58	8	42	16
Cognizance	1	2	6	0	13	0	11	2	3	0	4	0	3	3	0	3	7	0	0	3	19	6	13	3
Deference	5	0	0	0	5	0	9	0	2	1	3	3	3	0	6	3	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	2
Dominance	37	6	44	3	3	3	5	5	1	0	3	3	2	3	5	5	9	3	9	9	59	12	48	21
Excitance	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exposition	21	0	12	3	0	0	5	0	0	0	9	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	3
Nurturance[a]	18	2	33	2	9	0	4	6	9	0	8	1	6	0	9	0	3	0	9	2	4	0	3	5
Rejection[a]	11	3	2	0	13	0	13	4	2	0	7	0	11	0	13	3	20	3	24	8	13	3	5	1
Sex	3	0	2	0	17	0	18	9	21	0	6	0	0	0	1	0	24	2	20	0	0	0	0	0
Succorance	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	29	0	19	2	0	0	2	3	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Affliction[a]	4	0	9	5	3	0	2	0	0	0	9	0	5	0	4	0	16	3	7	4	0	4	0	4
Birth-offspring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bad Luck	0	0	6	0	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Claustrum	11	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	1	14	0	16	9
Death of Hero	3	0	6	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	13	0	0	0	3	3	7	0	8	3	3	0	4	0
Death of Object	14	3	16	0	0	0	3	0	14	0	15	0	5	0	3	0	10	0	5	3	4	0	0	0
Failure	3	3	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	0	2	0	4	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Gratuity	0	0	3	0	0	0	5	4	0	0	0	0	16	0	11	5	5	5	8	5	0	0	0	3
Inferiority	0	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	5	0	0	4	0	2	0	4	4	2	3	5	0
Injury	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0
Lack	6	0	8	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	3	1	19	3	13	3	7	0	9	0	7	0	3	3
Loss	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	6	0	10	0	2	0	8	0	7	0	0	0	0	0
Old Age	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical Danger	3	0	8	0	0	0	2	0	9	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Superiority	4	0	2	2	8	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	0	2	0
Task[a]	0	0	2	2	13	0	2	5	13	2	19	2	18	0	14	3	11	3	2	2	7	0	2	6
Uncongenial Environment	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	27	0	25	8	5	2	5	6	0	0	0	3

[a]These fifteen variables showed the highest reliability (.63 to .83) between scores of two independent raters

Note: Underlining indicates that there is a notable difference in total scores for the variable in question between subjects scoring low and those scoring high on the Ethnocentrism scale. Where a score is underlined once, the variable is more pronounced in stories of low scorers; where underlined twice, the variable is more pronounced in stories of high scorers.

TABLE 5 (XIV) A

INTENSITIES OF NEED AND PRESS VARIABLES AS EXPRESSED IN STORIES TOLD BY MEN

	Picture 7				Picture 8				Picture 9				Picture 10				Totals 10 Pictures			
	Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers	
Need Variables:	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on
Abasement	24	10	32	6	12	1	9	4	6	3	13	0	4	0	19	0	158	36	200	57
Achievement	11	0	4	0	6	0	10	0	11	0	13	2	9	0	14	0	73	2	70	12
Acquisition	20	2	17	3	4	6	8	3	0	8	9	0	1	0	3	0	91	39	106	32
Affiliation	14	0	15	0	0	0	4	0	18	0	4	1	7	0	5	0	136	4	105	17
Aggression	16	0	13	6	18	10	15	9	6	3	14	2	5	0	3	4	153	40	114	84
Autonomy	41	0	33	0	0	5	5	0	4	3	14	2	3	0	2	0	131	36	118	52
Blamavoidance	9	7	17	3	0	0	0	0	4	6	9	1	0	3	6	0	35	16	64	20
Blamescape	8	0	14	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	29	7	31	6
Cognizance	4	0	6	0	13	0	9	0	21	3	13	0	29	0	14	0	121	3	75	11
Construction	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	9	2	9	0
Counteraction	14	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	5	0	5	0	3	0	51	2	54	0
Deference	26	5	21	4	9	0	15	0	21	3	17	0	19	3	28	0	98	14	105	6
Defendance	3	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	12	0
Dominance	0	0	4	0	20	3	27	3	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	42	9	57	18
Excitance	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	25	2	21	14
Exposition	10	0	16	0	13	0	4	3	0	0	2	0	19	3	14	0	83	3	57	9
Harmavoidance	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	35	4	34	11
Infavoidance	11	3	6	0	2	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	6	13	0
Nurturance	11	0	12	0	9	3	7	1	18	0	12	1	5	0	6	0	111	3	88	8
Nutriance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	13	0	9	4
Passivity	2	4	4	2	12	3	8	2	9	5	5	3	8	0	6	0	59	16	45	12
Play	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	61	6	33	11
Recognition	2	0	5	0	22	3	8	0	19	0	18	0	6	0	8	0	91	6	79	13
Rejection	24	0	12	0	13	6	0	0	8	3	11	4	3	0	0	0	109	18	58	29
Retention	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	13	12
Seclusion	10	2	5	0	3	8	5	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	39	19	59	23
Sentience	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	2	0	37	0	16	0	70	0	18	3
Sex	18	0	14	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	114	10	78	24
Succorance	20	7	28	9	7	3	13	0	25	0	25	0	15	0	24	0	152	20	164	28
Understanding	2	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	6	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	37	0	9	0
Press Variables:	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op
Abasement	0	0	0	0	5	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	0
Acquisition	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	0	0	7	3	11	5
Affiliation	10	0	13	0	2	0	5	0	14	0	5	0	3	0	3	0	112	6	103	16
Aggression	7	2	15	0	10	5	13	3	8	0	9	0	5	0	11	2	137	26	129	40
Cognizance	8	0	9	0	3	0	11	0	16	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	73	11	66	11
Deference	5	6	4	0	10	0	8	1	14	0	3	3	4	0	2	0	52	7	38	12
Dominance	33	0	33	5	20	0	22	3	13	0	22	0	7	3	5	0	184	30	196	54
Excitance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	2
Exposition	6	0	11	0	5	0	0	0	9	0	13	0	16	0	13	0	81	0	72	6
Nurturance	17	4	12	0	9	2	7	0	10	0	8	0	10	0	12	0	95	8	105	16
Rejection	47	0	39	3	2	2	1	0	12	0	10	0	2	0	5	0	133	11	119	19
Sex	6	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	74	2	55	9
Succorance	9	0	9	0	2	0	5	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	50	0	45	5
Affliction	0	3	6	0	16	3	23	0	7	0	3	1	4	2	10	0	55	15	73	14
Birth-offspring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Bad Luck	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	23	5
Claustrum	6	0	2	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	39	2	32	10
Death of Hero	3	0	2	0	6	6	10	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	4	0	31	6	55	6
Death of Object	5	4	22	0	8	0	9	0	9	0	3	0	3	0	8	0	72	7	84	3
Failure	2	0	4	0	6	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	3	0	21	3	20	11
Gratuity	0	0	0	0	1	0	5	0	4	0	4	0	6	0	0	0	32	5	36	17
Inferiority	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	8	11	18	11
Injury	0	0	0	0	6	0	5	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	0	0	18	0	10	2
Lack	8	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	13	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	65	3	43	9
Loss	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	18	0
Old Age	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	7	0
Physical Danger	0	0	6	0	3	3	3	0	3	0	0	0	6	0	4	0	24	3	30	0
Superiority	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	4	0	3	0	28	0	17	5
Task	16	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	8	2	7	0	0	0	4	0	86	7	64	20
Uncongenial Environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	2	30	20

TABLE 5 (XIV) B

INTENSITIES OF NEED AND PRESS VARIABLES AS EXPRESSED IN STORIES TOLD BY WOMEN

	Picture 1				Picture 2				Picture 3				Picture 4				Picture 5				Picture 6			
	Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers	
Need Variables:	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on
Abasement[a]	30	0	32	2	1	0	5	0	19	0	7	0	32	0	20	11	33	0	37	0	17	5	9	10
Achievement[a]	18	0	14	0	19	0	3	3	15	0	2	0	8	0	6	0	3	3	3	0	2	0	4	0
Acquisition[a]	8	3	10	0	13	0	0	3	6	0	3	0	37	0	20	10	8	0	3	0	15	7	14	4
Affiliation[a]	4	0	9	1	33	2	29	5	24	0	31	2	9	3	7	2	28	0	15	1	14	0	6	2
Aggression[a]	6	0	5	0	12	0	2	8	10	0	11	0	13	0	9	5	8	5	31	1	32	19	49	14
Autonomy	1	0	2	0	12	3	2	15	11	0	6	0	17	0	8	2	6	0	6	5	22	10	28	8
Blamavoidance	0	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	3	0	3	0	5	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	9	3	1	0
Blamescape	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	6	0	6	15	10	0
Cognizance	27	0	7	0	6	0	6	0	7	0	7	0	15	1	13	0	4	0	6	0	3	2	8	3
Construction	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Counteraction	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	8	0	4	0	11	0	17	0	6	9	2	0
Deference	4	0	2	0	5	0	5	3	10	0	10	0	5	0	0	0	5	0	14	0	6	3	9	2
Defendance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	6	0	0	0
Dominance	4	0	0	0	3	0	0	1	4	0	2	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	12	3
Excitance	0	0	0	0	18	1	18	2	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Exposition	9	0	3	0	2	0	2	3	10	0	7	0	9	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	4	0	7	3
Harmavoidance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	7	3	8	0
Infavoidance	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Nurturance[a]	12	0	5	0	8	1	0	1	24	0	12	0	19	1	8	0	15	0	0	0	12	3	9	0
Nutriance	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0
Passivity	2	0	0	0	1	2	0	3	5	0	2	0	15	0	2	0	5	1	0	0	4	0	0	0
Play[a]	0	0	0	0	40	1	22	3	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
Recognition[a]	2	0	13	0	25	2	14	14	4	2	3	0	8	0	6	0	5	0	7	0	2	0	2	0
Rejection	13	4	2	0	0	1	5	3	4	2	5	0	19	0	12	4	5	2	17	3	13	7	17	2
Retention	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0
Seclusion	2	3	7	0	5	0	0	0	4	2	3	0	27	0	9	3	15	3	15	0	5	4	0	0
Sentience	5	0	8	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sex[a]	2	0	0	0	20	2	12	5	15	1	13	5	1	0	0	1	20	0	14	1	7	5	5	3
Succorance[a]	21	0	41	0	2	0	3	2	46	0	33	0	16	0	9	7	50	0	51	3	8	0	6	3
Understanding	19	0	13	0	5	0	0	0	2	3	8	2	8	0	8	0	2	0	6	0	2	0	0	0
Press Variables:	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op
Abasement	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Acquisition	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	7	0	3	0	0	0	3	3
Affiliation	1	0	11	0	32	1	27	4	19	0	34	0	7	0	2	2	19	0	7	1	12	0	6	0
Aggression[a]	4	0	6	0	7	1	2	7	1	0	7	0	11	0	5	3	27	3	21	8	41	14	43	14
Cognizance	0	0	0	0	12	0	4	2	3	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	5	0	12	3	14	9	22	7
Deference	6	3	5	0	8	0	6	0	0	3	5	0	5	0	7	2	8	0	6	0	0	0	9	0
Dominance	1	0	0	0	12	0	7	10	10	0	3	0	6	0	6	3	26	0	22	3	50	16	42	10
Excitance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exposition	4	0	7	0	2	0	2	1	7	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	5	3	6	0
Nurturance[a]	0	0	9	0	6	0	4	3	16	0	23	0	1	0	8	3	17	0	10	0	5	2	3	0
Rejection[a]	9	0	15	0	10	1	8	6	18	0	8	0	17	0	13	1	14	3	20	3	15	3	11	2
Sex	1	0	0	0	20	1	11	5	15	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	17	0	10	1	2	0	4	0
Succorance	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	1	0	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Affliction[a]	0	0	11	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	10	3	5	0	11	0	14	7	33	0	0	0	2	2
Birth-offspring	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bad Luck	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Claustrum	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	2	2	12	0	25	9	23	10
Death of Hero	16	0	27	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	12	3	6	0	7	0	3	0	0	0
Death of Object	18	0	19	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	14	0	6	0	2	0	33	0	30	0	0	0	3	0
Failure	8	0	9	0	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	0	7	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
Gratuity	2	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	3	0	4	3	4	0	5	0	0	0	3	3
Inferiority	2	0	0	0	2	3	2	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0
Injury	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0
Lack	10	0	15	0	7	0	0	3	6	0	5	0	19	0	10	8	9	0	11	0	3	2	5	0
Loss	10	0	17	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	6	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	0	0
Old Age	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Physical Danger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	16	3	3	0	3	0	14	3	3	1	0	0	0	0
Superiority	0	0	1	0	12	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Task[a]	8	3	2	0	10	0	2	2	14	0	27	0	19	0	7	1	18	0	3	1	1	3	3	0
Uncongenial Environment	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0	0	2	0	27	0	28	13	3	0	14	0	0	0	3	2

[a]These fifteen variables showed the highest reliability (.63 to .83) between scores of two independent raters.

Note: Underlining indicates that there is a notable difference in total scores for the variable in question between subjects scoring low and those scoring high on the Ethnocentrism scale. Where a score is underlined once, the variable is more pronounced in stories of low scorers; where underlined twice, the variable is more pronounced in stories of high scorers.

TABLE 5 (XIV) B

INTENSITIES OF NEED AND PRESS VARIABLES AS EXPRESSED IN STORIES TOLD BY WOMEN

	Picture 7				Picture 8				Picture 9				Picture 10				Totals 10 Pictures			
	Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers		Low Scorers		High Scorers	
Need Variables:	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on	n	on
Abasement	19	4	19	3	18	0	7	0	6	0	4	0	9	0	12	0	184	9	152	26
Achievement	16	0	14	0	8	0	8	0	39	0	26	0	20	1	11	2	148	4	91	5
Acquisition	20	5	3	9	4	3	7	0	11	5	12	3	0	0	3	2	122	23	75	31
Affiliation	11	3	16	0	21	0	11	0	16	3	12	3	4	2	3	0	164	13	139	16
Aggression	11	5	8	8	6	12	8	6	3	5	6	3	0	0	2	0	101	46	138	45
Autonomy	16	3	7	12	6	0	7	3	14	4	10	2	8	0	4	0	113	20	80	47
Blamavoidance	0	5	5	0	2	0	0	0	11	0	14	0	0	0	4	0	34	8	35	0
Blamescape	5	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	15	17	20	2
Cognizance	12	0	9	3	16	2	15	0	28	0	14	0	24	0	27	0	142	5	112	6
Construction	6	0	2	2	4	0	3	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	2	5	2
Counteraction	5	0	10	0	4	0	6	0	6	0	3	0	3	0	7	0	48	9	53	0
Deference	12	1	14	2	10	0	8	0	34	2	18	0	37	0	20	0	128	6	100	7
Defendance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	6	0
Dominance	17	0	3	2	16	8	34	4	5	0	6	3	4	0	2	0	60	8	62	13
Excitance	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	30	5	18	2
Exposition	20	0	14	3	17	3	9	5	19	4	7	0	16	0	19	0	108	7	70	14
Harmavoidance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	6	11	0
Infavoidance	0	0	4	0	2	0	0	0	5	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	13	0	24	0
Nurturance	15	0	15	0	13	0	7	0	36	0	23	0	24	0	14	0	178	5	93	1
Nutriance	2	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	2	3	0
Passivity	0	0	2	0	14	5	3	10	0	2	0	3	5	0	0	0	51	10	9	16
Play	1	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	0	3	0	3	0	2	0	56	4	28	4
Recognition	20	2	15	0	14	0	11	6	15	0	16	0	8	0	8	0	104	6	95	20
Rejection	18	0	26	9	10	4	7	2	9	5	19	3	8	2	7	0	99	27	117	26
Retention	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	8	6	12	2
Seclusion	6	0	9	7	8	0	5	0	4	2	6	0	6	0	0	0	82	14	54	10
Sentience	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	6	0	2	0	33	0	11	0	54	0	25	2
Sex	1	3	8	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	73	11	52	15
Succorance	20	0	11	4	13	0	8	0	17	0	20	0	35	0	34	0	228	0	216	19
Understanding	2	0	8	0	11	0	18	0	15	0	3	0	12	0	7	0	78	3	71	2
Press Variables:	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op	p	op
Abasement	0	0	0	0	2	0	11	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	11	1
Acquisition	0	0	6	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	10	3	22	3
Affiliation	6	1	12	0	18	0	7	2	13	0	17	0	3	0	0	0	130	2	123	9
Aggression	5	0	13	4	4	5	10	0	16	8	2	3	11	0	16	3	127	31	125	42
Cognizance	5	0	0	3	12	7	5	3	0	0	8	0	2	0	3	0	54	16	57	21
Deference	19	0	13	0	15	0	18	1	15	0	14	0	8	0	10	0	84	6	93	3
Dominance	27	0	22	4	13	7	15	0	17	4	18	3	17	0	14	0	179	27	149	33
Excitance	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0	2	0
Exposition	5	0	13	0	2	0	0	0	9	0	10	0	12	0	21	0	51	3	67	1
Nurturance	12	2	13	4	14	0	14	0	19	0	7	0	24	0	20	0	114	4	111	10
Rejection	27	3	18	3	7	0	7	0	37	3	17	0	8	0	5	3	162	13	122	18
Sex	1	1	6	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	61	2	45	6
Succorance	0	0	2	0	1	3	4	0	7	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	19	3	11	0
Affliction	0	0	2	3	14	0	11	6	5	3	10	0	7	0	14	0	48	10	104	14
Birth-offspring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15	0	2	0
Bad Luck	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	27	0
Claustrum	0	0	2	2	0	3	0	3	0	3	0	0	4	0	2	0	35	17	42	20
Death of Hero	0	3	6	3	6	0	7	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	37	3	65	6
Death of Object	5	0	9	0	11	8	5	0	8	0	11	0	7	0	12	0	101	8	105	0
Failure	0	0	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	3	20	0
Gratuity	10	3	5	0	5	0	0	0	6	0	4	0	3	0	3	0	35	3	41	6
Inferiority	0	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	7	15
Injury	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	2
Lack	4	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	14	0	13	0	0	0	2	0	75	2	64	11
Loss	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	7	0	0	0	3	0	30	0	36	0
Old Age	12	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	26	0	19	3
Physical Danger	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	2	2	0	2	0	6	0	0	0	34	3	27	6
Superiority	8	0	8	0	0	0	5	0	11	0	10	0	8	0	0	0	47	0	24	0
Task	8	0	2	0	8	0	3	0	14	0	12	0	6	0	1	0	106	6	62	4
Uncongenial Environment	0	0	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	31	0	55	17

scored was about the same for unprejudiced and prejudiced subjects (Low-scoring Women 1657/High-scoring Women 1638) (Low-scoring Men 1538/High-scoring Men 1511), but press directed at characters with whom the subject did not identify—object press—was more common among prejudiced subjects (Low-scoring Women 175/High-scoring Women 249) (Low-scoring Men 168/High-scoring Men 331).

It is apparent from the data reported above that expressions which could properly be scored as *need* variables are scored more heavily for the stories of unprejudiced subjects while *object need* and *object press* variables have higher scores in the case of stories of prejudiced subjects. The *press* variables have about equal scoring in the case of the stories of each group. The question then remains as to which of the individual variables that go to make up the above summarized need and press scores differentiate the prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects.

An analysis of single variables on this basis follows. The variables are grouped in terms of certain similarities indicated in the headings below. Each notation of a variable, or of a group of variables, is followed by the mean per person (in the case of unprejudiced and of prejudiced subjects) of the total of the *intensity* scores (or, where indicated, frequency scores) for that variable or for each variable within the cluster being discussed.

Aggressive Rebellion Needs. The need variables of aggressive rebellion appear to be rated higher for low- than for high-scoring men. The ratio of the mean scores of unprejudiced to those of prejudiced men for these variables are: n Aggression 7.7/5.7, n Autonomy 6.5/5.9, n Rejection 5.5/2.9.

However, prejudiced men describe more aggressive and rebellious behavior by objects (on Aggression 2.0/4.2, on Autonomy 1.8/2.6, on Rejection .9/1.5).

This differentiation does not hold for women, except in the case of Autonomy (n Autonomy, Low-scoring mean 5.7, High-scoring mean 4.0; on Autonomy, Low-scoring mean 1.0, High-scoring mean 2.4). n Aggression and n Rejection both tend to have a slightly higher scoring in the case of "high" than of "low" stories (n Aggression 5.0/6.9; n Rejection 5.0/5.4). However, characters are often condemned by both groups for aggressive or rejective behavior (on Aggression: Low-scoring group 2.4/High-scoring group 2.3; on Rejection: Low-scoring group 1.3/High-scoring group 1.3).

In most cases the proportion of frequency of occurrence of a variable in stories of low- as compared to those of high-scoring men is about equal to the intensity proportions. The variables of n Aggression and n Autonomy are among the few whose *frequency* scores are worthy of special reference.

n Autonomy and on Autonomy appear as *frequently* in the stories of prejudiced as in the stories of unprejudiced men. Since the *intensity* scores of the two variables are differentiating for the two groups of subjects, we

may conclude that the unprejudiced men identify with more intense expression of autonomy, whereas prejudiced men, when describing strong autonomous striving, tend to condemn the individual for his actions. We find also that the greater intensity of on Aggression in the stories of prejudiced men is due largely to higher scorings for each expression rather than to a greater frequency of expression (ratio of average intensity per expression: 2.5/3.8). Even the expressions of n Aggression, although less frequent, tend toward more intensity in stories of high-scoring men (ratio: 3.0/3.2). It would appear then that high-scoring men describe more intense aggression than do low-scoring men, although more often denying identification with the aggressive act.

The differences in scored autonomy—both needs and object needs—of prejudiced and unprejudiced women are due to its greater incidence in the stories of one group than in those of the other, rather than to its stronger expression. Although greater frequency but not intensity also accounts for a higher total rating of on Aggression, intensity ratings of n Aggression tend to be greater for prejudiced than for unprejudiced women (mean ratio of 3 to 2.5).

Submissive Withdrawal Needs. In contrast to the tendency of low-scoring men to describe more rebellion in their stories than do high-scoring men, the latter have a greater tendency toward expression of submissive, withdrawal needs (n Abasement: Low-scoring men 7.9/High-scoring men 10.0; n Blamavoidance: Low-scoring men 1.8/High-scoring men 3.2; n Seclusion: Low-scoring men 1.9/High-scoring men 2.5).

These differences do not hold for our female subjects. In fact, n Abasement appears to be somewhat higher for low- than for high-scoring women (Low-scoring mean 9.2/High-scoring mean 7.6), although scoring of on Abasement is greater for the prejudiced than for the unprejudiced women (Low-scoring mean .5/High-scoring mean 1.3).

Needs of Creative Expression. All the variables pertaining to constructive and creative behavior that differentiate high and low scorers indicate a predominance of expression on the part of the low scorers. The ratio of the mean scores of nonprejudiced to those of prejudiced men for these variables are: n Cognizance, 6.0/3.7; n Expression 4.2/2.9; n Understanding 1.8/.4; p Task 4.3/3.2. For the women the ratio is n Achievement 7.4/4.5; n Cognition 7.1/5.6; n Construction 1.0/.2; n Expression 5.4/3.5; p Task 5.3/3.1.

Needs of Sensual Expression. We found also that all the needs of sensual expression are scored higher in stories of low scorers than in those of high scorers. Men: n Excitance 1.25/1.05; n Passivity 2.95/2.25; n Play 3.05/1.65; n Sex 5.70/3.80; n Sentience 3.50/.90. Women: n Excitance 1.5/.9; n Passivity 2.6/.5; n Play 2.8/1.4; n Sex 3.7/2.6; n Sentience 2.7/1.2.

The scoring of object needs of sensual expression is greater for high- than

for low-scoring men (mean of sum of sensual needs scored on: Low-scoring men 1.7/High-scoring men 3.2). The total scoring of object needs of sensual expression in the case of both groups of women is not appreciable.

Other Single Needs Differentiating Low and High Scorers. Two other variables have sufficiently greater scores for unprejudiced than for prejudiced women to deserve special mention: n Nurturance (Low-scoring mean 8.9/High-scoring mean 4.6) and n Acquisition (Low-scoring mean 6.1/High-scoring mean 3.7). The latter variable appears to be especially differentiating in stories told in response to Pictures 2 and 4, where the subjects often interpret the picture as indicating poverty, and in stories to Picture 7, where it appears to be related to the tendencies toward achievement and rebellion of the low-scoring women.

Press Variables from Human and Nonhuman Sources. Variables of press from human sources are expressed as often and with equal intensity by low and high scorers. Press from threatening nonhuman sources tends to be more common in stories of high- than in those of low-scoring subjects. The fantasies of permanent damage to the human body, scored as p Affliction and p Death-hero, are found to be especially differentiating between high and low scorers, both men and women (p Affliction: Women, Low-scoring mean 2.8/High-scoring mean 3.7; Men, Low-scoring mean 2.4/High-scoring mean 5.2) (p Death-hero: Women 1.5/2.8; Men 1.8/3.2).

Reference to undefined misfortune, p Bad Luck, is also more common in high-scoring subjects (Women: Low-scoring mean .1/High-scoring mean 1.2; Men: Low-scoring mean .6/High-scoring mean 1.4).

2. THEMATIC ANALYSIS

a. EXPLANATION OF THE METHOD. The thematic analysis, instead of measuring each separate variable, examines the variables in combination. Here we discover not how much of each individual variable is expressed, but rather how often certain *patterns* of variables occur. This type of analysis has the advantage of molarity with the disadvantage, often, of ambiguity.

The concept of thema is taken over from Murray (89). He defines it as "the dynamic structure of an event on a molar level," the "combination of a particular press or preaction or outcome and a particular need." When diagrammatically expressing a thema pattern, arrows are used to represent the direction of influence: e.g., p Dominance → n Deference means that press Dominance imposed upon the hero causes him to express Deference; n Sentience → n Sex means that need for Sentience causes the hero to express a need for Sex; n Succorance ←→ n Nurturance means that two equally important heroes express a mutual nurturance-succorance relationship.

We constructed hypothetical "low" and "high" thema categories after careful study of the differences in need and press scores shown in Tables

5(XIV)A and 5(XIV)B, and after observation of the stories told in response to each picture by each of the low and high scorers. Such categories were thought of as giving the general trends of the content of the stories. They were representative of differences in the more common variable constellation in the stories of our "high" as compared with our "low" subjects. We noted especially certain constellations in which one variable was equally weighted for "high" and "low" subjects. We noted also certain differences in the types of identifications with the heroes who expressed certain needs, and differences in the object toward which the action was directed. A list of "low" and "high" categories was thus compiled—one for men and one for women. There were several categories for each picture.

After the thema categories had been empirically derived in the fashion described above, each set of 40 stories (i.e., the stories told in response to each picture by the 40 men and by the 40 women tested) were scored "blindly" by two scorers, one staff member and one graduate student who had had no previous experience on our study. The scorers had only the derived categories as criteria by which to judge the "highness" or "lowness" of the subject who had told a particular story. Each story had been coded for identification, separated from other stories told by the same person, and randomly placed among the rest of the stories. Thus, judgments were based on the content of the single story. Every story thema was judged in terms of the thema category it most resembled. It should be pointed out that not all stories told conformed to patterns of the thema categories adopted as criteria. They were often more complex and sometimes included a combination of two or three themes. Scoring problems created by story complexity were dealt with by two methods. (1) The use of a neutral category when the theme of a particular story differed widely from any of the categories (about 10 per cent of the judgments fell in the neutral category); (2) scoring ½ or ⅓ to each of two or three included themes.

The percentage of agreement between the two scorers as to their "High," "Low," or "Neutral" judgments was higher on some pictures than on others. The mean percentage agreement of judgments on men's stories was 76, the range of percentages being from 70 to 80. The scorers had a mean percentage agreement of 79 on their ratings of the women's stories. Although the agreement was only 63 per cent for Picture 3, the range of percentages for the other nine sets of stories was from 74 to 91.

Examples of thema variables are included (in small print) in the following comparison of the stories told by low- and high-scoring subjects. Each example is followed by a notation, in parenthesis, of the picture concerned and of the number of times the given thema was found, by each of the two scorers, to occur in stories of subjects scoring low on the Ethnocentrism scale and by subjects scoring high on this scale. The practice of assigning

scores of ½ or ⅓ to each of two or three themes found in a given story accounts for the fractional totals which appear in the following summaries of themes.

Within the discussion, notations are made also from time to time of the sum of intensity scores on a particular variable (reflected in the stories to the picture in question) in the case of low-scoring subjects and in the case of high-scoring subjects.

We have chosen to discuss stories told in response to Pictures 1 and 7 (dealing with parental figures) first; stories to 3 and 5 (relationships to opposite sex) next; and then stories to 8 and 10 (responses to nonfamilial press), considering the men's stories and then the stories of the women subjects. Stories of both men and women told in response to the special pictures portraying members of minority groups (2, 4, 6, 9) are discussed last. The reader is referred to the stimulus pictures reproduced on the insert opposite.

b. Results

1. *Comparison of Stories Told by High- and by Low-scoring Men in Response to the Pictures from the Murray Series*

PICTURE M1. Male subjects in both groups usually identify the characters as father and son or "older man" and "younger man." Identification tends to be mainly with the son, who is said to be somber, sad, distressed. Many of the themes told to this picture describe the older man in the capacity of advisor or counselor. There is a greater tendency for low- than for high-scoring men to describe the younger man's reaction to this supervision as respectful (n Deference: Low scorers 17, High scorers 8) and for high scorers to describe it as submissive (n Abasement: Low scorers 19, High scorers 30).

(p Dominance → n Submissive Abasement): The hero is reprimanded by the father for having committed an antisocial act. He responds with feelings of shame and submission to the instructions of the older man. The father figure acts as a restraining force, not just as an advisor or counselor. There is often a nurturant aspect to the father's dominance, but the dominance is the stronger press. (M1: Low scorers, 2, 1; High scorers, 8, 9.)

There appears to be a tendency for both groups to describe fantasies of rebellion against the older man's advice (n Autonomy, Low scorers 25; High scorers 18).

(p Nurturance-Dominance → n Autonomy-Rejection): The older man is advising the younger one. The younger man rejects the older man's advice. The father is deeply hurt, or in some way shows genuine concern over the action of the younger man—a concern other than a desire to dominate the boy. (M1: Low scorers 7, 6; High scorers 6, 7.)

However, there is a greater tendency for the high scorers to follow

MURRAY PICTURES GIVEN TO MEN AND WOMEN

MEN

M1

WOMEN

F1

3

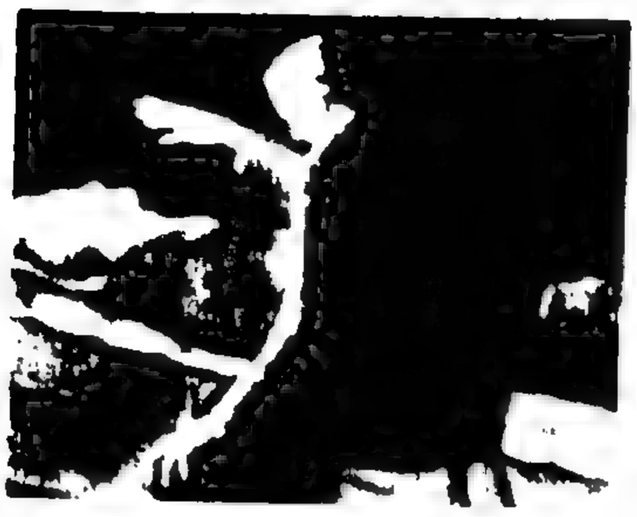
M5

F5

M7

F7

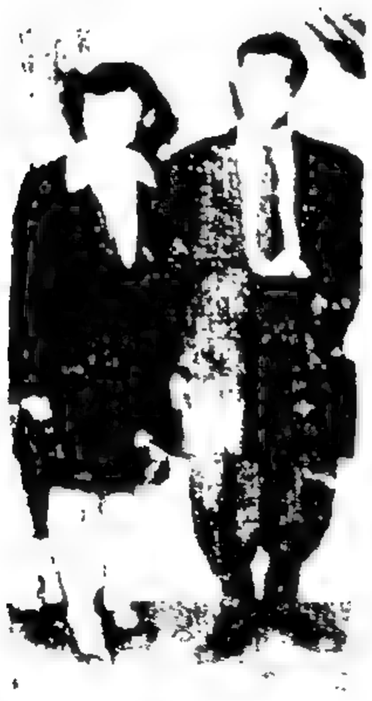
MURRAY PICTURES GIVEN TO MEN AND WOMEN (CONTINUED)



8

10

SPECIAL PICTURES GIVEN TO MEN AND WOMEN



2

4

6

9

Credits. Picture 2: Courtesy of *Life*, Copyright Time, Inc.
Picture 6: Courtesy of *Fortune* Magazine.
Photograph by Otto Hagel.

this theme with punishment for the rebellious younger man (3 of 7 high-scoring men, but no low-scoring men).

Another theme sometimes elicited by this picture is one in which both men are planning or plotting together. The low scorers more often than the high scorers describe a constructive enterprise (n Expression: Low scorers 12, High scorers 7; n Understanding: Low scorers 10, High scorers 1; n Cognizance: Low scorers 16; High scorers 5).

(n Understanding, n Nurturance): The hero strives for understanding and betterment of society. He attempts to right a wrong done to society. Rebellion is motivated by rational principle. There is close identification with the hero, who rebels against social injustice or who wants to right an injustice committed against a friend or relative. (M1: Low scorers 3, 6; High scorers 2½, 1⅓.)

The high- more often than the low-scoring men depict a father who acts as a moral control over the actions of the son and causes the son to conform to his demands or be punished. The low scorers are more inclined to portray a relationship in which the father acts as an advisor whom the son respects, but the son does not necessarily submit to his wishes. Although high and low scorers alike describe heroes who behave contrary to the wishes of the father, a principled, constructive purpose initiating the rebellion is more commonly described by "lows," whereas the rebellion in the stories of "highs" is more often of a criminal, impulsive nature. Furthermore, the revolt is more likely to be rejected or given up in stories of high scorers than in those of low scorers.

These differences in fantasied relationship between father and son remind one of the difference in the childhood memories of the father pointed out in Chapter X. The reader will recall that the stern father who represented a "moral-model" and who was respected out of fear, was more frequently described in the childhood memories of the high-scoring men than in those of the low-scoring men. On the other hand, the low scorers more often reported that their fathers were "relaxed and mild" and supported "principled independence," a similar picture to the one drawn in the T. A. T. stories.

To what extent either of these sources of portrayed relationships offers a true picture of family relationship is still an open question, but it is important to note that the needs expressed by the prejudiced men are in the direction of authoritarian relationships with father figures whereas those set forth by unprejudiced men tend to allow for individualized behavior. One may conclude from this that the low- as compared with the high-scoring men have less residual fears of punishment by their fathers, and that this accounts for their being better able to accept fantasies of constructive autonomy.

PICTURE M7. Most of our male subjects describe the people portrayed in this picture as mother and son, and the identification is mainly with the son.

The mother is usually said to be rejecting the son, and the mood expressed by the son is somber.

There are two main themes that appear more often in the stories of high-scoring men than in those of the low scorers. One of these, which deviates from the more common story of the rejecting mother, stresses tragic events leading up to the portrayed scene (p Aggression: Low scorers 7, High scorers 15; p Death: Low scorers 5, High scorers 22; p Physical Danger: Low scorers 0, High scorers 6).

(Environmental p Aggression, p Death-object, p Physical Danger → n Succorance): Environmental factors (a death or fire; a rejecting or erring child, or a demand from an external force that forces the man to leave home) threaten both of the portrayed figures. They both respond with dejection. (M7: Low scorers 1½, 0; High scorers 4, 6.)

In the other predominantly "high" theme more direct mother-son relationships are often described. In such cases the son is usually said to have committed a crime, and he is confessing or apologizing. (n Blamavoidance: Low scorers 9, High scorers 17; n Abasement: Low scorers 24, High scorers 32.)

(p Dominance → n Submissive Abasement): The mother rejects the son or the son fears she will reject him (for an act of theft, murder, or an affair with a girl). He responds with guilt and anxiety and subsequent submission to his mother's wishes. (He tries to make amends for what he has done by apologizing and/or complying with his mother's wishes from then on.) (M7: Low scorers, 4, 2; High scorers 4½, 9½.)

The mother-son conflict expressed by low scorers is most commonly said to arise out of the young man's demand for autonomy. He wants to do something of which the mother disapproves (leave home, marry, or plan for a particular career). In some stories she is said to be annoyed with him because he has committed a minor crime. These subjects often indicate that the son feels he is justified to some extent at least in what he has done or what he intends to do. He is determined to do what he thinks right, or defend what he has done. There is usually some sign of regret that he is disappointing his mother by defying her wishes, yet he insists on his independence. (n Autonomy: Low scorers 41, High scorers 33; n Rejection: Low scorers 24, High scorers 12.)

Autonomous striving receives high scores in both groups, but in the stories of our prejudiced subjects it is intense at first but is later given up, whereas nonprejudiced subjects describe less violent, less destructive autonomy that carries through to the conclusion.

(p Dominance → n Autonomy): A possessive mother rejects her son because of his past activities or plans for the future, of which she disapproves (leaving home, conflict over mode of achievement, intended marriage, a theft). The son feels that

he is justified to some extent at least in what he has done or intends to do. He is determined to do what he thinks right or defend what he has done. There may be a note of regret that he must disappoint his mother by defying her wishes. (M7: Low scorers 11, 11; High scorers 4, 3.)

The fantasies of low-scoring and of high-scoring men centering about the mother figure tend to be distinguishable in much the same way as their fantasies about the father figure; that is, the high-scoring men tend to describe a hero who is morally dependent upon the mother while the hero of the low-scoring men more often considers her advice but finally acts according to his own judgment. This differentiation is in accordance with the analysis of the interview material, which indicated a more realistic, less awesome portrayal of the childhood mother by low than by high scorers.

Prejudiced subjects more often than the unprejudiced describe relations to parents, both fantasied and real (in the interviews), with more reference to the child's reacting because of fear or because of the compulsion of the parental demands for obedience. However, both the interviews and the T. A. T. indicate that the low-scoring subjects have a more critical attitude toward parental influences.

PICTURE 3. Male subjects in both groups tend to identify with a male hero in their stories to this picture. Usually the upper figure is so designated, the lower figure being described as his wife.

In the responses of low-scoring men to this picture there is much variability in the relationship between the two people portrayed. Often the woman is a nurturant mother figure who encourages and helps the man; sometimes he is the stronger and more dominant one who cares for her. In general, however, there is a clear affiliative relationship in which hero and love object show a mutual sensitivity to and concern over the mood and feelings of the other.

(Mutual Nurturance-Succorance Sex relationship—fusion of n Nurturance, n Succorance, n Sex, n Affiliation): Two people (husband and wife, usually) are embracing each other. They are glad to be together ("to see each other after a long separation") or both are sad (because they have to be separated). This theme is not preceded by an aggressive press such as an argument between them, the fear of death, affliction, or physical danger. Affiliation and Sex are expressed in the mutuality of the Nurturance-Succorance. (3: Low scorers 14, 16; High scorers 7, 2.)

Closer investigation of the stories of low scorers who produce this thema shows that when a joyful event such as a reunion is described, the woman usually plays the more active role. She is the one who protects and nurtures the man, the latter enjoying a more passive role. When the event is unpleasant or sad, a situation such as departure, the man is usually the one to give the woman support and reassurance and to deal forcefully with the situation.

The high-scoring men more often fantasy the man as the dominant person

in the heterosexual relationship. They are inclined to identify with the role of a benevolent but despotic father, demonstrating no real dependence on the woman. The man is likely to be described as the master, while the woman is weak and dependent. This division of masculine and feminine roles is often sharply made, no overlapping of roles being allowed. At the same time the high-scoring man is likely to reject the woman because of her dependency. He describes her as being fickle, flighty or burdensome.

(Male n Dominance←→Female n Succorance): There is no overlapping of roles. She is dependent and weak; he is the source of strength and he refrains from expressing any dependence on her. ("She is on the verge of hysterics; so he comforts her." "She is relying on strength from her husband to pull her through." "He comforts her and hides his own feelings.") (3: Low scorers 3, 2½; High scorers 7, 4.)

The woman becomes obstreperous. He comforts her in order to quiet her and subdue her aggression. ("He's comforting her. They have quarrelled, as they often do over some trivial matter." "She nagged at him. He got mad. Now he's comforting her.") (3: Low scorers 0, 0; High scorers 3, 2.)

Although the situational factor in the stories of high-scoring subjects is somewhat variable, reference to dangerous situations resulting in death and affliction are very common (p Death-hero: Low scorers 4, High scorers 13; p Affliction: Low scorers 0; High scorers 9). Usually the high scorers describe episodes which cause the woman to exhibit her weakness and the man his strength and superior capabilities. Even when the focus is on the husband's departure for war, ideas of fear are usually projected onto the woman. She is the one who "fears for his safety."

It appears, then, that the low- and high-scoring groups conceptualize different types of heterosexual relationship. The low-scoring men tend to identify mainly with a flexible male role that is varied with different situations, the heterosexual adjustment of hero and love object being on the basis of reciprocal dependency stemming from their mutual need of companionship and sympathy, and of someone to care for; whereas the high-scoring men characteristically identify with a dominant, heroic role, the woman being subservient. In contrast to stories of low-scoring men, in which women serve as helpful companions, the high-scoring men more often conceive of the woman's function as one of serving the man's needs, and he resents any demands placed upon him by her.

The implications derived from the differences in content of the stories told by low- and high-scoring men in response to Picture M1—that the "highs" tend to be more fearful of asserting themselves in the face of the father's opposition than are the "lows"—suggest one aspect at least of the differences in motivation behind the fantasied roles described in response to the present picture. The high-scoring men apparently can identify with the father's role in certain situations. They seem to compensate for feelings

of inadequacy precipitated by the father, by adopting the role—at least in fantasy—of a dominant, authoritarian individual in relationships with people less threatening than the father.

From the interview material we would have reason to believe that the authoritarian sex role described by the prejudiced men in the T. A. T. is not limited to their fantasies. The quantitative results in Chapter XI, indicating that they tend to adhere to exploitive-manipulative and power-oriented attitudes toward sex objects, corroborate our findings here. The interview data for unprejudiced men are also in keeping with T. A. T. results. Their interviews reveal appreciation of more relaxed, equalitarian modes of love-seeking.

PICTURE M5. Except in rare cases there is consistent identification by all the male subjects with the man in the picture. The description of events leading up to the portrayed situation, in stories of low and high scorers alike, often involves an impulsive sexual act. Aggressive behavior on the part of the hero is described more often by low- than by high-scoring men; but the expression is more intense and more commonly rejected in stories of high than in those of low scorers (n Aggression: Low scorers 28, High scorers 8; on Aggression: Low scorers 6, High scorers 14). Some high-scoring subjects ignore the woman in the background and attribute the man's dejection to overindulgence in liquor.

The main difference between the stories of one group and those of the other lies in the story-teller's attitude toward what the hero has done and why he has done it. The more aggressive stories of murder and rape are often explained by low-scoring men on the basis of temporary maladjustments that could occur in the life of anyone, e.g., "He has difficulty in adjusting to civilian life after his army experiences." These story-tellers rarely condemn the hero. Rather they tend to identify with his problems, describing his feelings and thoughts about the situation. The hero is usually portrayed as dejected, guilt-ridden, and concerned about the welfare of the girl involved.

(n Sex, n Aggression → n Abasement-intrapunitive type): The hero is reproaching himself for having harmed the girl as the result of an impulsive sexual act. The girl is never rejected; in fact there is often an expression of affection for her. The hero is not rejected by the story-teller. Rather there are signs of sympathy for the hero's problems. (M5: Low scorers 8, 6; High scorers 2, 1½.)

The high scorers who describe the same situational factors as the above often attribute the action to inherent criminal tendencies, referring to the hero by such phrases as "a fiend" or a "sex maniac." Although detailed description of the crime may be given, references to the hero's feelings or thoughts about what has happened are comparatively rare. Suicide or punishment by authorities is the most common ending to these stories.

(on Aggression): The central character is rejected for being a criminal or a low

character, and the picture is condemned as sordid. The story deals with an intense aggressive episode in which the story character has indulged preceding the pictured scene. He has committed a major crime (rape, murder, robbery) and the result is one of serious damage. (M_5: Low scorers 0, 1; High scorers 2, 4½.)

Subjects from both groups sometimes tell less aggressive stories dealing mainly with the sensual aspects of the picture. In these stories, the low scorers also tend to be more accepting of sensual indulgence than are high scorers. Three nonprejudiced men tell stories of the pleasures of "wine, women, and song," but none of the prejudiced men approach such a theme. There are, however, many stories by prejudiced men which center around a condemnation of passive sensuality.

(on Sex, Sentience → on Abasement, giving up of self-respect): The hero has yielded to sensual impulses because of innate weakness or a disappointing experience. (He has become a drunkard or indulged in sexual activities with a whore.) He is guilt-ridden, loses all self-respect, and becomes worthless to society. (M_5: Low scorers 6, 5; High scorers 12½, 10½.)

The low scorers, then, tend to identify with a hero who either finds no harm in a little overindulgence of sensuality or who blames himself for his transgressions, whereas the high scorers more often reject the hero for such behavior and predict for him a future of moral degradation.[2] The T.A.T. stories are in keeping with the evidence from the interviews (see Chapter XI) that the low-scoring men are better able to accept id impulses than are high-scoring men. They are, furthermore, consistent with interview data (see Chapter XII) indicating that intrapunitiveness tends to be more common in low than in high scorers.

PICTURE 8. The content of all the stories elicited by this picture implies a recognition, on the part of the subject, of the contrasting active and passive roles of the two figures presented. In most of the stories of high- and low-scoring subjects alike the situation described is either a hypnotic session or a scene of death or illness. Many of the subjects elaborate very little beyond a description of the setting. Where further content is offered, there is a tendency for high more often than for low scorers to attribute permanent affliction and death to their heroes (p Affliction: Low scorers, 16, High scorers, 23; Death-hero: low scorers, 6, High scorers 10) and to give emphasis to themes of exploitation by the dominant figure.

(n Coercive Dominance ⟷ n Submissive Abasement): The hypnotist uses his powers for the purpose of exploiting the hypnotized person. (He is trying to secure information that will be held against the hypnotized man, or he is hypnotizing him for the purpose of being able to control the man's actions.) Although there is usually some identification with the victim, and the hypnotist may be rejected, the story

[2] The variable n Abasement does not differentiate stories told by high- and low-scoring subjects in response to this picture (Low scorers 51; High scorers 49) because, according to the scheme of analysis used in this study, this variable includes both intragression and moral degradation.

ends without escape or counteraction on the part of the victim. (8: Low scorers 3, 1; High scorers 5, 5.)

The low-scoring men, on the other hand, tend to minimize the aggressive, dominant aspects usually suggested by the picture. Two low- but no high-scoring men tell stories in which hypnotism is used for purposes of aiding the psychological well-being of the patient.

Another predominantly "low" story is distinguished by the sequence of themes rather than by the content alone. The story-teller begins by indicating the possibility that the picture portrays an aggressive act on the part of the "hypnotist," but he does not elaborate this interpretation. Instead, he proceeds to minimize the intensity of the story content.

(Denial of n Aggression): The story-teller rejects the picture as unpleasant, or rejects the unpleasant possibilities for a story, or shows some confusion when the picture is first presented. He offers several suggestions of possible plots, involving aggressive intentions on the part of the hypnotist (death, an exploitive hypnotist, a potential crime), but these ideas are rejected. The intensity of the story content is then minimized. ("It is merely a stage demonstration of no consequence." "It is a doctor and a patient," or "It could be a priest saying a blessing over a sick man, or it may be a doctor and patient or most anything.") (8: Low scorers 5, 4; High scorers 1, 2.)

The elements which, in stories to Picture 8, appear to be more characteristic of high than of low scorers are similar to those that have already been seen to differentiate the story content of the two groups of subjects. The tendency of high- more often than low-scoring men to stress dominance-submission relationships was indicated in stories to Pictures M1, 3, M7, and it appears here again. Also, the greater incidence in "high" stories of references to death and affliction was noted before in the discussion of responses to Picture 3. The impunitive manner of dealing with the aggressive aspect of this picture, exhibited in stories of some low-scoring men, has not been apparent in their responses to the pictures discussed previously. The tendency of the low scorers to describe their heroes as intrapunitive, i.e., to tell stories in which the hero blames himself for his transgressions, was evident in the production of low scorers elicited by Picture M5. It will be remembered that the high scorers tended to condemn the characters instead. The difference in the way in which aggression is dealt with by these two groups of subjects—intra- or impunitively by low scorers and extrapunitively by high scorers—is reflected in the T.A.T. as well as in the interview data (see Chapter XI).

These findings may appear to be in contradiction to our previous remarks that the stories of low scorers describe more rebelliousness on the part of the hero. One might suspect that the trends toward obsessiveness suggested by the impunitive expressions would not be found in the same individual who describes fantasies of demands for independence. If the personality structure

were essentially that of an obsessive nature, perhaps fantasies of decisive action could not be expressed. Apparently, however, the obsessiveness is limited to certain areas; the same group of men responding impunitively to Picture 8, almost without exception produce stories to Pictures M1 and M7 (father-son and mother-son) in which heroes demand their autonomous rights despite parental pressures. The type of hero reaction described apparently depends on the stimulus value of the picture. Perhaps the factor distinguishing Picture 8 from M1 and M7 is that the latter more readily allow for a choice of autonomy than does the former, in which the contrasting roles of dominance-submission are more clearly depicted.

As will be noted in the discussion of stories produced by men in response to Picture 6 (see page 527), low-scoring men are likely to refrain from describing rebellious activity when such action is not practical in view of the pictured situation.

PICTURE 10. This picture was included in our series because it was expected that most of our subjects would make some kind of identification with a "religious" person and thereby add to our understanding of the comparative satisfactions derived from religious practices by our two groups. We anticipated differences similar to those found independently in the questionnaire and interview responses (see Chapters VI, XVIII), the low scorers being more concerned with principles, the high scorers with the authoritarian, conventional, and ritualistic aspects of religious practice. Although differences of this kind were found in the stories of those individuals who responded to the religious elements of the picture, many of our subjects, both high and low scorers (about half of the male subjects), appeared to be uninspired by the picture; they limited their responses to mere descriptions of the picture. It would seem that for these subjects there was not an adequate medium for identification. Of those men who elaborated their stories beyond what was given in the picture, a few in each of the two compared groups told stories in which a soldier in battle faced an immediate crisis and sought help from God.

The low scorers who actually projected a story with some content tended to interpret the scene portrayed as expressive of a hero thoughtfully evaluating life and religion and/or reacting with sensitive imaginative enjoyment to music or art. (n Sentience: Low scorers 37; High scorers 16.)

(n Sentence, n Cognizance): The hero is considering the problem of what religion, life, God really mean. Religion and/or music serves to give him emotional support, peace, and serenity. He is sensitive and imaginative, thoughtful, gets real enjoyment from playing the violin, and seeking the meaning of life. (10: Low scorers 2½, 4; High scorers 0, 2.)

The high scorers often identify with a hero who is afflicted with a disease such as infantile paralysis or suffering from the aggressions of an evil force such as "the Nazis," and who seeks refuge in religion (p Affliction: Low

scorers 4, High scorers 10; n Abasement: Low scorers 4, High scorers 19; n Deference: Low scorers 19, High scorers 28).

(p Physical Danger → n Submissive Abasement): The hero is left totally helpless in the face of a crisis. Counteractive aggression is suppressed, taking the form of submissive abasement. (10: Low scorers 0, 0; High scorers 2, 4.)

(p Physical Danger, Affliction → Deference to supernatural forces): The hero, who is the victim of infantile paralysis or of some mysterious physical force, seeks refuge in religion. He becomes a believer. He "gets religion." (10: Low scorers 2, 0; High scorers 2, 5.)

These differences suggest patterns of reaction to the idea of God and the supernatural that are similar to those found in parent-child relationships. Those subjects who respond to the religious appeal of the picture generally depict the hero's behavior in the way that is most characteristic of their fantasied responses to parental dominance: the low scorers describe autonomous but deferent intellectual consideration, the high scorers apprehension and submission.

The more frequent reference by prejudiced than by unprejudiced men to death and affliction is apparent here as it was in stories to Pictures 8 and M7. One might say that the feelings of victimization so commonly expressed by high scorers in their interviews (see Chapter XI) are likewise an important feature of the fantasy life of these men. The finding from the interviews that subjects in this group tend, more often than the low scorers, to conceptualize the "world as a jungle" (see Chapter XI) is also borne out by the fact that in their T.A.T. stories, especially those elicited by the present picture and by Picture M7, they place more emphasis on the variable p Physical Danger.

2. *Comparison of Stories Told by High- and by Low-scoring Women in Response to the Pictures from the Murray Series*

PICTURE F1. Picture F1 elicited different types of themes than did M1. The stories for F1 center around the "old man" in the picture, but since he is the only figure present, the theme of parent-child relationship, so common in the case of M1, appears in only a few cases. Stories are mainly concerned with the father figure, with his attributes and interactions with his environment.

The high- more often than the low-scoring women tell stories about a man who is sad and completely defeated, who has been severely rejected or has lost all that he spent his life striving for. (p Rejection: Low scorers 9, High scorers 15; p Affliction: Low scorers 0, High scorers 11; p Bad Luck: Low scorers 0, High scorers 12; p Death of Hero: Low scorers 16, High scorers 27; p Lack: Low scorers 10, High scorers 15; p Loss: Low scorers 10, High scorers 17; n Succorance: Low scorers 21; High scorers 41.)

(p Failure, p Loss, p Lack, p Rejection, p Affliction and/or Death → n Succorance): The hero is sad, feels defeated because he has lost or never had money or status, because he is old and sick, or because he has been rejected by all his friends. (F1: Low scorers 8, 6; High scorers 16, 17½.)

The low-scoring women tend to describe a father figure who is a philosopher or scholar, one who is constructively thoughtful and sensitive to the broader aspects of his environment. (n Cognizance: Low scorers 27, High scorers 7; n Exposition: Low scorers 9, High scorers 3; n Nurturance: Low scorers 12, High scorers 5; n Understanding: Low scorers 19, High scorers 13).

(n Cognizance, n Understanding): The hero is a philosopher reflecting upon the ways of mankind, or upon life's pleasures and inconsistencies; or he is a scholar who desires to contribute to knowledge. He may be attempting to counteract injustice that has been directed at society as a whole, toward a particular social group or toward a friend—but not in response to personal press of aggression or dominance. (F1: Low scorers 8, 12; High scorers 1, 5½.)

It appears that the nonprejudiced women tend more to admire and accept elderly men—who might be termed "father figures"—than do the prejudiced women. The former usually make a more positive identification with the male figure presented in this picture, attributing to him positive successful striving, whereas the latter more often make a negative identification with the father figure, describing him as an unsuccessful, miserable individual.

PICTURE F7. This picture is regularly interpreted as portraying two women, one old and one young. The identification is most often with the younger woman.

Prejudiced women tend to reject the older woman in the picture as an unpleasant individual. She is often described as representing disagreeable characteristics that come with old age, and she is depicted as domineering, aggressive, selfish and manipulative of the younger woman, who is forced to submit to her demands. These trends are not clear in the scoring of need-press variables because many of the same variables are attributed to the older woman in stories of high scorers and to the younger person in stories of low scorers. Although total scores from some variables, e.g., n Aggression, are equally weighted for the F7 stories of high and low scorers, the constellation of variables in which they appear varies considerably. The following thema variables indicates that the high more often than the low scorers reject old age.

(op Old Age → on Aggression, Dominance): A story of contrast between youth and old age. The older woman is a product of the imagination of the figure in the foreground. The heroine is worrying about old age. Old women are conceived of as being mean and ugly. (F7: Low scorers 1, 1; High scorers 3, 5.)

The old woman is a dominant, aggressive mother or a witch who exploits others for her own gain. She dominates her daughter's life. She schemes to get her daughter

married off. She forces others to submit to her. (F7: Low scorers 2, 2; High scorers 4, 5.)

Low scorers more often center their stories around the younger woman. The older woman in the picture is usually said to be either the same person as the younger one, portrayed later in life when she has gained the satisfaction of success, or the mother of the younger woman. Descriptions of mother-daughter relationship vary. The mother may be overprotective, causing the daughter to seek to escape from her; she may be a sympathizing, encouraging mother who aids the daughter in attempts for success; or she may be rejective of the daughter for the daughter's selfish behavior. Stories are often told of a woman seeking a successful career, attempting to compete with men, and sometimes even to dominate and exploit them (n Acquisition: Low scorers 20, High scorers 3; n Autonomy: Low scorers 16, High scorers 7; n Dominance: Low scorers 17, High scorers 3). In those stories of low-scoring women in which the central character (the young woman) is described as domineering, she is usually denounced for this quality. This rejection is particularly interesting in view of the fact that low scorers rarely condemn their characters. It would seem that although they are able to accept their fantasies of competition and professional success, the hostility, in the form of deceit and exploitation, that may be a part of these fantasies, is unacceptable.

(p Old Age → n Achievement, n Nurturance): The older woman is a product of the imagination of the younger woman or it is the same woman depicted at two stages of her career. She is often an artist or career woman for whom old age brings happiness and the satisfaction of success. (F7: Low scorers 4, 7; High scorers 1, 1.)

(on Dominance—toward men): The younger woman is sometimes rejected for her insincerity, her lack of understanding, or her attempts to exploit men. The older woman is sensitive to her environment and rejects the daughter's lack of sensitivity. (F7: Low scorers 5, 5; High scorers 1, 1.)

Low scorers differ from high scorers in their conceptions of both youth and old age. The low scorers tend to depict constructive striving as belonging to the period of youth, while the aged person enjoys the fruits of the earlier efforts. High scorers more often picture youth as a period of helplessness in which the girl is led by the aging mother, and old age as a period of life to be dreaded because with it comes loss of the personal charms of youth.

In stories told to this picture and to Picture F1, the high- more often than the low-scoring women describe parental figures as either weak and ineffective or as demanding and threatening. The hostility toward parental figures emphasized in these descriptions might well underlie the trend in these high-scoring subjects toward the comparative lack of genuine affection for their

own parents that is described in Chapter X. Feelings both of hostility and love are more frankly expressed in the interviews of low scorers according to the data presented in Chapter X. However, parental figures appearing in the expressed fantasies of these subjects tend to be admired unambivalently. It is probably the greater ability to deal with hostile feelings that makes it possible for low- more than for high-scoring women to enjoy fantasies of the more pleasant aspects of parental behavior, rather than to dwell on, and to regard as characteristic of the parent, those aspects of the behavior which they regard as disagreeable.

PICTURE 3. Women, for the most part, describe the characters portrayed in this picture in much the same way as do the men (upper figure, male; lower figure, female). Also like the men, the women usually interpret the expressions on both faces as somber and indicative of a crucial situation. The causative factor is often the man's departure for or return from the army.

Six low-scoring subjects and 3 high-scoring ones identify the characters as father and son. Stories of 3 low but no high scorers center around the boy's problem of breaking home ties and accepting the role of an independent adult. In these stories the father is sympathetic and encouraging. In the father-son stories of high-scoring women, the father tends to be more authoritarian and less nurturant.

Besides producing numerous stories in which departure and reunion is said to precipitate the immediate scene, the low-scoring women sometimes attribute the somberness depicted to the worry of parents over a child. In either case the reaction described involves sensitivity to the feelings of the other by each of the characters depicted. In most cases the more nurturant figure is the man, but in a few stories the woman is assigned a protective role.

(Female—n Succorance, n Affiliation): A description is given of the joy felt by a man and woman because they are together after a long separation: (or) They are sad because they have to be separated. There is no fear of death or affliction projected into the story. Although the man is usually the more nurturant, mutual dependency and strong affiliation are expressed. (3: Low scorers 6, 9; High scorers 4, 3.)

The man is sympathizing with the woman's joys or sorrows created by a crucial situation involving a child, close friend, or relative. (The situation is natural death, a child running away from home, or success achieved by their child.) Here the woman is the somewhat more dependent. (3: Low scorers 3½, 9; High scorers, 2½, 5.)

High-scoring women, like low-scoring women, tell stories in which the woman is the more dependent. However, the intensity of the personal relationships is usually not as great in "high" stories as in "low" stories. Prejudiced women more often elaborate descriptions of disastrous situational factors, such as personal affliction or threat from the physical environment, that prompts the woman to seek the aid of the man, or sometimes, they imagine

such dangers confronting the husband. Stories of a husband or son leaving for the army are often accompanied by an expression on the part of the woman of fearfulness lest the man be harmed. Several of the high scorers' stories of the man's return from war describe his afflictions. (p Affliction: Low scorers 3, High scorers 10; p Physical Danger: Low scorers 6, High scorers 16).

(p Death, p Affliction directed at male figure): The man is leaving for war. She fears that he will be killed or injured and that she will never see him again: (or) He has just come back from war, severely injured. (3: Low scorers 3, 5; High scorers 5, 11.)

Both prejudiced and unprejudiced women apparently fantasy a role of dependency upon their male partners. However, in the case of the high-scoring women, the relationships involve less intensity of personal feelings than is found in those of the low scorers. The commonly fantasied death and injury to the man, in stories of the prejudiced subjects, suggest that underlying hostilities are present that prevent expression of more genuine affection.

PICTURE F5. The woman in this picture is usually described as sad by both low- and high-scoring women. She is experiencing feelings of guilt, fear, and/or shame. There is a small group of subjects, mainly low scorers, who minimize the intensity of the disphoric tone by saying that the heroine is only putting on an act, or that she has a temporary illness which she will soon overcome (4 low scorers, 1 high scorer). (It is interesting to note the similarity of the defense used by these women against masochistic behavior to that used by some of the low-scoring men against aggressive behavior. See discussion of stories told in response to Picture 8, below.

Other low scorers relate the girl's unhappiness to deprivation of love from her family or from a male sex object.

The story-teller identifies with a girl who is unhappy or anxious because she is denied, or in danger of being denied, love and support from her husband or family. (F5: Low scorers 5, 4; High scorers 2, 0.)

Subjects from both groups attribute the unhappy mood to the natural or accidental death of a relative (4 low scorers, 6 high scorers). However, stories dwelling on the death scene are more often told by high scorers, themes of death or injury due to personal aggression are excessive among high as compared to low scorers (n Aggression: Low scorers, 8, High scorers 31). Many prejudiced women tell stories describing feelings of guilt and fear resulting from an aggressive act committed impulsively. The object of the hostile act is, in most cases, the husband or lover.

(on Aggression toward men): The heroine is overcome with grief because she has killed her husband or lover in a fit of "passion" or "insanity" or she has just

witnessed his death (the morbid details are elaborated). (F_5: Low scorers 3, 3; High scorers 5, 11½.)

The low-scoring women again describe more real involvement in love relationships while the stories of high scorers are suggestive of the same underlying hostility toward men as was referred to previously. The identification of the latter subjects with the aggressor is obscured by techniques of rejecting the heroine for committing the act, attributing the cause to a temporary or permanent mental affliction, or by an outcome of punishment for the crime.

The results of analysis of stories to Pictures 3 and F_5 corroborate the findings of the interview data. The tendency of low scorers to emphasize love in sexual relationships, and to describe unhappiness resulting from deprivation of love, is apparent in material from both sources. The open admission of fears of inadequacy by some low-scoring women, found in the interview data, may be related to fears of loss of love suggested by some of the T.A.T. stories of low-scoring subjects.

Responses in the interviews were interpreted by the interview raters as indicating underlying disrespect for and resentment against men significantly more often in the case of high-scoring women than in the case of low scorers. The fact that, in the T.A.T., high-scoring women more often than low scorers produce stories of aggressive action directed at men or of permanent injury or death imposed upon them, substantiates the interpretations of the interview responses. Although the hostility is not admitted directly in either case, both the T.A.T. and interview material strongly suggest that such a trend is latent in prejudiced women.

PICTURE 8. As in stories told in response to this picture by men, both high- and low-scoring women describe an active and a passive figure. The low scorers identify more often with the submissive role, the high scorers with the dominant role (n Abasement: Low scorers 18, High scorers 7; p Abasement: Low scorers 2, High scorers 11; n Dominance: Low scorers 16, High scorers 34).

The themes produced by low-scoring men, referred to above, are not as common in stories of low-scoring women. Reference to aggressive intent is less often referred to in the themes of these women. When an aggressive act is described, the story-teller usually rejects the aggressor (n Aggression: Low scorers 6, High scorers 8; on Aggression: Low scorers 12, High scorers 6). More often, the active person is described as nurturant and helpful. He is a doctor or a priest, aiding a sick man (sometimes by hypnosis) or saying a prayer over a dying man.

(p Affliction, p Death of Object→ n Nurturance): A doctor is treating a patient in a psychoanalytic session or through hypnosis: (or) A priest blesses a dead or condemned man, emphasizing the dying man's virtues, his life achievements, and

their meaning for the future world, and offering him hope for peace in the afterworld. (8: Low scorers 6, 6; High scorers 1, 3½.)

High- more often than low-scoring women condemn the passivity of the reclining figure or give him little consideration except in so far as he serves as a tool of the hypnotist (n Passivity: Low scorers 14, High scorers 3; on Passivity: Low scorers 5, High scorers 10). Instead, they tend to identify with the active figure, who is often described as an exhibitionist and trickster. He seeks to control the actions of the other man, or to seduce an audience into believing in his superhuman powers. Some low scorers also describe a stage demonstration (n Recognition: Low scorers 14, High scorers 11; on Recognition: Low scorers 0, High scorers 6) but the exploitive element is usually absent in their stories.

(n Dominance-Recognition): The hypnotist seeks the admiration of an audience, or of the man he is hypnotizing, for his powers to impose his will upon another. The audience is belittled as foolish for being "taken in." (8: Low scorers 1, 0; High scorers 6, 3½.)

These differences in story content again suggest that the low scorers are more likely to empathize in emotional situations than are the high scorers. The latter often appear to be disdainful of passive individuals or of those who react affectively. The comparative inability of the prejudiced women to deal with their own emotions (see Chapter XI) is probably basic to this rejection of emotion in others.

PICTURE 10. Identification is with the one portrayed figure, who is sometimes identified as a boy, sometimes as a girl, and in a few cases, as a woman. The religious theme is somewhat more readily responded to by low-scoring women than by low-scoring men. (The blandness of the responses by many of the men was discussed above.) However, aside from one type of "high" story which projects external aggressive force, stories by high-scoring women tend to reflect very little involvement in the story content.

The most common expression of low-scoring women concerns an internalized religion in which the hero appears humble and awed by the natural environment and stimulated to thought, creativity, and love of his fellow man (n Achievement: Low scorers 20, High scorers 11; n Deference: Low scorers 37, High scorers 20; n Nurturance: Low scorers 24, High scorers 14; n Sentience: Low scorers 30, High scorers 11; n Understanding: Low scorers 12, High scorers 7).

(n Sentience, n Deference, n Understanding): The hero is considering the problem of what religion, life, God really mean. Religion and/or music serves to give him emotional support, peace, and serenity. He is sensitive, imaginative, thoughtful, gets real enjoyment from playing the violin. (10: Low scorers 6, 12; High scorers 1, 3.)

The stories of high-scoring women are less intense. Many relate merely

what is portrayed in the picture, sometimes making more concrete the vague picture structure.

The story is bland, consisting of picture description only, and being devoid of any creativity or sentience; e.g., it is stated that the hero is playing the violin in church. He imagines he sees a vision of Christ. (10: Low scorers 3, 2½; High scorers 9, 4½.)

Expressions of the meaning of religion to the individual are in terms of "giving oneself up to" religion rather than integrating it for everyday application. Stories are related in which the hero, as a result of inflicted suffering, becomes a believer, allowing religious direction to decide his actions (p Affliction: Low scorers 7, High scorers 14; p Death of Object: Low scorers 7, High scorers 12).

(p Affliction, p Death → n Succorance): The hero or a member of his family is afflicted by a dreaded disease. He turns to God in the crisis and is reminded of the suffering of Christ. (10: Low scorers 1½, 2; High scorers 3, 10.)

These findings offer further evidence of the greater sensitivity and need for understanding of the low scorers. That these qualities are incorporated into religious attitudes more often by low than by high scorers, was indicated by the differences between "high" and "low" responses to a questionnaire item concerning the importance of religion and the church (see Chapter VI), a finding which suggested a greater tendency in low scorers to have an internalized religion.

Findings from the questionnaire and from the interviews (see Chapter XVIII) suggest that the high scorers seek religion as something to which they can cling in defense against their own impulses and the threats of the mysterious supernatural.

3. *Comparison of Stories Told by Low and High Scorers (Men and Women) to Pictures Depicting Minority Group Members.* We expected Pictures 2, 4, 6, and 9 to elicit further information about the way in which high as compared with low scorers conceptualize the social roles of various group members. The results tend to substantiate other findings regarding attitudes of these two groups, but they did not differentiate the high and low scorers as sharply as did the pictures from the Murray series.

We had expected the low scorers to identify more closely with the characters shown in these pictures and to attribute more constructive behavior to them than would the high scorers. We had thought that the high scorers would view the characters more distantly, reject them more often, and tend to endow them with those traits of behavior for which these subjects had, in their interviews, condemned minority group members. As a matter of fact, since the pictures themselves were so expressive, both high and low scorers often *describe* the picture (the environmental situation) rather than tell a real story about it. They project less into the story than was the case with

the stories elicited by the Murray pictures. In many cases there was no real clue as to what extent the subject identified with the person in the picture. There was often no clear-cut expression of acceptance or rejection of the heroes, because the test instructions did not call for expression of attitudes.

The problem of identification was complicated by the explicitness of the activity in the picture. It was clear in most cases that our subjects did not closely identify with the slum area in Picture 4 or the crime aspect of Picture 6. In response to Picture 6, description of antisocial behavior, more specifically of aggression, can hardly be called projective and is certainly "pulled" by the picture itself. Many low scorers as well as high scorers reject any aggressive acts. The difference between rejecting the act and rejecting the person committing the act was not always apparent in the short themes produced by our subjects. Pictures 2 and 9 also, because of their lack of equivocality, limit the amount of projectivity possible. However, the overlapping is more in the area of both low and high scorers' *identifying* with socially acceptable activity—activity that is clearly "pulled" by the picture.

PICTURE 2. Certain differences, however, are apparent. The most common story told to Picture 2 is one in which both figures are described as "zoot-suiters" or young "jitterbugs." Often our subjects, both high and low scorers, describe them as belonging to a minority group, usually Mexican or Negro. High scorers, men and women alike, more often than low scorers, reject the characters. They consider these people as immoral and antisocial. The men tend to reject them for their sensuality and for their carefree attitude, sometimes describing them as "too sexy" and "too playful" (on Sex: Low scorers 1, High scorers 10; on Play: Low scorers 0, High scorers 10.) The high-scoring women condemn them for their offensive exhibitionism (on Recognition: Low scorers 2; High scorers 14) and rebelliousness (on Aggression: Low scorers 0, High scorers 8; on Autonomy: Low scorers 3, High scorers 15).

(on Aggression, Autonomy): Because the parents have not been strict enough with the girl, have not given her a sufficient amount of direction and guidance, the girl has gotten into trouble, has done wrong. The story proceeds with an attempt to put her on the right path, to teach her to do the "right thing." (2: Low-scoring women 0, 1; High-scoring women 3, 5½.)

(on Play, Recognition, Excitance, Sex): The story-teller rejects the characters because of the clothes they are wearing (e.g., "I dont like people who wear that kind of clothes so that they can draw attention to themselves.") or they condemn them as an inferior kind of individual (e.g., "They are disrespectful citizens." "Typical zootsuiters," "criminal type," "typical jitterbugs who hang around the U.S.O." "They are the kind who won't ever accomplish anything.") They are accused of being noisy, antisocial, exhibitionistic, lacking seriousness. (2: Low-scoring men 2, 3; High-scoring men 4, 8; Low-scoring women 2, 2; High-scoring women 10½, 10½.)

Low scorers tell stories with similar content, but the men in this group more often identify with sensuality and playfulness and the women more often with the exhibitionistic and rebellious aspect of the picture than do the high scorers (Men—n Sex: Low scorers 18, High scorers 19, not differentiating; n Excitance: Low scorers 16, High scorers 5; n Play: Low scorers 34, High scorers 21. Women—n Autonomy: Low scorers 12, High scorers 2; n Aggression: Low scorers 12, High scorers 2; n Play: Low scorers 40, High scorers 22; n Recognition: Low scorers 25, High scorers 14).

(n Play, n Sentience, n Sex, n Affiliation): The couple in the picture are out on a date having a good time, and finding real enjoyment in dancing or watching others dance. The subject is identified with the heroes and the needs expressed. ("They love to dance." "They are happy together." "They are having fun." "This is a real pleasure for them.") This thema often is combined with success of n Recognition. They have won a dance contest, are happy that they were awarded the prize, and are having their pictures taken. (2: Low-scoring men 8, 11; High-scoring men 7, 6; Low-scoring women 9⅓, 7; High-scoring women 6, 4.)

A few high- and low-scoring subjects of both sexes place these characters in a situation in which social pressure demands that they give up their rebellious ways and conform. However, instead of condemning the rebellious youngsters, as the high scorers do, low scorers often attribute the behavior to a logical resistance to the demoralization that is likely to result from "racial" prejudice; and they usually conclude by saying, in effect, that in growing up the young people will learn to cope with the situation in more constructive ways.

Apparently the mechanism of projection operates in the T.A.T. situation in a fashion that is similar to what has already been suggested as a factor determining some of the interview responses. It is those more primitive, unsublimated forms of expression so often found in their fantasies (see stories told in response to Pictures M_5 and F_5) that the high scorers project onto members of minority groups. Those desires within themselves which remain unsatisfied tend to be magnified and rejected in others whom they suspect of satisfying the same desires. It also becomes understandable why high scorers, both men and women, should reject the independence and nonconformity of the young people in Picture 2 when we remember that these subjects employ submissiveness as a means for denying underlying hostile feelings. Thus, we often find the high scorers defending their own submissiveness by condemning as brazen the lack of submission suggested by the depicted clothing and by what they interpret to be a defiant smile of enjoyment.

PICTURE 4. Stories told in response to Picture 4 by low scorers are, on the whole, more intense than stories told by high scorers. Low scorers tend to deal with realistic problems that face persons living in a slum area, such problems as how to earn a living, how to adapt to or to alter the poverty of the surroundings. Low-scoring women often describe thoughts and feel-

ings of the hero regarding his own life and his relation to society and social goals.

(n Cognizance, n Nurturance): The hero is a philosopher thinking of mankind, of life's pleasures or inconsistencies. He strives to contribute to social betterment or to counteract social injustice directed at society as a whole or toward a particular social group or toward a friend. (4: Low-scoring women 4, 2½; High-scoring women 2½, 2.)

(n Cognizance, n Abasement—intrapunitive type): The hero is ashamed of his past actions and his past egocentrism. He envies the life of the poorer people who allow themselves to enjoy more sensual and passive activity. He decides that he, too, would like to enjoy such a life. (4: Low-scoring women 4, 5; High-scoring women ½, 0.)

The high scorers more often label the central character as a "typical Eastsider" or as a "greedy Jewish businessman." They also tend to reject the lack of order and cleanliness in the presented environment.

(on Aggression, on Acquisition): The hero is rejected as a "typical Eastsider," a "greedy Jewish businessman," "a queer duck," or as a criminal, or a beggar. He is up to no good. The rejected hero is about to commit a crime or has just committed a crime. He is disguised or hiding out. (4: Low-scoring men 2½, 2½; High-scoring men 4, 3½.) (4: Low-scoring women 4, 2½; High-scoring women 8, 5.)

High-scoring women again exhibit a tendency to project failure, affliction, and death upon a father figure.

(p Failure, p Loss, p Death and/or p Affliction → n Succorance): The hero has spent his whole life seeking success. He is now very sad, feels defeated (because he has lost all his money, friends, status, or because he never had any money, status, friends, or because he is old and sick.) (4: Low-scoring women 0, 0; High-scoring women 2, 3.)

(p Physical Danger, p Aggression): The hero is a victim of an aggressive or rejective press, enforced on him by the human or physical environment. (4: Low-scoring women 0, 0; High-scoring women 3, 3½.)

These differences in the story content reflect the ethnic prejudice of the high scorer and the contrasting concern of the low scorer over the welfare of society and the individual's role in that society. That no further differentiation between the two groups was found in the present instance might well have been due to the comparative lack of ambiguity in the structure of the picture.

PICTURE 6. Picture 6 is commonly interpreted as a suspect caught by the police. High scorers often reject the suspect and identify more closely with the police authority. The high-scoring men, especially, describe the man in custody as a dangerous criminal, a Negro or Mexican with an innately weak character. (Men—on Aggression: Low scorers 13, High scorers 34; on Autonomy: Low scorers 7, High scorers 16.) He may have been involved in a strike or race riot for which he is condemned by the story-teller. Subjects

telling stories in which the suspect is depicted in this manner usually identify with the dominant authoritarian figures who bring the situation under control and protect an imagined white victim.

(on Autonomy, on Aggression←→n Dominance): The hero is rejected. He has committed a serious crime and the police have caught him. There is often some identification with the police. The suspect is described as a weak character, a Mexican or Negro, a dangerous person, or a person under the influence of alcohol; he is finally punished for his actions. (6: Low-scoring men 7, 7; High-scoring men 13, 13.)

Low scorers, in contrast, tend to identify more with the captured prisoner. They are more likely to attribute the cause of the act committed to a justified protest against social rejection or exploitation; i.e., the man has either been striking for higher wages or fighting race prejudice. The attitude of the hero is usually a combination of fear and defiant rebellion.

(p Dominance → n Autonomy, n Achievement, n Exposition): The story-teller identifies with a hero who has been involved in a strike or race riot or some petty crime. The police have caught him and have him under their control. The expression of Autonomy and Aggression by the hero is a counteractive measure, fighting against an explicitly defined or implied social dominance or rejection (i.e., employer exploitation, or race prejudice). (6: Low-scoring women 7, 9; High-scoring women 0, 3.)

(p Dominance, Aggression → n Harmavoidance, n Abasement or n Autonomy): The hero has been involved in a strike or race riot or some petty crime. The police have caught him and are unduly hard on him. He is afraid but tries to resist. However, he gives up his resistance when he finds that it would be of no value. (6: Low-scoring men 8, 7; High-scoring men 4, 4.)

Here again the most important differences between stories of high and those of low scorers reflect their attitudes toward minority groups. The projection of instinctual desires upon a rejected individual, one of the common defenses of the high-scoring individuals, is apparent in the T.A.T. as in their more direct verbalizations of prejudices.

PICTURE 9. The portrayed characters in Picture 9 are seldom openly rejected. The high scorers find it difficult to reject them because they appear as "clean," or "neat," and seem to be acting in a socially acceptable way. High scorers often state explicitly, or imply by the uniqueness they give to the story content, that these Negroes are different from most Negroes.

Both high- and low-scoring subjects customarily begin their stories by describing the characters as "grandmother" and "grandson." Both groups often say that the two people are having their picture taken. Although subjects from both groups attribute scholastic accomplishments to the boy, for the high scorers the accomplishments mean achieving a status that is only slightly above the slave position that they attribute to the other members of the family. The low scorers, who apparently identify more closely with the

Negro boy, project their own desires for success. They do not, as do the high scorers, limit the success to a minimum amount, implying inferior capacity on the part of the Negro.

Some of the low-scoring women emphasize the positive relationship between the grandmother and grandson.

(p Succorance←→n Nurturance): The grandmother and grandson are fond of each other and are proud to be together. She is helping the boy to solve a problem or reach a decision. She is encouraging the boy to go on to further learning and achievement. She is teaching the boy or is explaining something to him. (9: Low-scoring women 2, 5; High-scoring women 0, ½.)

Some of the subjects, high and low scorers of both sexes, interpret Picture 9 as two people watching something. For the low scorers it is more commonly an enjoyable artistic performance. (Men—n Sentience: Low scorers 37, High scorers 16. Women—n Sentience: Low scorers 33, High scorers 11.) The high scorers emphasize unpleasant scenes involving death and affliction (Men—p Affliction: Low scorers 4, High scorers 10; p Death-object: Low scorers 3, High scorers 8; p Aggression: Low scorers 11, High scorers 16. Women—p Affliction: Low scorers 7, High scorers 14; p Death-object: Low scorers 7, High scorers 14; p Aggression: Low scorers 11, High scorers 16).

(p Physical Danger, p Dominance → n Abasement-Submission): An unpleasant scene presents itself; or an authoritarian figure representing police, a parent, or another socially dominant figure is demanding that the hero conform to his will. (9: Low-scoring men 4, 2½; High-scoring men 6, 3½.)

Here again, low scorers express greater involvement in interpersonal relationships and more sensitivity to pleasurable stimuli in the environment than do high scorers; whereas the high scorers tend to be more concerned with environmental threats.

C. THE T.A.T.s OF MACK AND LARRY

An examination of the T.A.T. stories produced by Mack and Larry will illustrate in detail the present approach to the scoring and interpretation of this material; it will show how, in concrete cases, some of the differences between high- and low-scoring men are manifest, and it will at the same time add something to the developing pictures of these two men.

These two cases were not chosen as those best suited for demonstrating the contribution of the T.A.T. to an understanding of "high" and "low" personality structures. The stories of Mack and Larry are used, rather, as a part of our plan for following these two men through all of our procedures; this means that from the point of view of one concerned solely with the T.A.T., the selection of illustrative cases is entirely random. This is probably

a good thing, for it will be clear that we are not dealing here with dramatic instances of the T.A.T. at its best, but with virtues and faults and difficulties which appear in its ordinary application.

In the previous discussion we have spoken only of trends in the stories of low and high scorers; it is not to be expected that all of these trends will appear in the record of any one individual. In examining the stories of Mack and Larry we shall be concerned with the particular combinations of trends that appear to be consistent with the responses of these two subjects on the Ethnocentrism scale, and we shall point out those trends which appear to be inconsistent with the E-scale scores. This analysis will be carried out against the background afforded by the preceding pages of this chapter.

Presented below are the verbatim records of the stories produced by Mack and by Larry in response to our regular set of ten pictures. The two sets of stories were obtained by the same (male) examiner. The figure in parenthesis immediately following the number of the picture indicates the elapsed time, in seconds, between the presentation of the picture and the subject's beginning of his story. The examiner's questions are given in parenthesis within the body of the story. The notation (Q-o) refers to a question about the outcome of the story, e.g., "How does it turn out," (Q-m) to a request for elaboration or explanation of what the subject said immediately before, and (p) indicates a pause on the part of the subject.

After each story the ratings (on the 1–5 scale) of the needs and press in the story are given. Tabulation of these ratings appear at the end of each set of stories.

The analyses of the stories, which follow the presentation of the tabulated ratings, were "blind" in the sense that the analyst was not familiar with any of the other material on these two subjects. All that was known was that Mack scored high, and Larry low, on the E scale. If these analyses accord well with what is already known about these subjects, and, more particularly, with the clinical material to be given later, they will constitute evidence in favor of the validity of the T.A.T.

1. LARRY'S STORIES

M1 *(5)* It looks like a father and son. The son is a criminal and the father is ashamed of him. He has a look of sympathy and not hatred. He is probably in prison and is facing the electric chair. The father thinks of how much he has done for the son and can't understand why the son did it. The son is in the death cell and the father is seeing him for the last time. They had been talking but have now reached the stage where all they can do is to just think. The guard comes along and leads the son away.

n	Aggression	3	p	Nurturance	2
n	Nurturance	2	p	Dominance	3
n	Abasement	4	p	Aggression	2
n	Blamavoidance	2	p	Exposition	2
n	Deference	1	p	Claustrum	2

n	Cognizance	2	p Death of Object 2
n	Exposition	2	
n	Succorance	3	
on	Rejection	1	

2 (8) This is a picture of zootsuiters. They seem to be in a prison line-up; they were involved in a crime. They are either confident or trying not to show fear. The latter is probably more true. A gang is standing around them. This gang got together and went to stealing and they are now being taken up for investigation. They are pretty sure of being released to go home because it will be hard for the police to get anything on them. (Are they guilty?) Yes, they are but they have been able to cover up. They continue with their petty crimes.

n	Autonomy	2	p	Aggression	2
n	Affiliation	2	p	Dominance	3
n	Aggression	3	p	Affiliation	2
n	Acquisition	2			
n	Blamescape	3			
on	Succorance	1			

3 (10) This is a father and mother grieving over the loss of a son in the war. They have just received word of his death. He was their only son. They are just thinking and saying nothing. The mother thinks of the son, and the father thinks of the mother to comfort her. He thinks of their life together and how it will be changed now. They had been very happy about the accomplishments of their son. They can't bear to think of the tragic end. Neither are crying, so they will continue to make the best of it and will keep a stiff upper lip.

n	Succorance	4	p	Succorance	2
n	Cognizance	2	p	Death of object	4
n	Passivity	3	p	Affiliation	2
n	Nurturance	3			
n	Affiliation	2			
on	Achievement	2			

4 (12) This woman is a peddler. The man is a rich banker who is walking through the slums of New York. He is on his way home. He doesn't want to be snobbish and not touch the people. He feels out of his neighborhood. The woman is right at home here. Each goes his own way in sort of contrast of two lives—the rich and the poor. He walks this way on his way home from work each day, and does his best not to be too personal with any of them. He just wants to know what's going on for business reasons.

n	Acquisition	3	p	Uncongenial Environment	3
n	Seclusion	3	p	Lack	3
n	Rejection	1	p	Gratuity	3
n	Cognizance	3	p	Task	2
on	Rejection	2			

M5 (6) This is a young fellow who drinks a lot. His clothes are all messed up. In a dingy hotel room, he feels he has lost all of his friends. He thinks all of the troubles of the world are on his shoulders. He contemplates suicide. The trouble is with a woman he had an affair with. He doesn't know whether to injure her or destroy himself. (Q-m) To kill her or commit suicide. She isn't much good herself,

and he isn't too much better. He is in a mixed up mental state. He is pausing there to make some decision. (p) (Q-o) He will try to get revenge on the woman. (Revenge for what?) He has been going with her and giving her money and thinks of marrying her. She fools him and is unfaithful, going around with other men. He kills her.

n	Abasement	4	
n	Succorance	3	
n	Aggression	4	
n	Sex	4	
n	Affiliation	1	
n	Counteraction	2	
n	Nurturance	1	
n	Understanding	1	
n	Rejection	2	
p	Uncongenital Environment	3	
p	Sex	2	
p	Rejection	4	
p	Death of Object	2	

6 (10) This is a man caught in an alley by the police, just before committing some crime. The police were called and he is surprised. He tries to get away but the police have the upper hand. He is frightened for fear they will use their sticks. He is probably a man with a family—a good wife and two or three children. He is a no good, just working once in a while. He steals when he can and keeps it from his wife. (Q-m) She is a good woman and doesn't know he is that type of person. Since he has been caught, he knows she will find it all out. For this reason, he would like to get away from the police, but is afraid if he tries he will get shot. He just backs against the wall and lets himself get caught.

on	Aggression	3	
on	Autonomy	2	
on	Acquisition	3	
on	Succorance	2	
on	Harmavoidance	4	
on	Blamescape	3	
on	Abasement	3	
op	Dominance	3	
op	Aggression	3	
op	Affiliation	2	
op	Cognizance	3	

M7 (8) This young fellow is going away to the army and his mother is very sad about it. She has been expecting this and they have talked it all over. Now that the moment is here, neither knows just what to say. In silence she thinks of his youth—his birth and what he used to do as a little boy. She thinks of his late teens and the honors he got in high school. He thinks less of the past than of the future—and what it will be like in the army. He determines to make the best of it, and try to get the war over with as soon as possible so he can come back. Both stand there for a few minutes, and when he leaves he kisses her and walks away without saying anything.

n	Exposition	2	
n	Achievement	2	
n	Nurturance	3	
n	Succorance	3	
n	Passivity	2	
n	Counteraction	2	
n	Aggression	2	
n	Cognizance	2	
p	Task	4	

8 (15) This is a man lying on his death bed. The other man is an enemy of his. He has been the cause of his death and is glad he has gone because he hates him inwardly. He gave the impression that he was his friend. He has his hand in the air,

not to touch him but as a relief of emotion—just clenching his fist over him. These were both respectable men. (How do you mean?) They were businessmen, not gangsters. They were competitors in business and were both from the same social group. The dying man has felt no tension between them; it's all in the other fellow. The dying man's wife had this fellow come in to sit with him for a few minutes. Now that his competitor has gone, he will have more confidence in himself and more esteem in the community.

n	Aggression	3	
n	Rejection	4	
n	Achievement	3	
n	Acquisition	3	
n	Recognition	3	
p	Affiliation	2	
p	Death of Object	4	
p	Deference	3	

9 *(7)* This is a mother and son at home; I say that because of the pictures on the wall. Both are sad. Something has happened in the family. It's a large family of ten or twelve children. (p) One of the brothers has just gotten in trouble; he stole something. This is a respectable, religious family. The mother makes them go to church. The boy is in jail and they have heard the news. The whole family is sitting around the living room, but in this picture we can see only the two. Both seem to have the same thoughts—the reputation of the family. The boy who committed the crime can't understand why he did it. Though not rich, they had a fairly nice home and enough food; there was just no reason why the boy should do a thing like that. Since he is one of the family they will of course try to help him. They try to punish him in some way, probably by being cool to him, not speaking. (How old is he?) He is about 25 and unmarried.

n	Succorance	3	
n	Blamavoidance	4	
on	Aggression	3	
on	Autonomy	3	
on	Acquisition	3	
n	Abasement	3	
n	Affiliation	2	
n	Nurturance	3	
n	Rejection	3	
p	Claustrum	2	
p	Dominance	3	
p	Aggression	2	
p	Gratuity	2	

10 *(12)* This reminds me of a Biblical story. It is about Christ on the cross. This is a cloudy sky on a dull, stormy day. This woman is of the modern age; the picture in the background comes to her mind. She has had lots of troubles and doesn't know how to solve them. (p) (What kind?) It may have been the death of her husband. She is a very religious woman, and he has meant a lot to her. They always solved their problems together. All she knows now is to turn to Christ and the Bible to try to figure out a solution to her problems. She has been very religious from the time she was small. Now that the vision has come to her, she is more satisfied—she has found peace of mind and is now able to continue her life. She will be sad but will have the feeling that the Lord will care for her husband and will give her comfort.

n	Abasement	3	
n	Succorance	3	
n	Affiliation	2	
n	Deference	4	
n	Passivity	2	
n	Counteraction	2	
p	Bad Luck	2	
p	Death of Object	3	
p	Affiliation	3	
p	Gratuity	3	
p	Nurturance	3	

2. MACK'S STORIES

M1 (60) This would indicate to me a man in distress and a comforting friend. Some accident may have happened, or a death in one of the younger man's family. (p) There is a certain dullness to the man's expression, probably from the great shock. (p) (Are the two men related?) It's possible, but I can't say; I think they may be just friends. I doubt if it's his father. The efforts of the older man to help the other fellow see the brighter side and get him on a steady course again will be successful. The young fellow is a deeply brooding type and maybe won't be too successful, or at best only temporarily. The young fellow indicates the type of person who might do violence if pushed too far. (Q-m) I think he could easily murder somebody on being oppressed. I think he will never completely get over the shock of the death and it affects him in such a way that it makes him hard to get along with from then on.

n	Succorance	3	
n	Affiliation	3	
n	Counteraction	2	
n	Understanding	1	
n	Abasement	1	
n	Aggression	3	
p	Nurturance	3	
p	Death of Object	3	
p	Physical Danger	1	
p	Affiliation	3	
p	Dominance	3	

2 (20) This is a young fellow and his girl. They are all dolled up for the occasion. They are just starting out for the night. The style of his clothing is foreign to me; I never saw that sort of thing before. The girl looks to be about 17 and the man about 21—considerably older. After a show, they go some place and eat. Then he gets the girl home about ten or eleven o'clock. From the age of the girl they would get in at a reasonable hour. (Are they related?) No, I don't think they are; they are not the same type. I don't think they are husband and wife; they just go together. The girl has a nice, pleasant personality. He is not so deep, and he has a less full character than the girl. (p) The partial view of the other fellow gives me an idea of another story. This involves the same original setup except that they had their pictures taken at a party. This man stepped up and made a smart remark to make them smile for the picture. That fellows dress doesn't correspond to the girl's. He looks like he was from another period. It might be the early '30's. Maybe the suit was designed for a gag. (Q-o) They have other dates but they gradually drifted apart.

n	Recognition	3	
n	Nutriance	2	
n	Affiliation	1	
n	Excitance	1	
n	Play	2	
p	Exposition	1	
p	Affiliation	1	
p	Superiority	2	
p	Cognizance	3	

3 (10) My first impression is from what I read in newspapers, you know, about the war. He is saying goodbye to his mother. He is of military age—about 23. His mother is about in her early 50's. He is advising her not to worry. He says he will write and asks her to keep him informed of the folks and his friends. He tries to lead her to believe he will see her again soon—like most men would. He seems to be a strong individual. He is clean-cut. Of course, we always like to hope they will all come back, but I can't help but guess that he will not come back. He was killed in the war. They are very close and yet are not the kind to show a lot of observable affection and make a lot of one another. They used to kid one another, and make fun of one another and yet if one got in trouble they all came to his rescue. That's the kind of family they were.

n Nurturance	3	p Task	3
n Dominance	2	p Succorance	2
n Affiliation	3	p Death of Hero	3
n Succorance	2	p Affiliation	3
n Deference	2	p Nurturance	3

4 (30) It looks something like a street off the main track in New York City. It's a run-down section of the city. These pictures are cleverly done—they don't tell you anything. (What preceded this picture?) Well, its perhaps on a Saturday or Sunday and this businessman is on his way home. I don't think he is very well, all bundled up like that. I think he must be a tailor. He isn't too well off, but is better off than most of his neighbors. He is a family man. As for the woman, it's difficult to give a motive for her. She has something to sell, is poor, and can just keep her family in food and clothes. (Q-o) There is no relationship between these people. It is just the end of the day and each is going home. Each represents a class—the well off and the poor. This is just a typical scene.

n Acquisition	3	p Uncongenial Environment	2
n Construction	1	p Affliction	2
n Nurturance	2	p Lack	2

M5 (70) Oh, oh! This is apt to be rather sordid. It doesn't represent a family scene to me! It may be a prostitute, and I see the old bottle there. This may be a young American down in the tropics; he is dressed in white because of the temperature. As for the woman, it's difficult to say because of the shadows, but she appears of darker skin. The place has crude furnishings. (p) (What preceded?) The natural assumption is that they had sexual intercourse. The fellow is about half drunk and is about to consume more. The fellow looks kind of "hang-dog"; perhaps he regrets his recent act or perhaps his station in life. He is down and out and liquor isn't much of a boon to him. He has sufficient depth of character to take himself out of a place like that and to genuinely regret what he did to the woman. She doesn't enter into the story, except to be the object of his lust. He is a better type than she. He can take care of himself. He finally drags himself out of such surroundings and gradually amounts to something. Do I take too long? I get quite involved in these stories.

n Excitance	1	p Sex	3
n Abasement	3	p Uncongenial Environment	1
n Blamavoidance	1		
n Sex	3		
n Blamescape	1		
n Counteraction	3		

6 (45) This is a public disturbance, perhaps a strike or a race disturbance. He has some Negroid features. He started a riot and has now been separated from the group he organized. The police have frightened him and he expects the worst. He is lodged in the local jail for a time and is scared out of such activities again. Maybe he was the fall guy for the group. Without the crowd influence he was pretty docile.

n Dominance	2	p Dominance	3
n Aggression	3	p Aggression	3
n Autonomy	2	p Claustrum	2
n Abasement	4		
n Succorance	1		

M7 (45) These people are related. They are mother and son since their features correspond. She is about 60 and he about 25. He has just told her something he has done which causes her grief and apprehension. She can't condone it, and is shocked. He's upset too, like he'd rather not have told her but had to. He doesn't look the type to get into trouble. (p) This picture gives me trouble. (Q-m) Well, it's the expressions on their faces. This man was responsible for the death of someone loved by both the mother and the man. It was not a crime, but an auto accident. It was sort of negligence on his part and he feels responsible. His mother turns away at first, then comes back to him and decides to help him. It was this way: this fellow in the picture and a friend went for a ride. There was an accident and this fellow (in the picture) was driving. He was negligent in some way or another, and caused the death of the person riding with him. He is now telling his mother all about it. He has a strong character, and feels badly about it all. He is serious. (p) (Q-o) Well, he and his mother talk it all over, and she helps him by giving him some good advice. (Q-m) She tells him it could have happened to anyone, and that the thing to do now is to forget it and just go right on living as usual. She tells him it is bad to keep thinking about it. (Does he?) Yes, he doesn't let it drag his life down. It finally passes out of his memory.

n Exposition	2	p Rejection	2
on Succorance	3	p Death of Object	3
n Abasement	3	p Nurturance	4
n Aggression	2	p Affiliation	2
n Affiliation	1	p Physical Danger	2
n Blamescape	2	p Exposition	2
n Passivity	2		

8 (30) Well, this suggests a doctor and his patient. Yet, the gesture gives me the idea it might be a hypnotist at work. I dont know much about the field of hypnosis. The patient is unconscious about the face, but his legs aren't relaxed. Usually such performances are put on on the stage, and this seems to be in a private home. Do people keep their clothes on while receiving hypnotic treatment? (I'm sure I don't know; let's just use our imagination.) I guess this is a scene on the stage of a theatre. This man is a hypnotist and is directing the performance along the lines that would be funny to the audience. The other fellow was taken from the audience and later joins his friends who ask him a lot of silly questions. The performance ends and all go home.

n Dominance	2	p Deference	2
n Play	2	p Affiliation	2
n Recognition	3	p Cognizance	3
n Affiliation	2		

9 (30) These people are Negroes, of course. It's the grandmother and the grandson. I'm not very familiar with Negro features, but they look alike, these two. She is a kindly old lady. She looks toil-worn, and has had a hard life of work. She is dressed well. I guess it's a portrait in the home. Some Negroes carry their fortune on their back. These may be of a higher type and are better educated than most Negroes. She was a slave and was freed, and gradually accumulated some money. They are quiet folks. It may be they are enjoying a musical here. (Qo). After their picture is taken, they go back to their regular routine lives—he to school and she to helping their children to run their homes and just being generally useful.

n Recognition	1	p Task	3
n Acquisition	3	p Dominance	2
n Sentience	2	p Exposition	2
n Cognizance	2	p Cognizance	2
n Achievement	1		
n Nurturance	3		
n Deference	1		

10 *(60)* This is Christ on the cross, in the midst of flames or smoke. I can hardly reconcile myself to the fact that this is just a photo. It might be a trick picture. Jesus appears life-sized, and so does the cross, yet I don't know of a church with this sized crucifix. Here is a young boy of 8 or 9. In Sunday School he just received a vivid portrayal of Jesus on the cross by a very fine preacher and is very much impressed. That night he has trouble sleeping soundly and while in a semi-conscious state sees this image. He is just coming out of this dream when the image fades. This experience stays with him the rest of his life. I know I can remember a few dreams I had at about that age. (Do you think they influenced you?) I think they really did, all my life. This boy wakes up in the morning and tells his parents about it, and retains this memory the rest of his life.

n Deference	3	p Exposition	3
		p Dominance	1

3. ANALYSIS OF THE STORIES

The analysis of Larry's T.A.T. reveals a person who indulges actively in fantasy. (The total of the need and press scoring for this subject, 276, is much above the mean, 209, for the group of low-scoring men.)

His fantasies, however, exhibit a disphoric quality that is unusually marked in relation to other subjects tested. Death is often referred to in his stories and his heroes tend to be emotionally dependent and self-depreciating (p Death-object: Larry 15, Mean for low-scoring men 3.6; n Succorance: Larry 19, Mean for low-scoring men 7.6; n Abasement: Larry 14, Mean for low-scoring men 7.90). These depressive tones are accompanied by a greater concern over moral values than is usually apparent in stories of low-scoring men (n Blamavoidance: Larry 6, Mean for low-scoring men 1.75). The variable n Blamavoidance is found more often in stories of high- than in those of low-scoring men; but in the case of Larry the manner of dealing with moral values, which is revealed in the expression of succorance, of the intragressive type of abasement, and of n Cognizance (Larry 8, group mean 6.05), suggests an internalization of values that is more characteristic of low than of high scorers.

Larry expresses an excessive amount of aggressive fantasy (n Aggression: Larry 15, Mean for low-scoring men 7.65); it is of an impulsive, antisocial type, the type that is more often found in stories of high scorers. Were it not for the fact that the expressions of aggression are followed by evaluation of the act and acceptance of self-blame, the trend would be contradictory to the low E score. It has been noted often in this volume that one of the factors

which most clearly differentiates prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects is the amount of intraceptiveness of the individual, a tendency which disposes him to evaluate, and sometimes even to be overly concerned with, his reactions in relation to other people. In the present case, if we accept the T.A.T. responses as representative of the subject's fantasy, it appears that Larry is preoccupied with a conflict over his rather generalized feelings of hostility. This conflict is reflected in the constant interplay between aggression and intragressive abasement and passivity. The fact that Larry's stories reveal a persistent attempt to evaluate and to deal with this conflict is consistent with a comparative lack of stereotyped projections of hostility, and, hence, with a low E score.

The summary of the scoring of Mack's stories is strikingly similar to the mean scores for the group of high-scoring men. Although he tends to be more restricted in amount of expression than many high-scoring men (Mack's total need and press scores 193, Mean for high-scoring group 213), the patterning of the scoring is rather typical of the group to which he belongs. As compared with low-scoring men, his fantasies exhibit less creative activity, less curiosity, and less independent striving. He describes the same type of impulsive aggressive behavior as did Larry although Mack does not do so as frequently as Larry. However, the variables which express an intraceptive mode of dealing with such behavior (n Cognizance, n Succorance, n Abasement) are also given considerably less weight by Mack than by our unprejudiced subjects.

In Mack's stories we find an excessive amount of n Affiliation and n Recognition, two variables which in our total group have higher mean scores for unprejudiced than for prejudiced subjects. However, Mack in contrast to Larry tends to express these variables through statements of relationship or status rather than through the description of personal interaction or active striving. In Mack's stories Affiliation is very rarely found in combination with n Nurturance or n Succorance or with n Recognition or n Cognizance.

Neither of these two men refers to more than a minimum amount of physical press. However, much of the n Abasement scored for Mack reflects story content that appears to describe submission to *implied* environmental demands.

From the stories told in response to Picture 1, we get the first indications of the differences in the quality of the fantasies of the two men. Although both express, through their heroes, strong underlying hostile feelings toward the world, Larry identifies more closely with these feelings and makes stronger attempts to understand them. Mack, on the other hand, describes a more primitive type of aggressive fantasy and tends to reject the hero of the story (although not directly enough to warrant the scoring of "object needs"), thereby disowning responsibility for the expression of hostility. In contrast to Larry, who attempts to understand the reasons for antisocial be-

TABLE 6 (XIV)

COMPARISON OF THE SCORES OF MACK AND LARRY ON THE THEMATIC APPERCEPTION TEST WITH THE MEAN SCORES OF PREJUDICED AND UNPREJUDICED MEN

	Larry	Unprejudiced Men Mean Score	Mack	Prejudiced Men Mean Score
1. *Variables of Interpersonal Relationships:*				
n Affiliation	9	6.8	10	5.3
p Affilication	9	5.6	11	5.15
n Deference	5	4.9	6	5.25
p Deference	3	2.6	2	1.9
n Dominance	0	2.1	6	2.85
p Dominance	9	9.2	9	9.8
n Nurturance	12	5.55	8	4.4
p Nurturance	5	4.75	10	5.25
n Recognition	3	4.55	7	3.95
n Succorance	19	7.6	10	8.2
p Succorance	2	2.5	2	2.25
2. *Variables of Rebellion:*				
n Aggression	15	7.65	8	5.70
n Autonomy	3	6.55	2	5.90
n Rejection	3	5.45	0	2.90
3. *Variables of Positive Constructive Activity:*				
n Cognizance	8	6.05	2	3.75
n Construction	0	.45	1	.45
n Expression	4	4.15	2	2.85
n Understanding	1	1.85	1	.45
p Task	6	4.30	6	3.20
4. *Variables of Sensuality:*				
n Excitance	0	1.25	2	1.05
n Passivity	7	2.95	2	2.25
n Play	0	3.05	4	1.65
n Sex	4	5.70	3	3.80
n Sentience	0	3.50	2	.90
5. *Variables of Moral Control and Withdrawal:*				
n Abasement	14	7.90	11	10.00
n Blamavoidance	6	1.75	4	3.20
n Seclusion	3	1.95	0	2.95
6. *Variables of Environmental Press:*				
p Affliction	0	2.75	2	3.65
p Bad Luck	2	.10	0	1.15
p Death of hero	0	1.55	3	2.75
p Death of object	15	3.6	6	4.2

havior, i.e., why his own impulses cause him to have unacceptable thoughts, Mack seems to express the feeling that thinking about things too much causes a person to lose control of himself. He calls the hero a "deeply brooding type . . . who might do violence if pushed too far."

Mack is more sympathetic with the older man than with the younger one. The older man is a stronger individual who is able to withstand the stress of a difficult situation; the younger man is weak and dependent upon the direction of the older one. When Larry's hero gets into trouble, he seeks comfort and guidance from the father, but he nevertheless accepts the responsibility for his own acts. Larry fantasies a dependent relationship with the father that is based on respect and a need for sympathy, and he describes guilt resulting from action that is displeasing to the father. It is a dependence on love, not on power as in the case of Mack's story. The problem of the son and of the father is a mutual one for Larry; for Mack the responsibility for the impulsive act and the responsibility for restraint are separated. The one is "bad" and the other is "good," and there appears to be little reconciliation of the two.

In response to Picture 3, Larry describes the common "low" thema of mutual sympathy resulting from a crucial situation. He seems to identify with a nurturant father figure who is deeply concerned over his wife and family. However, Larry's tendency to exaggerate the morbid, as well as his preoccupation with self-destruction, is revealed in the description of the son who is killed in battle.

The story of Mack expresses little of the sensitivity and desire to be understood that is found in Larry's story. Rather, this subject describes in cliché phraseology the age and character of each of the people in his story. He identifies with the son, who is given a role of heroic bravery. In his story, as well as in Larry's, a man is killed in battle. However, concern about the dangers of war is restricted to the woman. The man is idealized as a "strong individual" behaving fearlessly, "like most men would."

The main difference between the stories told by Larry and by Mack to Picture 5 lies in the fact that the former accepts responsibility for his actions, whereas the latter projects most of the blame onto the woman. Both of these subjects reject the woman who freely enters into a sexual relationship. However, Larry appears to condemn her because she deceives the hero, with whom he is closely identified. The hostility that is directed at the woman does not appear to reflect a lack of respect for her as appears to be true in Mack's story, but rather it is the result of despair over her ability to frustrate him. Mack not only manifests a decided lack of respect for the woman in his story, but he blames her for causing his hero to act in an unbecoming manner; at the same time he defends the man's position and describes him as an individual with "depth of character," who allows himself to become a part of this "sordid" scene because of urges beyond a man's control.

These stories differ somewhat from the more common themes produced by low- and high-scoring men in response to Picture 5. The story of Larry is more hostile than those of most of his group. Mack is more rejecting of heterosexuality, and he projects more blame onto women, than is usually the case with high-scoring men. However, the lack of concern for the woman, and for her part in a sexual relationship, that we see in Mack's story, as contrasted with the more personal relationship in Larry's, fits closely the general difference in themes between high and low scorers described earlier.

The differing types of dependence expressed by these two subjects in their stories to Picture 7 are typical of those described by low and high scorers generally. Larry's hero seeks understanding and support, while Mack describes a hero who is dependent on external forces to direct his activity within acceptable channels.

Larry, however, refrains from giving the most common "low" theme of striving to act independently of the demands of the mother. Instead, he fantasies about a hero who performs unusual and wonderful deeds that please the mother and cause her to admire him.

Mack describes a theme commonly told by high-scoring men, one in which the son displeases the mother. She rejects him and he becomes dependent on her "good advice," forgiveness, and reassurance that he did not really do wrong. It is interesting how this man, who deprecates women in some of his other stories, and who usually describes his male heroes as "strong characters," describes a submissive relationship of son to mother. However, this relationship is as lacking in warmth as are the others. The forgiveness by the mother at the end lacks any real feeling of affiliation or nurturance.

In his story to Picture 8, Larry approaches a theme often produced by high-scoring men, the intense amount of hostility being more typical of high than of low scorers. The components that are consistent with the trends common to stories of low scorers are found in the extensive description of the feelings of each man and in the rationalization of the crime.

Mack appears severely disturbed by this picture. It is not the type of distress often evidenced in stories of low-scoring men, who apparently find it difficult to respond to the aggressive aspect of the picture. A real concern over homosexual attack appears to be expressed here, although it is perhaps not consciously recognized as such by the story-teller. The question, "Do people keep their clothes on while receiving hypnotic treatment?," the annoyance at being questioned by friends, as well as the symbolic description of the patient, are strongly suggestive of personally determined fantasies of a homosexual nature.

The concreteness of thinking exhibited in Mack's story in response to Picture 10, compared with the more intense creativity of Larry's expression, demonstrates well the difference with respect to this factor found in our two groups of subjects and described earlier in this chapter. Although Mack in-

tellectualizes about the impression that the vision makes on the boy, he never describes what it actually means to him. Larry, on the other hand, discusses in detail his hero's problem, and his thoughts and feelings about the solution.

To Pictures 2, 4, 6 and 9 Larry tells stories of more intensity than does Mack. The former is able to identify more closely with the heroes drawn from minority groups and to describe their thoughts and feelings. In stories to Pictures 2 and 9 he identifies with the antisocial behavior of the character, and attempts to rationalize the action as he does in his story to Picture 1.

Mack makes no positive identifications with the "minority" heroes. In general, his stories consist of a statement of the immediate situation, the environmental surroundings, and the age, status, and costumes of the characters. The stories are almost completely devoid of any indications of the thoughts or feelings of the heroes.

Both Larry and Mack reject the man captured by the police in Picture 6. Larry rejects him because he is unworthy of his family and does not adequately care for them; Mack rejects him because he is weak, and at the same time dangerous and to be feared. Larry's story again expresses a strong empathy—in other individuals; in this case, the concern is for the woman.

Larry's T.A.T. stories then are essentially consistent with his low E score, although the patterning of scores in some instances deviates from that most commonly found in the records for unprejudiced men. However, as has been pointed out, these discrepancies reflect this individual's personal conflicts which he deals with in a manner distinctly representative of the unprejudiced men.

The features of stories of low scorers—intensity of story content, close identifications with the characters portrayed, description of personal interaction, and of reflective feelings and thoughts of the characters about their behavior—all are present in Larry's stories. However, it should be emphasized that the strength of the dependence upon sources of love, as described in this man's stories, and the intensity of reaction to frustration, is most extreme for our low-scoring men.

We would expect Larry to be sensitive to the feelings and thoughts of others, and capable of empathizing with them. At the same time he is probably unusually sensitive to signs of rejection from others. He appears to be a person who attempts to understand his own behavior, and to keep this behavior in line with a code of ethics that he has set up for himself despite impulses that are contradictory.

Mack's record reveals many of the trends that we have previously pointed out as being commonly found in stories of high-scoring men. The record is comparatively meager; there is a lack of intensity of identification, and partial rejections of story characters often occur in his stories. A dichotomy of roles characterizes the relationships depicted in his stories. Father, mother, hus-

band are depicted as dominant and as determining the behavior of the wife or son, who are pictured in submissive roles. Little reference is made to introspectiveness or to consideration of underlying motivation. Behavior is often attributed to innate tendencies within the individual, over which he has no control.

Mack appears to be a person bound to conventional standards, attempting to ignore or deny unacceptable desires by projecting them onto others. He is unable to admit his own weakness, and he defends himself rigidly against revealing any feelings of inadequacy. This guarding causes a restriction of spontaneity and a limitation of the environmental stimuli to which he can allow himself to respond.

D. SUMMARY

We can conclude from the above discussion of data that certain types of expression in T.A.T. stories tend to differentiate our two groups of subjects. Although the differences can be considered as no more than trends, each variable having at least some degree of overlap between the two groups, a large percentage of our subjects demonstrate a sufficient number of these trends so that it is possible, by considering the content of their T.A.T. stories alone, to identify them as prejudiced or unprejudiced individuals.

We find that low scorers, as compared with high scorers, identify more closely with the heroes in their stories, and attribute to them more creative activity, more enjoyment of sensual pleasures, and more congenial relationships with other individuals. Aggression is expressed in more sublimated forms, most often being in the service of a goal of creativity, nurturance, or autonomy from imposed coercion. The activity described is more often determined by inner rational decision rather than by external forces. These subjects tend to emphasize autonomous behavior, and they often reject domination by authoritarian figures suggested by the pictures. Although the heroes in their stories often seek advice and sympathy from parents and friends, the ultimate decision is usually one of the hero's own choosing. Status relationships between man and woman, parent and child, or Negro and white, are more nearly equal in their stories than in those of high scorers.

The high scorers, as compared with the low scorers, tend to describe behavior of a less constructive nature. Expression of aggression is more often of a primitive, impulsive sort; it is condemned by the story-teller and is followed by an outcome of punishment of the hero.

High scorers tend more often to describe the motivation for the actions of their heroes in terms of external influence or innate tendencies over which the individual has no control. Their heroes more often appear as dependent upon the demands and rules and regulations of authority and are more often activated by parental demands and social custom. They are more frequently victimized by affliction or death.

Contrasting status relationships are more marked in the stories of high scorers. The male and female roles tend to be dichotomized, the man as the master, the woman as weak, dependent, and submissive. Parents are more often described as domineering and demanding, and their children as submissive and compliant.

CHAPTER XV

PROJECTIVE QUESTIONS IN THE STUDY OF PERSONALITY AND IDEOLOGY

Daniel J. Levinson

A. INTRODUCTION

The Projective Question technique is an application of the general principles of projective techniques to the questionnaire method and to the study of the dynamics of ideology. A Projective Question is an open-ended question which is answered in a few words or lines and which deals with unusual events or experiences likely to have emotional significance for the individual. Care is taken to give the question a "homey," even humorous wording; also, an emphasis on the universal nature of certain emotional experiences (e.g., moods, embarrassment) may make the subject feel freer in giving an answer. The following eight questions were used in the present research:[1]

1. We all have times when we feel below par. What moods or feelings are the most unpleasant or disturbing to you?

2. We all have impulses and desires which are at times hard to control but which we try to keep in check. What desires do you often have difficulty in controlling?

3. What great people, living or dead, do you admire most?

[1] These questions were selected from among an original set of some thirty questions given to several groups of college students. The criteria for selection included statistical differentiation, theoretical significance, and nonduplication of content. It was necessary, for practical reasons, to eliminate many items which showed much promise. For example: What are your greatest weaknesses? Your greatest assets? What would you most like people to say of you after you have lived your life? What do you find most disgusting? Most annoying? As a parent, what would you try most to instill in your child? What would you protect your child against? What makes you lose your temper? What do you most admire in a person? Most dislike? Worst thing that could happen to anyone? Ingenious ways of committing murder? Why might a person commit suicide?

The instructions in all cases were as follows: The following questions give you a chance to express your ideas and opinions in your own way. *Please answer them all as fully as possible.*

We wish to thank the Graduate School of Western Reserve University for a grant-in-aid to cover certain phases of the analysis of data in this chapter.

4. There is hardly a person who hasn't said to himself, "If this keeps up, I'll go nuts!" What might drive a person nuts?
5. What do you consider the worst crimes a person could commit?
6. It seems that no matter how careful we are, we all sometimes have embarrassing moments. What experiences make you feel like sinking through the floor?
7. If you knew you had only six months to live, but could do just as you pleased during that period, how would you spend your time?
8. We get a feeling of awe when something seems to us wonderful, or impressive, or really important. What things would give you the greatest feeling of awe?

These items, considered as a technique, are similar in principle to the most intensive clinically used projective techniques such as the Thematic Apperception Test and the Rorschach, and to the various paper and pencil techniques. In general, all such techniques involve a standardized test situation uniform for all subjects, and a set of materials which (a) present a problem to be worked out, (b) are designed to bring out wide individual differences in response (that is, in the way the problem is worked out), and (c) elicit responses that are rich in meaning and in implications for deep-lying personality dynamics. The Projective Questions are sometimes called "indirect questions" because the subject is seldom aware of the implications of his responses and because the interpretations do not take the answers at face value, but rather go beyond the literal meaning of the response to look for deeper dynamic sources. The justification for such interpretation lies in the very nature of the technique; when the many psychologically important aspects of the situation and the problem-material are held uniform for all subjects, individual differences are attributed to *characteristics in the subject*, and the materials are so selected that the main difference-producing variables are likely to be personality trends of considerable importance in the individual's psychological functioning.

The various projective techniques differ in at least the following important respects: in the intensity of the relation of subject to tester, in the degree of structuring of the material as presented to the subject, and, as a result of these, in the interindividual variability of response and the intraindividual richness of response (expression of inner affect, impulses, deep-lying trends and conflicts). In traditional psychoanalytic therapy which is, in a sense, the model for all projective techniques, the relation of subject to therapist is the most intense and plays the greatest role in eliciting emotionally significant behavior. In the psychoanalytic technique, furthermore, the materials are as unstructured as possible; they include only the standardized situation and instructions, designed to produce a maximum of spontaneity, and the person of the analyst, who might also be considered an unstructured material on whom the

subject can project whatever he wishes. Since transference and resistance are so crucial in psychoanalysis, the course of therapy might be regarded as a series of manipulations of the therapist by the subject, in much the same way as other projective materials are manipulated.

The use of the standardized play situation as a therapeutic projective technique probably comes closest to psychoanalysis with respect to the role of the therapist in eliciting and handling transference and resistance, and with respect to the range of self-expression stimulated by the relatively unstructured but behavior-inducing materials. It is possible here not only to elicit but also to record many aspects of the verbal and motor behavior of the subject. The major projective techniques used clinically for diagnostic rather than for therapeutic purposes, such as the T.A.T. and Rorschach, are more limited with regard to the role of the tester and the range of expression observed and recorded, but they have been of considerable value in clinical practice and personality research.

While the Projective Question technique involves almost none of the "relation between subject and tester" aspects of the therapeutic techniques, and while it is less intensive and more structured than the diagnostic clinical techniques, it has nevertheless a number of important advantages for large-scale sociopsychological research. The items are easily understood, they can be filled out quickly (8 items require only 10 to 15 minutes), and they require no "props" or detailed instructions. For these and other reasons they are ideally suited for questionnaire use.

One great value of the Projective Questions is that the variables derived from the scoring, as shown in the Scoring Manual which follows, are directly related to the variables expressed by many of the scale items in the questionnaire, especially those in the F scale. Thus, this technique not only adds important material about the individual, but it also partially validates the scale results, since the undirected, spontaneously given responses to the Projective Questions reflect trends similar to those involved in the channelized, agree-disagree responses to the scale items.

The Projective Questions were included in each form of the questionnaire (see Chapter IV). They contributed to the study of relationships between personality and ethnocentrism, and they were an important source of ideas for F-scale items. The high and low quartiles on the E scale were the groups compared. (The middle scorers constitute an important group for future study; preliminary perusal of their responses suggests that their intermediate position is more a matter of conflicting high and low trends than of simple neutrality or indifference.) The term "highs" or "high scorers" will be used to refer to the *high quartile as measured on the Ethnocentrism scale*, and conversely for the "lows," who constitute the *low quartile on E.*

As far as the writer is aware, this is the first attempt at systematic, "quantitative" analysis of Projective Questions as a formal technique. They were

used previously in a nonquantitative manner on the Harvard Growth Study of School Children (106), and their use in the present research was suggested by R. N. Sanford, a member of that Study. Some of the questions as used here are taken directly from the Harvard Growth Study of School Children. Some of them were used subsequently by the United States Office of Strategic Services in their assessment program (116).[2] The content of the questions is, of course, hardly new; they have been asked, in one form or another, by clinical psychologists and others for some time.

B. QUANTIFICATION BY MEANS OF SCORING CATEGORIES

The problem of quantification has plagued everyone who works with projective tests, personal documents or other qualitative clinical material. Attempts at precise measurement and complex statistical treatment have usually resulted in quantification at the expense of meaning, in reliability without validity. Any quantitative mode of analysis, focusing as it does on aspects of response that occur with some frequency in larger groups, can hardly help but overlook those aspects which are more idiosyncratic, even though the latter may be crucial for understanding a given individual. Moreover, the more subtle and abstract qualities of response are difficult to formulate in a concrete, specific manner. These difficulties are particularly great when, as in the present case, one is interested in the primary *psychological content* of the response—in what the individual strives for or feels or values or experiences.

It seemed, however, that some middle ground between precise quantification and the total clinical gestalt might be found. The compromise chosen was scoring by means of *qualitative categories*. While each category is scored only in terms of present-absent—scoring in terms of quantitative degrees may yet be attempted—a measure of quantification is obtained by summing an individual's (or group's) scores on the several items. This method, while lacking a high degree of precision,[3] can, at the least, attempt to meet necessary standards of rigorous definition, controlled scoring, and scoring reliability. And, while neglecting much that the clinician may see intuitively in any single response, the categories can include numerous major trends

[2] See also Sanford and Conrad (108, 109), and Franck, K. (29) for other uses of the Projective Questions. A similar technique is that of Incomplete Sentences, as described by Rohde (97), Rotter (100) and Stein (114). For an example of the use of a slightly modified Projective Question technique in the study of antidemocratic personality trends —with results similar to those obtained here—see McGranahan (78).

[3] By "precision" is meant merely "the number of significant figures" in a score, e.g., the value 2.3689 is more precise than 2.4. However, a scoring system can be relatively imprecise, e.g., a wall clock as compared with a stop-watch, and yet be accurate and valid. Personality researchers may have to tolerate a low degree of precision until we are beyond the initial stage where significance and validity present the greatest methodological problems.

that define the dynamic framework within which further clinical differentiation is possible.

Thus the scoring of Projective Questions, like the scoring of interviews (see Chapter IX), requires a set of qualitative categories that meet various theoretical and technical standards. The categories should be carefully defined and illustrated to facilitate communication and interpretation. They should be literal enough to permit highly reliable scoring, yet sufficiently interpretive to have clinical significance and theoretical implications. A limited number of categories per item, preferably between two and six, is desirable and a minimum of responses should be ambiguous (unscorable) in terms of these categories. The degree to which these standards have been met can better be judged at the end of this chapter. Since the main personality trends of concern in the present research were those differentiating highs and lows on ethnocentrism, *high categories* and *low categories* were sought. The high categories incorporated those psychological qualities which were found to characterize the responses of the ethnocentric subjects, while the low categories appeared to characterize the anti-ethnocentric subjects.

The procedure in determining the specific categories for each item was as follows. The responses of the low scorers to that item were transposed by typing onto one or a few sheets, thus permitting easy inspection of group material; and similarly for the high scorers. Closer examination of the responses of each quartile as a whole revealed a few major trends characteristic of each group and differentiating it from the other group. These trends were formalized into categories which seemed both empirically differentiating and theoretically meaningful. The final step involved the preparation of a Scoring Manual (see below) in which each category is defined, discussed briefly, and illustrated with examples from the groups on which the Manual is based. The Manual, formed through examination of the first few groups studied, and on the basis of our over-all theory and results, was used with only minor modifications on all subsequent groups.

It should be noted that the determination and use of categories is not a purely mechanical and atheoretical procedure. The importance of an over-all personality theory, especially as applied to the understanding of differences between highs and lows, can hardly be overestimated as an aid in dealing with projective items. With regard to category determination, the general theory provides hypotheses before one sees the Projective Question material, and it is crucial in the selection of aspects of response which differentiate lows from highs. Furthermore, it gives the categories deeper and broader meaning by relating them to a larger theoretical frame and to results gained by other techniques. With regard to scoring, the general personality theory acts as a background factor making it easier for the scorer to decide

on the appropriate category for a given response; it also facilitates the scoring of some idiosyncratic responses which do not directly fit any of the scoring categories used but which express low or high personality trends. Finally, by means of the over-all personality theory the categories of several items can be integrated into a single pattern involving several trends, thus permitting a more complex description of the high or low groups or of any individual subject. It is therefore of great value for the scorer to be familiar with the general personality theory involved, as a basis for competent scoring as well as for contributions to new theory, categories, and procedures.

C. SCORING MANUAL: CATEGORIES OF PROJECTIVE QUESTION RESPONSE

There are three types of scores: *low* (L), *high* (H), and *neutral* (N). A neutral score is given when the question is left blank (Nb),[4] when the response is ambiguous with respect to the high and low categories (Na), or when high and low trends are present to equal degrees (Nhl). For the groups studied thus far there were relatively few Na and Nhl scores (8.8 per cent); the presence of many Na scores in future groups would necessitate modification or expansion of the present Manual. Each scorer assigns one of the above scores to each response. The scoring procedure will be discussed below (Section D). We may turn now to the Scoring Manual. It should be noted that the Scoring Manual has not only a *methodological* function but also a *descriptive* function, since it presents and even helps to interpret the differences between the responses of the ethnocentric and nonethnocentric groups.

Question 1. What Moods are Unpleasant or Disturbing?

Low Categories

1. *Conscious conflict and guilt.* Feelings of self-criticism, depression, frustration, insecurity, inadequacy, hopelessness, despair, lack of self-worth, remorse. The main conflict or sense of remorse is over violation of values referring to achievement, love-giving (nurturance), understanding, friendship, self-expression, and social contribution. This system of values, which the lows express in various forms in several of the projective questions, will be called *achievement values*. Important underlying variables are intrapunitiveness (the tendency to blame oneself rather than the world when things go wrong) and a well-internalized set of ethical standards. There is an inner orientation, an emphasis on the needs, strivings, and inner state of the individual; related to this is an intraceptive approach, a concern with self-understanding, and an acceptance of personal moral responsibility for one's actions.

[4] As it turned out, omissions on certain items, while recorded as Nb, were converted to scores of H in the statistical treatment. This was based on the discovery that the highs made appreciably more omissions than the lows (see below, Section D).

Examples: "Those times when I would like to give myself a swift kick in the pants." "A feeling of futility and pessismism." "When I don't do as well as I know I am capable of doing." "So much to do, so little time."

A response is scored here when external factors such as "lack of housing" or "lack of economic opportunity" are mentioned, as long as these external forces are represented as frustrating inner needs or achievement values. Thus, the lows refer to external difficulties as obstacles to self-expression and security, whereas the highs refer to external difficulties in themselves merely as a sign of general dissatisfaction, without indicating what inner needs or values are frustrated (see below).

2. *Focal dependency and love-seeking.* These responses reflect a desire for close personal relationships involving emotional warmth and exchange. The sense of lack of love and of focal relationships, often found in love (cf. Chapter XI), must be distinguished from the highs' feeling of aloneness and isolation in a generally barren world (see below). The loneliness of the highs represents, as it seems, underlying dependency which must remain ego-alien and which finds little or no positive, ego-satisfying expression.

Examples: "Moods where you feel like pouring out your soul to a person." "To love someone and not be loved back." "To feel alone when in the company of others; this can occur even after a period of congeniality." *Feelings of rejection* are scored low: "to appear ridiculous"; "to love but not be loved"; "to be laughed at unjustly." (However, a response is scored high if it involves a sense of active threat—rather than merely loss or lack of love—as well as extrapunitiveness and feelings of persecution. For example: "to be made a fool of"; "when a friend turns against me.") The dependency, self-blame, and depressive affect in lows may also take a more "cosmic" form (*Weltschmerz*): "When I feel what fools all we humans are." The highs are disturbed by the supposed stupidity or immorality of others rather than by any ideas of these trends in themselves; nor do they have a "world-identification."

3. *Open hostility, by self or others, toward love objects.* The lows are upset by feelings of hostility in themselves and by hostility and exploitiveness in others. The disturbing hostility may take two forms, *ideological* and *interpersonal.*

Ideologically, we find references to faults in our social system and social authority: discrimination, exploitation, insecurity, violations of democratic values.

Examples: "Thinking of the rotten, ruthless practices that go on under the name of rugged individualism and unrestricted initiative in the U.S.A." "Concern over the shortcomings of Americans and thus the nation." "The slowness of social progress; the stupidity of the powers that be." "Unemployment and lack of security for the average man or veterans."

In the sphere of interpersonal relations, hostile impulses or acts directed toward friends and love objects are a source of disturbing moods in low scorers.

Examples: "When I feel I have hurt a friend." "Envy, hatred, revenge, resentment." "When I feel a general dislike towards friends and the world in general." "Intolerance; cruelty to people." "Resentment toward parents." (It is characteristically low that *ambivalence* toward parents is more accessible to consciousness, though often conflict-producing.) "*Anger*" when it is the total response is scored Na. In connection with the thesis, presented in earlier chapters, that psychological themes can be found in the specific content of the individual's ideology, it is interesting to note that similar psychological content characterizes both the "ideological" and the "interpersonal" responses to this question.

In summary, the main trends expressed in the above categories are: violation of achievement values, resulting in conscious conflict, remorse, and self-criticism; intrapunitiveness; intraception; libidinized interpersonal relationships; focal, ego-assimilated dependency strivings; depressive affect focused on lack of achievement and on rejection by love objects; open ambivalence toward love objects and family members.

High Categories (Question 1)

1. *Violations of conventional values.* This category is the high equivalent to the "conscious conflict and guilt" category for the lows. These values are concerned with activity, success, upward mobility, and rugged masculinity in men, and with "sweetness and light" femininity in women. They also involve certain behavior formulae regarding etiquette and interpersonal relations, and an emphasis on conformity *per se.*

Examples: "Not making a success of life." "Not advancing in life." "Not doing something useful." "Lack of purpose" (i.e., not having aims, in contrast to the frustration of aims in lows). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the high masculinity-status values, with their external criterion of success, from the low achievement values, with their inner orientation and their emphasis on self-expression. The difference in the examples above is in the use of the word "advancing" rather than "accomplishing," or "useful" rather than "contributing to the welfare of others." Another characteristic of certain high responses is their concern with *externally imposed tasks* or duties rather than with inner strivings. For example: "Not meeting expected requirements." What is implied here is shame over being caught and social anxiety over nonconformity, rather than guilt over value violations (violations that are felt internally whether or not they are observed by others).

Violations of conventional values (immorality) *by others* are included here. For example: "Seeing crude sexual behavior." "Drinking, breaking the law." "Anyone who displays bad habits publicly irritates all." "Disgust over filth and smut." "Disgust with human nature and people." These responses reflect trends mentioned previously: moral punitiveness, cynicism, the tendency to seek out, and to find, immorality in the world (especially in outgroups) rather than in oneself.

Finally, we find responses in which *hostility* toward friends and morality figures (parents, relatives, social authority, and the like) is implied though not explicitly stated or recognized.

Examples: "Little frictions with parents." "When my husband doesn't act right toward me." "Lack of harmony with friends." The emphasis is on the behavior or the situation in itself, without reference to motives or specific affect. Compare these responses with those of lows: "Resentment toward parents"; "When I feel I have hurt a friend." When an individual who is shown to be consistently high on other measures gives a response like "Worry over family members" or "Death of relatives" it is not difficult to infer that he or she feels hostility towards these people, hostility which is projected in the form of the idea that family members may be harmed by other people or by bad luck. Suffice it to say that responses of this sort are given predominantly by highs, and are scored H. The response "Fighting in Germany" is scored high because of its reference to motor aggression *per se* without specific psychological content (needs, affect, values); similarly in the case of "Long labor disputes."

2. *Threatening or nonsupporting environment:* focus on external obstacles, lacks, and threats, with an (implied) unconscious sense of helplessness and dependency. Theoretical discussion must be deferred until later; however, in order clearly to differentiate the high and low categories the following theoretical point must be made. As we know from the interviews and the T.A.T., highs and lows do not seem to differ in the amount of their underlying dependency (or other deep trends); the difference lies, rather, in the way such impulses are handled and integrated in the personality. Dependency is implied in the responses of many lows and many highs, but the form of expression differs systematically in the two groups. The emotional intensity, active sorrow, and focal conflict of the lows, as well as the intellectual and ideological strivings and the search for close relationship, are not difficult to distinguish from the emotionally shallow, ego-alien loneliness, and objectless passivity of the highs. The responses in the high categories for this question reveal an inner poverty, an external orientation, and a nonfocalized dependency on the outer world; these individuals are, so to say, glad when the world supports them and sad when their supports leave, with a minimum of self-determination and self-awareness.

One common type of response among the highs involves feelings of doubt, uncertainty, and momentary *lack of self-confidence.* These individuals are in doubt as to which is the more correct or success-producing act, whereas the lows feel intense inner conflicts between two impulses or between an impulse, e.g., hostility, and inner moral standards. The focus in the high responses is on the act itself or on the undependability of the environment. Interpretively, the lack of self-confidence seems primarily to be anxiety in a social situation which is unconsciously apperceived as threatening.

Examples: "The feeling that regardless of prearranged plans and ideas it is never possible to be sure of what a new day will bring." "The uncertainty of the future." "The feeling of people and places having changed so much that one feels lonely and loses self-confidence." "Unsure of taking the right step in business."

The highs are most disturbed by *lack of support* rather than lack of love,

by isolation or threat rather than rejection. Their frustrations in regard to interpersonal relations seem to be experienced as a sort of undifferentiated "aloneness" without an aspect of active affection-seeking or focal relationship.

Examples: "To feel that I am not liked or wanted where I am." "To feel out of place in the company I am in and not be sure of my next move." "Being alone without company" (fear of solitude in this context is high). "When I feel alone and no one to turn to." These responses may also involve a sense of being persecuted or *victimized*, as well as a marked extrapunitive quality and feelings of self-pity. For example: "To feel cast aside." "The 'don't give a darn' feeling when you think nobody cares what happens to you." "When a friend turns against you." "Someone convicts you of something you never did." "Feeling the world is against me."

The affect of the highs is less clear-cut and focalized than that of the lows. It often takes the form of vague, *undifferentiated worry*, or of generalized dissatisfaction.

Examples: "Worry about the future." "Realization of impending danger." "Emotional moods." "When everything goes wrong." The single word "worry" is commonly given by highs. "Feeling absolutely lost." Responses such as "worry about the future" and "lack of money" are clearly high. However, the response "financial insecurity," with no clarifying context, should be scored Na, since its external orientation seems high, while its reference to insecurity as an inner state is low; not frequently given, it occurs almost equally in highs and lows.

While *fear* is implied by a number of the responses above, it is almost never given explicitly by highs, and evidence from other chapters suggests that they do not recognize these as fear experiences. Responses such as "fear" and "apprehension," though rare, are usually given by lows and should be scored L.

3. "*Rumblings from below.*" These responses refer to situations or bodily conditions which, by inference though not explicitly, tend to bring out ego-alien trends such as passivity, anxiety, and hostility.

Examples: "Quietness, boredom, inactivity." "When at a party everything is quiet and dead as a morgue." "Lack of work or anything to do, causing restlessness and lack of self-confidence." The reference to *lack of work* is interesting in connection with the compulsive value for work commonly found in highs; work and "keeping busy" would appear, for some individuals at least, to have the psychological function of reducing anxiety and of aiding in the inhibition of unaccepted impulses. Perhaps this is the dynamic meaning of the slogan, "Keeping busy is the best way of staying out of mischief"; the mischievous impulses are conceived as "rumblings from below," as waiting only for an idle moment to force themselves through. Also evident in these responses are the anti-intraception and the opposition to leisure discussed in earlier chapters.

Another common source of disturbance is *poor bodily condition:* fatigue, hangover, sickness, headache, and the like. There may also be references to strain, external pressure, and overwork, that is, conditions which threaten

the mind by harming the body. Once again there is no reference to inner needs, values, or emotions as such, but only a vague sense of threat, restlessness, or dissatisfaction. The underlying but unrecognized fear of body harm seems to be a major cause of anxiety. In addition, being "fatigued" or overworked is a condition in which defenses are lowered and unaccepted trends may break through. The person then has a "nervous breakdown"—something conceived as having a physiological rather than a psychological origin. It is of some interest that the highs are threatened by both lack of work and overwork; inactivity will turn one's mind to the wrong things, but overactivity—being too good for too long, so to speak—may intensify the bad impulses and weaken the defenses beyond the threshold of control. Work appears, therefore, to be a form of punishment as well as a value and a defense for these individuals.

4. *Omissions* are recorded as Nb but are considered as H in computing individual or group scores (agreement with E). While the total number of omissions is small (about 8 per cent), most of the omitters were highs; this is consistent with the greater anti-intraception and fear of "prying" in highs.

Question 2. What Desires are Most Difficult to Control?

Low Categories

All low categories for this question are bound up with violations of achievement values by oneself or others.

1. *Focal (usually verbal) hostility directed against violators of achievement values.* In the ideological sphere we find opposition to fascism, militarism, discrimination, suppression, exploitation, autocracy, and the like. In the sphere of interpersonal relations similar basic values are expressed in the form of opposition to hypocrisy, intellectual dishonesty, pompousness, narrowness, unfairness, and the like.

Examples: "To lash out at those people who voice an attitude of racial discrimination or an attitude of a dishonest intellect." "Getting mad at native fascists." "To walk out on people who are unmitigated boors or fools—usually I'm too curious to see everyone else's reaction to do so" (note also the psychological curiosity). "Upbraiding individuals having a 'don't give a damn' attitude in matters that are important; and those that fail to consider relative values." "The desire to devaluate men" (this is scored low for the focal hostility and competition with men). "The desire to deflate pompous, loud-mouthed people."

The response may also involve inner conflict over being hostile and rebellious (against oppressive convention or authority) as opposed to being tactful or submissive.

For example: "To express an opinion when it is more tactful to remain subordinate, as in the navy when you feel anything but subordinate; to accept militarism." "To disregard conventions and speak out of turn when I encounter hypocrisy." "Telling people about fallacies in our economic system and the impossibility of

returning to prewar times; not to carry out the patriotic ballyhoo thrust on service men." "To express my feelings with people who wouldn't understand." (The last response should be distinguished from the high response, "Talk about my emotions"; in the latter there is a generalized, objectless need and inhibition, whereas in the former we find the desire for personal relationship as the basis for sharing of emotions.)

2. *The tendency to violate achievement values oneself.* These responses are concerned with interpersonal relations rather than ideology. They usually involve some degree of *inner conflict* between achievement values and pleasurable impulses (play, ego-satisfying passivity, intellectuality, sensuality). The main values involved are for nurturance and love-giving, as when one fails to realize an accepted obligation toward a friend, or for achievement, as when the individual does not actively strive toward serious goals but rather allows himself to be side-tracked into immediately pleasurable pursuits. That this is an *inner* conflict must be stressed: the conflict involves moral standards or obligations which the individual accepts as his own and which take the form of promptings from within, in contrast to the highs' reference to externally imposed tasks and duties. A further difference is that the passivity is ego-assimilated and satisfying for the lows, diffuse and ego-alien for the high scorers (see below).

Examples: "The desire to listen to music when I have work to do." "Self-indulgence" (note also the explicit self-criticism). "Being true to myself." "An impulse to procrastinate; to take the obvious easy course when a more direct facing of obstacles could enable me to obtain what I desire." "The wanderlust to see what the other part of the country is doing, or on a nice day, the desire to be enjoying it by fishing or hunting." "To be indifferent." "Be lazy and sleep." "Running away from trouble" (this is not the same as "forget my troubles," which is repressive rather than escapist and is scored H). Also scored here are responses involving guilt as a consequence of *hurting others* (emphatic focus on their feelings) or of violating other values. For example: "To blame rather than to understand." "Use the wrong means to achieve desirable aims."

3. *Miscellaneous.* Several relatively infrequent responses may be considered here. "*Fear*" is, as on Question 1, a low response. Most *sex* responses by *men* are scored H (see below). They are scored L when they are more personalized and subtle, or when they show some signs of surface inhibition. For example: "In my admiration of feminine beauty I find it hard at times to keep from staring." For *women*, however, most sex references are scored L, even when only the single word is given. Example: "Being too affectionate with the 'man in my life.'" "Amorous desires." "Falling in love." Conventionalized sex responses by women, e.g., "Going out on too many dates," are scored H.

Denial of hard-to-control impulses, e.g., the response "None," is more common in lows than in highs and is scored L. This empirical result was not anticipated; it is consistent with the apparently greater impulsivity of lows

and their emphasis on independence and self-expression. (If high contextual features, e.g., anti-intraception, are present, a score of H is given.)

High Categories (Question 2)

1. *Nonfocal and/or motor aggression.* One of the most unequivocally high forms of response involves concrete, impersonal, aggressive acts, usually directed against "irritating" people.

Examples: "Spanking a very fresh or mean child." "Deliberately smashing into a foolish driver, the majority being women" (this response by a man who on other items shows a surface idealization of women). "The desire to slug the guy that talks for hours about the rough time he had in the service when you know he has been a U.S.O. Commando most of the time."

The high aggressive impulse tends to be cognitively blind and undifferentiated, and to have a symptomatic quality.

Examples: "The desire to beat my way out of a crowded place just to see how many persons I could overcome before I would be stopped." "The desire to keep moving so as not to slug somebody." "Temper." "The desire to blow my top when I get angry."

Verbal aggression in a context of low values is, as noted above, scored L. However, *undifferentiated verbal aggression*, without reference to values or to the nature of the object, is scored H.

For example: "Speaking my mind." "Tell people what I think of them." "Telling people off." Aggression against unconventional people or against liberal ideas may be included here; e.g., "To rebel against unionism." There is often an extrapunitive and projective element in the aggression of the highs; the idea of "being taken advantage of" is sometimes used to justify the hostile impulses. *Neutral scores* (Na): verbal aggression in which the values or context are unclear; "anger" alone without a qualifying context.

Responses which seem to represent more disguised forms of hostility, particularly in high women, may be mentioned here. These refer mainly to "impatience," to "stubbornness," or to domineering tendencies, usually without further qualification. They are occasionally given in a low context; for example: "The desire to 'lecture' and be too sure I am right." This is scored L because of the implicit self-criticism, the recognition of her own fallibility, and the recognition that the desire to help or teach may be tied up with dominance.

2. *Ego-alien passivity*. In contrast to the lows, the highs give relatively few responses involving passivity. Moreover, these responses do not refer to escapist enjoyment or to self-criticism and inner conflict. High passivity seems, rather, to involve mainly the idea of *task-avoidance*, of shirking an externally imposed duty (cf. also Chapter XIII).

Examples: "To procrastinate." "Not carry out what is expected of me." (Score

Na when the response involves the idea of running away from responsibilities and there is no indication as to whether the responsibilities have an internal or external origin.)

What seems also to express a primitive passive trend is the desire to "*forget everything*," to blot out the world and focus on cheerful things (as in Item 9, F scale, Form 45). Again we find a sense of threat from an overwhelming environment and an external orientation rather than an inner conflict and a conscious moral dilemma.

Examples: "Forgetting everything and traveling and looking for something more interesting." "The urge to run away and forget everything." "Going out on a real high bender and forget my troubles." (Note: "drink to forget" is high but "drink" alone is neutral.)

3. *Impersonal sex.* As noted above, most sex responses (even relatively crude ones) by women are scored L. More conventionalized responses, e.g., "Going out on dates," "Flirting," or "Getting married" are scored H. In men, on the other hand, most sex responses are given by highs. The most common response is simply "Sex" or "Sex matters." There is also a tendency to assume that sex impulses would "naturally" cause the most difficulty, e.g., "Desires relating to sex, *of course*." It would appear that some high men emphasize sex as part of their general emphasis on rugged masculinity, while some low women bring in sex as part of their rebellion against traditional nonsensual femininity. The sex responses of the high men have an impersonal, undifferentiated quality similar to that found in their aggression responses. For example: "Keeping my emotions in check when out with a beautiful blonde." "The desire to accompany women of the world." The lows tend to refer either to a love object with whom there is some psychological relationship, or to a love affair involving ego-accepted sensuality. It is certainly of theoretical interest that the latter form of response is more common in unprejudiced women than in unprejudiced men.

4. *Incidental pleasures and violations of conventional values.* The main qualities of these responses are their emotional diluteness, their lack of strong object-relationship, their concreteness (reference to specific acts), and their concern with minor conventions.

Examples: "Sweet tooth." "Overeating." "Use slang." "Travel." "Talking at the wrong time." "Break light bulbs in church." "Scream in church; scream when annoyed." "Have too much fun." References to "Too much activity" or to "Over-indulging in sports" are sometimes given by high men; these desires appear to be related to concern with masculinity and may in some cases represent a defense against underlying passive impulses—impulses which find indirect expression on other items or techniques.

One of the more common forms of response in this category involves concern with *money*, particularly with spending it too freely rather than retaining it.

Examples: "Be extravagant." "Spending money wantonly and spending time wantonly." "Gambling." "I like to buy novels but I try not to as it costs so much money." There is sometimes self-idealization and/or self-pity. For example: "Desire to spend for others' benefits." "Help others at own expense." The highs' concern with money may well be related to their accusations of "money-mindedness" in outgroups.

There are several responses which are marginal to this category. While simple denial is scored L, denial in a context of "*will power*" or of anti-introception is H. For example: "I don't have any difficulty controlling any desire if I make up my mind to a thing." Emphasis on will power is seen in the response, "Walking straight ahead when passing a cocktail bar." The idea of not planning or giving thought to decisions is also H; for example: "Jumping into something new without thinking of the consequences beforehand."

5. *Omissions* are recorded as Nb but are considered as H in the final scoring. The frequency of omissions was about 19 per cent—more than on any other item (see Table 2(XV)).

Question 3. What Great People do you Admire Most?

Low Categories

Once again the concept of achievement values provides a unifying context for understanding the low responses. The several low categories represent various forms of expression of values for intellectual, aesthetic, and scientific achievement, for social contribution and for democratic social change. Usually the responses contain specific names of individuals representing these values. Occasionally, however—and this is more common in lows than in highs—a general abstract definition of admirable qualities is given.

Examples of general description: "Those people that I admire most are perhaps those that have at great personal risk and danger fought unstintingly against fascism—perfectly aware of all the implications of fascism." "Men who have had the courage to stand up against public opinion in order that some good might come of their position." "Those who have contributed most to the spiritual and social improvement of mankind." "Musicians and artists, any person with real creativeness." "I admire great writers, great thinkers, and people who really left mankind something of value."

Specific names fall into the following broad categories:

1. *The arts and philosophy*. Artists included here are writers, musicians, intellectuals, painters, architects, and so on. Examples: Shakespeare, Steinbeck, Robeson, Whitman, Pushkin, Beethoven, da Vinci, Bach, Voltaire. The writers tend to be liberal-radical and to write works of social and psychological significance, though this is not always so. There are a few high writers (see below).

The philosophers named include: Bertrand Russell, Comte, Mill, Dewey,

Spencer, Socrates, Maimonides. The lows occasionally—the highs almost never—admire individuals who are members of various minority groups (Jewish, Negro, Chinese, etc.). Certain *religious* figures are included in this category: Confucius, Buddha, St. Francis (see the neutral category below). Highs more than lows tend to mention Plato. Perhaps the reason for this is indicated by one high man who wrote: "Plato—the original personnel man." There are, so to speak, both low and high aspects to Plato's philosophy. If his name is given with others, one scores by context; if given alone, it is scored H.

2. *Physical and biological scientists.* (This does *not* include inventors or applied scientists or technologists, most of whom are scored H.) Sir William Osler, Newton, Washington Carver, Darwin, Einstein, Galileo, Pasteur, Madame Curie (particularly by men).

3. *Social scientists, liberal-radical political figures.* Jefferson, Marx, Tom Paine, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Wallace, Frances Perkins, Freud, Pestalozzi, Norman Thomas.

4. *Active denial of admiration.* For example: "I'm beholden to no man." "No one person stands out." However, omissions of this item are scored neutral.

Neutral Category. Several names seem to be given equally often by highs and lows; they may apparently be admired for high reasons or for low reasons.

The most common examples are Lincoln, F. D. Roosevelt, and Christ. (Roosevelt's popularity with highs was probably limited to the war period.) Any of these names, alone or in combination with each other, are scored Na; if additional names are given, one scores by context. For example, the response, "Washington, Lincoln, F.D.R." is scored H because of the context of patriotism (see below). The response, "Jefferson, Paine, Lincoln, Roosevelt" is scored L. Ernie Pyle is given mainly by highs, but without a context is scored Na. Will Rogers, Woodrow Wilson, and Willkie are Na.

Omissions are scored Neutral.

High Categories (Question 3)

The main trends underlying the high responses are ones which recur throughout the projective questions as well as in the several other techniques of the study: authoritarianism, anti-intraception, "toughness"-power, militarism, and ultraconservatism. These are exemplified in the following categories.

1. *Power and control.* Emphasis here is on the strong, rugged, masculine leader.

One favorite source is the *military:* Halsey, Patton, Marshall, Byrd, Doolittle, Rickenbacker, Bismarck, Caesar, MacArthur, Lindbergh, Napoleon. A corollary of the emphasis on strength is an emphasis on *suffering:* being vicitimized, martyred,

alone in a cruel world. For example: "The boys who died in the war for people who do not even appreciate it, as they show many times; being an ex-serviceman myself."

Among the high women *royalty* and nobility, particularly from past centuries, are quite popular. Certain *religious* leaders such as the Pope and Mary Baker Eddy are given predominantly by highs. Churchill seemed to have captured the imagination of many highs. A major source of names, particularly for the high men, is the area of practical invention, business, and technology, *industrial giants* being the most popular. Examples: Ford, Carnegie, Edison, leading manufacturers.

2. *Conservative Americana.* Men whose main distinction comes from being strong national leaders, usually in a military or politically conservative context. This category overlaps somewhat with the first.

Examples: Washington, Teddy Roosevelt, Herbert Hoover, Edgar Hoover, John Paul Jones, Dewey, "True Americans."

3. *Parents and relatives.* It is not uncommon for highs to list several family members, in addition to other individuals, in response to this question.

Example: "My mother who, although isn't famous or seemingly different from any other person, I think is one of the greatest persons alive today; you may think me prejudiced and childish, but I do have my reasons." It happens, though rarely, that a low mentions the parent of the opposite sex; this is scored L if the context is clearly low: "My Parents."

4. *Miscellaneous.* Responses expressing high trends but not in the above categories.

High women often mention actresses and movie stars, e.g. Kate Smith, Bing Crosby. Sabatini is a writer preferred by highs; best-seller authors are also included here for the most part. An example of a descriptive high response is: "My girl friends who live happily without any worry." (Superficial, anti-intraceptive.)

Scoring Procedure. Most subjects list several names in response to this question; the names may fall into more than one category, but they are usually uniformly high or uniformly low. In some cases, however, both H and L categories are represented. These cases are scored H, L, or Nhl according to the predominant trend.

Thus the response, "da Vinci, Ely Culbertson, Henry Ford" is scored H, while "Einstein, Edison, Carver" is scored L. One man gave a list of some 15 names representing most of the high and low categories above, with no apparent unifying theme or predominant trend; his response was scored Nhl. Clinically, he was a "conflicted low" who seemed to be struggling with opposing high and low trends, so that his score on this item was very meaningful.

Question 4. What Might Drive a Person Nuts?

Low Categories

Both low and high categories for this question are similar to those for Question 1 (Moods). The lows tend to respond mainly in terms of psycho-

logical conflict and frustration. They have an intraceptive orientation and they emphasize the role of the individual himself in the neurosis. Once again we find a context of achievement values and active striving—striving which is made difficult by inner problems or by external blocks.

1. *Inner psychological states.* The main concepts here are focal conflict and anxiety. There is often a strong sense of failure, of self-blame, of helplessness or impotence.

Examples: "Inability to cope with problems; frustration." "Hardly anything that would make them express the above opinion (see the full statement of this question); sometimes complete suppression of a person's feelings, emotions, energies would do it." "Self-condemnation." "His own failure to put an end to the situation causing the disturbance or to stop thinking about it." "Despair caused by inability to cope with distressing situations; continual criticism without constructive suggestions." "Frustrations, pointlessness of existence, morbidity, sorrow, *violation of one's ego.*" "Insecurity." "Tension without release." "Being dishonest with oneself; wrong attitude toward life's problems." References to *fear* are low.

While undifferentiated "worry" or "brooding" are high, there is a kind of focal, *differentiated worry* or anxiety which is scored L. By this is meant not a vague anxiety in the face of a generally threatening world, but concern over specified personal frustrations.

Examples: "Continual worry about family problems, continual striving to earn a living." "Worry, emotional or economic." "Severe emotional strain, especially if combined with physical hardships or pain." (The highs often refer to physical hardships per se, but they seldom refer to the actual experience of emotion or pain.)

The inner life of the lows, while apparently relatively rich and satisfying in many ways, seems often to be stormy and conflictful. The sense of going too far, of being carried away by emotion, of having *too much inner life*, so to speak, may be expressed in responses to this item.

Examples: "Letting our emotional states wear us down." "Exaggerating one's personal problems." Obsessional trends are sometimes exhibited: "The man's mind is in a groove or rut; unless he has a varied interest, he will go insane from worry and thinking of one thing." "A person might become insane over too much interest in religion, love, money, etc.; any obsession carried too far might do it." The lows' references to inner life can be distinguished from those of the highs on the basis of their greater awareness, and acceptance, of emotion and of their more differentiated introspective experience. Compare the responses above with the high responses: "Worry" or "constant worry of a particular thing." Or compare the low response, "Too much self-analysis" with the high, "Talk oneself into it." (See high category 2, below.) In general, responses indicating rejection of inner life are more common in highs than lows.

2. *Dominating, blocking, rejecting environment.* These responses may take an "interpersonal" or an ideological form. In the former case, the individual is in a disturbing situation from which he cannot extricate himself, in part for inner reasons (explicit or implicit). Moral conflict and open *ambivalence* are

often expressed. There is not only hostility toward a dominating or rejecting person, but also some feeling of relationship or obligation. Surface conflict about hostility, especially toward love objects or those who represent both love and authority, is fairly common among lows. (The highs appear to resolve their ambivalence toward the ingroup by maintaining only the positive side in consciousness and by [unconsciously] redirecting the hostility toward outgroups, thus avoiding for the most part a clear-cut sense of inner conflict.)

Examples: "Living on intimate terms with people who insist on controlling every move." "Being mad or constantly irritated by one whom you must associate with." Compare these with the high response: "Worry, or have to live with and be nice to selfish or disagreeable or unpleasant people."

References to an *unhappy childhood*, to depriving parents, or to lack of love are low. However, references to bad parents in terms of poor discipline or lack of discipline, are scored H. While the idea of overwork or lack of *rest* is high, references to lack of *leisure* or of pleasant relaxation (ego-satisfying passivity) are low.

The more ideologized responses refer to the social system as creating insecurity and frustration, or as making complex and contradictory demands which the individual cannot meet. The imagery of the "social system" is similar to that of the family authority: dominating, rejecting, stifling.

References to "oppression" by lows and highs are sometimes difficult to distinguish. Thus, a low wrote: "Prolonged persecution could drive a person nuts, particularly if he felt un-united with anyone else and felt that he alone was subjected to the full brunt of the persecution." By way of contrast, note the following high response: "Constant oppression by employers, fellow-workers, or unions." In the high response we find not only the antiunion sentiment, but also a feeling of generalized threat and a strong extrapunitive quality with no self-orientation or intraception. The low, on the other hand, expresses intraception, an attempt at self-analysis, and a desire for strong emotional ties with his environment.

Neutral Responses. Facetious references to the questionnaire as a cause of going nuts are neutral. Presumably the highs' reasons for rejecting the test is their anti-intraception and opposition to "prying," whereas the lows are disturbed by the large number of scale items with which they strongly disagree. However, references to the projective items, and to this one in particular, are scored H. For example: "Trying to answer questions like this one" (see high category 2, below). References to *diet* and *nutrition* are neutral in themselves; they are given, usually as part of a larger response, more often by low than by high scorers.

High Categories (Question 4)

The main variables underlying these responses include anti-intraception, extrapunitiveness, external orientation, ego-alien passive-dependency, hos-

tility, and anxiety; and an emotionally shallow diffuse inner life, These characteristically high variables also emerged from the analysis of interviews and of T.A.T. material.

1. "*Rumblings from below.*" The rationale for this concept has been given above (Question 1: Moods). The orientation in these responses is toward the individual rather than toward the situation, but there is no reference to inner insecurities, conflicts, or affective states. On a more interpretive level, we find a superego-ridden ego with a rigid moral façade; "going nuts" involves break-through of the underlying impulses or anxieties and destruction of the façade. The popular expression, "blow your top" and "blow your cork" are literal representations of this underlying imagery. They refer primarily to quasi-psychotic episodes rather than to neurotic symptoms. The main ego defenses seem to be projection, denial, and reaction-formation (emphasis on work, opposition to leisure).

One common type of response involves the idea of *overwork*, strain, or pressure.

Examples: "Pressure." "Overwork, mental fatigue, or nervous strain." "Too much work (physical or mental)." "Undertaking too much." "Overtaxing your strength in business or social affairs." "Continual difficulties, suspense." "Too long hours at work; debt." "Long hours—16 or 18 hours a day for 7 days a week working on something that doesn't keep you busy constantly" (note the combined emphasis on overwork as well as boredom, and the fear of "having your mind unoccupied"). "Overwork—lousy physical conditions coupled with sudden shock." "The constant grind and routine of everyday life would drive me nuts if I couldn't find some way to lose myself; my books serve this purpose." In the last example, books apparently have a defensive, anti-intraceptive function rather than a creative or expressive one. Fear of overwork seems to exist most strongly in just those individuals who value work most. By inference—and this is supported by much clinical material—the overwork represents overconformity or "being too good for too long," something which leads to the break-through of passivity and/or hostility against external work-demanding authority.

Once again we find frequent references to *worry* with a minimum of elaboration or differentiation. Worry is often related to *body anxiety* and fear of physiological ("nervous") breakdown. Indeed, the references to overwork above often involve, implicitly or explicitly, the idea that mental breakdown is caused primarily by body breakdown. This underlying anxiety over body weakness and threat of body harm in the ethnocentric men stands in marked contrast to their surface emphasis on rugged masculinity which is expressed in other projective questions as well as in other techniques.

Examples: "Sickness, ill health, worry, trouble." "Insanity is (due) to several things, most of which are physical deteriorations; disease or sudden shock." "Loss of his senses (sight, etc.) or the fatigue of battle." "Unknown illness not treated in time."

Excessive *drinking* is included here because it represents a bodily rather than a psychological threat. Another common cause given is *heredity*. For example: "Wouldn't go mad without an innate streak of insanity." "Taxing self beyond innate ability." The hereditarian theory of neurosis is like the hereditarian theory of group differences and human nature; it helps to obviate the necessity for looking inward or for seeking psychosocial explanations of human behavior.

While *anti-intraception* is an aspect of many of the above responses, it is in many cases the primary theme. These responses are usually not difficult to differentiate from low category 2 ("too much inner life"). "Going nuts" is attributed to thinking about oneself or to straining one's mind.

Examples: "A strain on his nerves from overconcentration or something." "Intent concentration for a long period of time (years)." "Talk self into it." "Thinking too much about your own troubles and forgetting to let God help you." (Compare this with the low response: "Not learning to face problems squarely in the face and with courage.") "His imagination runs away with him." The response, "Trying to answer questions like this one," expresses both opposition to "prying" by others and a sense of discomfort and threat in the face of one's own emotions.

Individuals giving the above responses seem afraid to look inward at all, for fear of what they will find. Is this one basis for the tendency, at least in its more extreme forms, to regard extroversion as good, introversion as bad? A similar idea is expressed in Item 9 of the Form 45 F scale: One should concentrate on "cheerful things" and not think about "worries or problems." It seems also to be involved in the idea of leisure merely as rest from work or as escape rather than as a means of self-expression and self-understanding.

Responses referring to "*loss of loved ones*" or to worry over possible loss or harm, may be included here since they seem to express the rumbling of deep-lying hostility toward family and ingroup members.

As mentioned previously, the highs tend to handle their ambivalence toward family members by exaggerating the surface positive feelings (idealization, admiration, submission) and by deflecting the hostility by means of projection (imagery of outgroups and human nature), displacement and rationalization (hostility expressed directly but explained as moral indignation), and so on. The infrequent references by lows to concern over loved ones usually involve more explicit indications of strong personal relationship.

2. *Threatening, irritating, or nonsupporting environment.* These responses show a predominantly external orientation, with no reference to the individual's inner needs, strivings or values, and with no implication of surface inner conflict. Neurosis is, so to speak, imposed on the individual from without, by an invidious stimulus or idea that overwhelms his mind much as a germ infects the body.

Examples: "Continued irritating noises or lights, also pain or torture; depends on the person and his weaknesses; religion and alcohol are the two most frequent things in my belief." "Monotonous humdrum such as a quiet routine or just the opposite as a bombardment; from one extreme to the other." "Another war will drive most of the people nuts—mostly people who have been in World War II" (by a veteran).

"Constant noise of unpleasant nature, such as shrill whistles." "Continuous arguing, tedious work, lots of noise." "The current strikes, the uncertainty of the times, governments of the world constantly bickering." "A nagging wife, Harry James' Orchestra." "A continual series of things going wrong." "Financial troubles." "Loss of money."

The idea of aloneness, without reference to actual relationship or to strivings for love, is included here. For example: "Loneliness and departure from a nice manner of living; solitude, etc." *Fear of solitude* per se is high; it seems to represent, as do many of the examples above, underlying anxiety in the face of an environment unconsciously felt to be threatening. References to *self-pity* are fairly common and are consistent with the extrapunitive, projective trends in some of the other responses. For example: "Constant self-pity and imagination of a thousand ills." References to *sexual frustration* are usually high in men, low in women, although contextual qualities must be considered in scoring.

The idea of *monotony* or *tedious work* is high, particularly when the general context of the response indicates boredom, lack of stimulation, or other high trends; it is scored L when there is some indication of blocked inner (achievement) values and needs.

An example of a high response is: "Continuous repetition of a disliked subject or action." By way of contrast, consider the following response: "Frustration from lack of factors in the environment which will interest or inspire him in any way whatever." Despite the external orientation, this response is scored L because of the reference to frustration and the desire for inner satisfaction.

3. *Omissions* of Question 4 are statisticized as H. Omissions occurred in only 4 per cent of the cases, but three-fourths of these were highs (see Table 2(XV)). This result is consistent with the anti-intraception and other trends differentiating those high from those low in prejudice.

Question 5. Worst Crimes a Person Could Commit?

Low Categories

The main inner problem to which these responses refer is aggression, the primary difference between lows and highs lying in the manner of handling this deep-lying need. Formal low categories have not been distinguished for this item, but certain general properties of the low responses may be indicated. *Achievement values* once again provide a moral frame of reference. Intraception, understanding, hesitancy in condemning, identification with the underdog, intense personal relationships, and the like are common qualities of the low responses. Concern with crimes against the personality is much more common than concern with crimes against the body; and bodily harm, when it is referred to, is described in a less primitive and a more object-related way. There is strong concern with the psychological development and integrity of the individual. It is convenient here as

elsewhere to distinguish the ideological area from that of interpersonal relationships.

In the sphere of *ideology* we find references to exploitation and discrimination against minority groups, lower economic classes, "the common man," and other nations. Also references to crimes against "humanity" or "society" as a whole.

Examples: "The worst possible crime a person can commit would be that of true treason; by true treason I mean the motive or attempt to injure, impair, or jeopardize those things that are dear to the majority and of their best interests." "Race extermination and starting wars." "Hate, intolerance, narrowness; his crimes against society as a whole." "Selling out his fellow man for profit to himself." "Each crime is different—depends on motivation and result; in general, crimes against fellow man, Jew-baiting, etc." "Permit mob rule, economic exploitation." "Racial persecution and the enforced militarism of a country during peacetime." "Slavery, including mental slavery, warping and distorting the minds of children."

With regard to *interpersonal relationships* we find themes and qualities similar to those above.

Examples: "Tell a person's confidence; get personal gain from another's rights." "Graft, fraud, etc. at the expense of innocent victims; malicious slander" (while graft and fraud given alone are high, the focus on the victims and the last part of the response suggest a score of L). "The greater sins are committed by us who know the right and the needs of others but 'pass by on the other side' " (this response was given by a strongly religious low; compare with high religious responses). "Betrayal of principles, friends." "Avarice, intolerance." "Hypocrisy, deception; be untrue to oneself." There are frequent criticisms of *authority figures*. For example: "Abuse of authority." "Negligence on the part of a military commander or anyone that results in a loss of life."

While "murder" alone is scored Na, and brutality alone is H, responses involving *murder or physical attack* which bring in motivations and which describe more than the aggressive act itself are scored L.

Examples: "Murder for gain or envy." "Crimes done just to make people miserable." "Murder—because no man should have control over another's life" (intraception, achievement values). "Sadistically causing the suffering of others" (references to sadistic motives, to cruelty, and to resulting suffering are scored L, while the idea of "blind hate" implying breakdown of ego controls is scored H). "Brutality for the sake of seeing persons suffer." "Cruelty to helpless things." "Cause another to degenerate." "To take another's life" (more object-related than "murder"). References to crime as a *symptom* requiring psychological understanding also fall here.

A response involving *incest* and *matricide* was given once, by a low man and in a context meriting a score of L; "Incest with his mother or matricide, (crime against an individual); destroying world culture, that is books, sculpturing, etc. (crime against humanity)." (Parenthetical remarks by the subject.) This response seems to express, in a characteristically low form, deep ambivalence toward the mother in which love and hate motives are extremely strong. The ambivalence of the high men is not likely to be expressed in this way, and their erotic attachment to the mother is probably not as great (see the psychiatric clinic material, Chapter XXII). Note also

how this man's relationship to his mother has become the image on which is built his relationship to humanity and culture. References to incest or matricide in a moralistic context would be scored H.

Neutral Responses. "Murder" alone is scored neutral; it is given seldom, and about equally often by highs and lows. References to murder are common, but in a context that is usually clearly high or low. "Create war' without further qualification is scored Na. *Omissions* are neutral for this item. They occurred in 8 per cent of the responses.

This is the only item which the lows omitted slightly more frequently than did the highs (9 per cent and 7 per cent respectively). The following hypothesis may help to explain this result. Whereas the highs are disturbed by looking inward, the lows are more disturbed by looking outward at major value-violations, particularly aggressive ones. (This hypothesis might be tested by determining high-low differences in reading reports of aggressive crimes, the highs being expected to read, to condemn, and to enjoy these more without recognizing that personal motives are at work.) To the extent that the highly ethnocentric subjects are more punitive than the others, they would be expected to show more interest in crime and other punishment-evoking activities. The disturbance of the lows may also be due in part to the tendency to identify with the victim.

High Categories (Question 5)

1. *Crude aggression and sex.* These responses suggest, as have responses to previous items, that for many highs there is a deep-lying, ego-alien fund of aggression and sex. These trends seem to have remained relatively primitive, destructive, unsocialized; and they are not well fused with or modified by other trends in the ego. The frequent association of sex with aggression suggests that sex is conceived as aggressive and threatening. Aggression is aimed at the body of the victim, without reference to personal relationships or to psychological meanings for aggressor or victim. It has the primitive quality commonly found in the fantasies and fears of small children. (The same impersonal, destructive, object-less quality is often found in the current flood of mystery detective fiction, in which the hero, finding a close friend or relative murdered, immediately responds not with sorrow or concern but with moral indignation and a list of suspects.) The responses often refer to bizarre, destructive acts one might commit in a psychotic episode when ego-control and cognitive structuring of the environment are eliminated and unsocialized impulses break through.

Examples: Probably the most popular high response is "*Murder and rape.*" In the group of Veteran men, for example, this was given, sometimes along with other crimes, by 15 out of 26 highs as compared with 4 out of 25 lows. "Torture." "Sex crimes." "Murder without sufficient reason." "Rape on juveniles." "Sex crimes on children, women; kidnapping; murdering of newly born babies." "Having been a prisoner of war in the Philippines, I would consider some of the sights I saw there truly unprintable, but to my knowledge the worst crime that is printable would be rape."

References to *attacks on children* are fairly common; this is perhaps related to the fact that in San Quentin the sex offenders, many of whom engaged in sexual activities with children, were extremely high on ethnocentrism (see Chapter XXI). Occasionally there are *detailed concrete descriptions of brutal acts*. For example: "Kidnap a person, starve them for two weeks, then strangle them; after they are finally dead, dissect their body, wrap up the pieces and mail them home to the victim's parents."

2. *Other immoral acts*. These responses fall within a context of ethnocentrism, pseudopatriotism, and moral values dealing with conventional masculinity-femininity and conformity.

Examples: "Treason, traitorism, sedition" (crimes against the *status quo*). "Dope peddling, failure of a politician to protect his country." "Heresy." "Traitorous acts against those who have faith in him, as well as sex crimes." (This is a matter of not living up to others' expectations rather than a matter of personal relationship or inner demands.) "Adultery." "Crimes against his person, sex crimes, and to willfully smear a woman's name." "Murder, immoral acts, dishonesty." "To neglect himself and family" (no reference to relationship, motivation). "The one against the Holy Ghost." "Willful passing on of dangerous disease to other person" (body anxiety, concern with contamination).

3. *Various legal offenses*. We note here the tendency to think in formal, external, legal terms. Again the concern with property and money is expressed.

The more common specific offenses include robbery, stealing, larceny, blackmail, kidnapping, "Destruction of property," arson, manslaughter, and so on. References to murder in legalistic terms are included here: "Willful first-degree murder." "Unjustifiable homicide."

Question 6. Most Embarrassing Moments?

Low Categories

The defining context for the low responses includes violation of achievement values, self-blame and guilt, concern for the feeling of others, feelings of failure and inadequacy.

1. *Hurting another's feelings*. Both highs and lows often refer to acts which involve breaches of common courtesy. However, the highs ordinarily focus on the act per se and on the idea of etiquette, whereas the lows are concerned mainly with the problem of rejection and with the feelings of the other person. Also, there is often an element of self-reproach in the low responses.

Examples: "Forgetting things about others that I really should know" (explicit self-blame). "Unintentionally offending any person, but particularly any loved one or well-liked one." "When I have done anything tactless that may hurt someone, or any act of stupidity." "To see others suffer from embarrassment" (identification and empathy). "Walk into room at wrong moment, others are being intimate" (self-rejection for intruding, rather than rejection of others for behaving that way).

2. *Feelings of inadequacy, failure, being rejected.* In these responses the focus is mainly on oneself and there is explicit or implicit self-criticism.

Examples: "When I start talking, realize that I don't know what I'm talking about." "Ignorance—that is, not knowing well something I should know." "Meet someone and not know what to say." "Situations in which I am inadequate." "To be laughed at for failing to get off a presentable public speech; to be put in an embarrassing position by a person who outmaneuvers you mentally." ("Making a public speech" alone is Na.) "To find out that after taking a strong stand I was absolutely wrong." "People laugh at me, not with me." "Not go somewhere because I didn't have a date, then be asked how it was." "Asking someone something or some service" (scored L because of surface inhibition, inadequacy, implied fear of rejection).

The embarrassing situation may involve *moral obligation* and guilt. In some cases the individual does not meet his own inner standards; in other cases he does not want to do something or be with someone, but feels both obligation and open ambivalence.

Examples: "Not fulfilling promises I made." "When I feel I have neglected to do something I should have done." "Getting into some situation in which you had no desire to be but someone expected you to be there."

In general, references to *mistakes*, especially when they are described as silly or stupid, are scored L; they seem to be based on self-evaluation, inner focusing and intrapunitiveness.

Responses like "Exposure of my own weaknesses, I suppose" and "Being caught for the faker I am" are included here because of the explicit self-blame and the self-critical humor, although the idea of "exposure" or being caught, without this context, is high (see below).

High Categories (Question 6)

1. *Violations of convention and etiquette.* Probably the most common high response to this item refers to breaches of etiquette. The focus is on the behavior per se, on behavior which violates specific formulae of the Emily Post variety. There is almost never a reference to inner needs or faults, the violations usually being regarded as "slips" or unmotivated accidents. In this way guilt, self-blame, and ego-reference are made unnecessary. Whereas the embarrassment of the lows is primarily an inner matter, relatively independent of whether or not they were observed, the embarrassment of the highs depends almost entirely on being frowned upon by an external moral force. The idea of "being caught" is prominent in the high responses, and with it the implication that the same thing done without detection would not be embarrassing.

Examples: "Making a decided error in social etiquette would be the worst." "Forgetting names of people" (social anxiety, no reference to personal concern for person). "Faulty dress." "Saying something degrading of another person *within their hearing*" (author's italics). "To appear inefficient." "Saying the wrong thing at the wrong time." "When I talk about something and forget what I have been talking

about" (compare with L response: "Discover I don't know what I am talking about"). "When the children pipe up in front of company with something I've said about the person or some other innocent thing which sounds evil and embarrasses me." "When my husband is rude to me in front of other people" (inhibited hostility?). "If I am found being lax about kindness, courtesy toward everybody" (the idea of kindness (not love) toward *everyone* as a kind of task is not uncommon among people who, in the details of their ideology, ethnocentrically reject the bulk of mankind). "Being disapproved of." "Get called down for an error in front of other people" (compare with the L response: "Being exposed for the faker I am"). "Mispronounce words." "Guests arrive and the house is dirty or I'm unkempt." "Be accidentally rude or impolite." "Do something out of the ordinary." The idea of being threatened, rather than being rejected, is often an undercurrent in high responses. So too is extrapunitiveness. For example: "Dirty jokes (by others)." "People's thoughtlessness." The response "Nothing I can write here" is scored H for its "antiprying" character.

2. *Blows at exhibitionism and narcissism.* Many of the violations in Category 1 imply unacceptable conspicuousness and loss of prestige. The same thing is expressed more directly in this category. Some of the main properties of the H responses are social anxiety, rigid conformity and fear of nonconformity, emphasis on appearance (apparently based on a combination of conventionality and exhibitionism, though the motives are largely unrecognized by the individual), nonintraceptive approach.

Examples: "Walking into a crowded room with my shorts on." "To stumble in public." "Fall off a horse in a riding exhibition." "Fall on a banana peel with men watching." "Have my slip showing or a hole in my sock." "I passed out waiting for an elevator one day and even now I can remember my humiliation when I opened my eyes and saw 'thousands' of people gazing at me." The humiliation over fainting lends itself to interpretation in terms of ego-alien, anxiety-producing passive needs covered over by a masculine façade. Some anxiety regarding women or regarding sexual impulses (or both) is implied in such responses as "Being alone with a crowd of women" and "Surrounded by women."

Neutral Responses. *Omissions* are scored Na. They occurred in 9 per cent of the cases and equally often in highs and lows.

When the response deals with errors of tact in personal relationships and it is not clear whether the subject is disturbed over hurting someone's feelings (L) or violating a rule of etiquette (H), the response should be scored Na. The superficial event is the same; it is the *meaning* of the experience that differentiates highs from lows, and the meaning is sometimes ambiguous.

Often, however, subtle cues can be used. Consider, for example, the response, "When I talk to a person, repeat his name wrong over and over, don't realize my mistake till later." The two scorers, working independently and "blindly," both correctly assigned a score of L primarily on the basis of the phrase, "realize my mistake" which seemed to imply introspection and self-blame. Similarly, they gave score of H to the response, "Speaking or acting out of turn," a score of L to "Barging in where I don't belong." Most of the responses are more clearly H or L.

Question 7. How Would you Spend your Last Six Months?

Low Categories

1. *Achievement values: creativity and social contribution.*

Examples: "Conveying accumulated ideas to my fellow man." "I would like to spend such a time solely in creative endeavor." "Reading poetry, philosophy, studying psychiatry." "Fight intolerance and social wrongs." "Try to do something, anything, for mankind or at least help someone; will my eyes and nerves to medicine, find someone who could use them." (Words like *mankind* and *fellow man* are used frequently by lows, seldom by highs.) "Make people happy" (in contrast to H responses "try to be good" or "doing good deeds"). "If I were altruistic I would try to do as much as I could for the other person, but actually I would do everything possible to make my stay enjoyable" (scored L because of the surface conflict between social contribution and personal pleasure).

The general idea of "doing things for others" is expressed by both lows and highs, but in characteristically different forms. In the lows we find references to nurturance and love-giving which are either personalized towards a few love objects or else generalized to include all humanity.

Examples: "Try to make the world a better place for all to live in." "In doing the most I would be capable of for those of whom I am fond." In the highs, on the other hand, we find more moralized references to "doing good" rather than "making happy," and the generosity is usually directed toward individuals who are characterized as ingroup members rather than as love objects. For example: "Seeing if I could do the people I thought most of any good; my family, such as mother, father, sister and brother." In short, nurturance is scored L when it is found in a context of love, close relationship, and achievement values; it is scored H in a context of superficial conventionality and ingroup orientation. (It should be noted that there are many conventional lows, but their conventionality is expressed in a context of love-giving rather than conformity *per se*.)

2. *Open sensuality and active pleasure.* There were few references to sex, but most of these were by lows.

Examples: "Drinking and carousing around with women." "Making love." "Have a romantic love affair while touring South America." Sometimes a sexual-intellectual balance is sought: "Spend part of the time whoring around, most of the time trying to write 'the Great American Novel'—though I'm probably not good enough" (written by a low-scoring man).

The enjoyment of active sociability is characteristically low. It may occur in a sensual and/or intellectual context, or simply in the form of warmth and friendly interaction.

Examples: "Travel, enjoy life, take it easy with friends." "Spend the time with friends in a constant rush of vacation and work if they didn't know I had only 6 months; if they knew, I'd take off to spend the time with strangers—reading, playing, working." "I'd spend all that time with my friends, the people I know and like." "In the company of my wife and child, enjoying good shows, car rides, and

doing things I now do in my leisure" (compare to the highs' references to their families, below; note also the reference to *leisure*, a strong indication for scoring L). The high's references to pleasure are characteristically more dilute and empty, e.g., "Have a good time" or "Do as I please" (see below).

Reference to *seclusion* in the sense of "rejecting the world" may be included because, though apparently the opposite of sociability, it seems to spring from similar deep sources.

Example: "I would go to some wild country region where I could just live and not be disturbed by anyone or anything." (In this man's interview, the desire for solitude seemed associated with depressive feelings of rejection by the mother.) This is in marked contrast to the objection to solitude in highs (see also Items 1 and 4); some high men, however, give "seclusion" responses in which the primary source seems to be passivity rather than ego-recognized rejection of others.

High Categories (Question 7)

An important aspect of many high responses is *constriction of fantasy*. Although the question allows complete freedom of choice—"if you could do just as you pleased, how would you spend your time?"—some highs (and no lows in the present groups) make their actions explicitly conditional on the presence of certain external conditions. It is as if they cannot allow themselves a completely uninhibited fantasy, as if they cannot get away from concrete "reality" even for a moment. This unimaginativeness, or rather circumscription of ego bounds, seems related to the barren inner life, the shallow emotions, and the "escape into reality" which are also revealed in the F scale and in the interview material.

Examples: "Probably quit my job—if I had a job." "Perhaps go fishing in the Sierras if the season was right." "That is a question that is impossible to answer, as I do not know how I would act under those circumstances."

1. *Conventional morality and inhibition.* The main theme in these responses is making peace with God and man (particularly ingroups), in the sense of being "good," of conforming, of denying oneself active pleasure. Many of the responses are in a religious context, but it must be stressed that there are also low religious responses. (To repeat a scoring slogan: It is not the event as such, but the meaning of the event to the individual, that determines whether the score is H or L.) Compare for example the high response, "Making peace with God," with the low equivalent, "Working toward spiritual realization in a monastery." The highs' emphasis is on inner peace and harmony, *on the absence of conflict rather than on positive achievement.* Religious responses having such qualities as self-expression, intraception, and self-blame should be scored L. (See also low category 1.)

Examples: "I would try and do as much good as I could." "Be nice to everyone." "I would live with God and prepare myself to meet Him." "I'd meet as many people as I could, go all over the world and above all, go to church." "With my wife" (devoid of content, no sign of pleasure or relationship). "Being normal." (The

emphasis on *normality*, which is commonly expressed, suggests that the person is worried about "letting loose.") A recurrent high theme is that of "Getting my affairs in order," a sort of last-minute concern with compulsive detail. The response "*Commit suicide*" occurred in a few highs and no lows, and it was scored H. This response may reflect an authoritarian contempt for "cowards"; the individuals giving it would seem to regard death as more attractive than life–suicide being a temptation that "strong" men resist–something that the low scorers are not so likely to feel.

2. *Incidental, dilute pleasures.* These responses refer to pleasure-fun activities of a highly conventionalized, desensualized, and emotionally shallow nature. Interpretively, the individual is seeking satisfaction but his moral façade prevents the free, intense, ego-accepted expression of underlying impulses. *Travel* is probably the most common activity; whatever its other meanings (e.g., voyeuristic), it may also express the vague, undifferentiated desire for change (ego-alien rebellion?) which is also expressed in some of the interviews. These responses are distinguished from those in low category 2 by the lack of open sensuality and achievement values, and by the conventionalized quality.

Examples: "I would travel as far as possible, with a companion of the fair sex." "I think I would go the forest and wild life and enjoy some companionship, but be more or less reserved in my actions." "See interesting things, read books" (superficial, concrete, dilute). "I would spend the time at home and with my friends with a normal amount of recreation." "Marry–traveling around the world."

A "travel" response is scored L even when there is no explicit sensual quality, as long as there is some differentiation or detailed description. For example: "Traveling the world and visiting the countries to see their natural and man-made wonders and to see the natural habitats of the peoples of the world." "Travel to South America, Mexico and New York." There are, of course, transitional responses between the clearly high and the clearly low, but these are not numerous.

Included here also are responses in which there is no specific reference to what one would do but only to *empty pleasures*, e.g., "Have fun," "Spend money doing exactly what I please" (release of conventional inhibition), "Try to be happy."

All the references to *athletics* in the present groups were by highs, and were scored H. (Had athletics been mentioned in a clearly low context, it would have been scored L.)

Examples: "Probably quit my job–if I had a job; see as many sports events as I could; play golf and, I imagine, get drunk fairly often also" (by a "middle-class" man). "Traveling, playing golf, bowling; a great variety of activities and as little sleep as possible" (this is escape into reality rather than pleasure-sensuality). "Travel, adventure, general mischief, hazardous play." "Hunting and fishing."

When there is reference only to a single, specific behavior without a defining context, e.g., "go to camp," the response is scored *Neutral*. Also Na is the response, "Same as ever" when no qualifications are given.

3. *Passivity*. That many "high" men have considerable conflict between a surface emphasis on work-ambition-activity and an underlying, ego-alien passive-dependent trend, is suggested by several projective questions (1, 3, 4 especially), and it has been demonstrated by the material in other chapters. The passivity is occasionally expressed in the responses to this question. It is interesting that whereas the guiding (achievement) values of the lows come out more strongly than ever on this item, the guiding (work-success) values of the highs are less important, in the last six months—when one's individuality is at stake, so to speak—than are religious values,[5] passivity, or other pleasures. The main forms of passivity are sleep, fishing, and relaxing (in the sense of not working rather than of active leisure).

Examples: "Doing the things I like to do and *getting ten hours' sleep*" (underlining by subject). "I would go to a nice quiet place and just sit down by a stream and fish and think" (mainly passivity; insufficient evidence of intellectuality or intensity to merit a score of L). "Relaxing, but trying not to worry or I would die before my six months came up." "Not thinking about it" may be included here; it represents not only anti-intraception but also a high trend toward negative rather than positive solutions of inner problems.

4. *Omissions* are recorded as Nb, converted to H.

Question 8. What Experiences Would be Most Awe-inspiring?

Low Categories

1. *Realization of achievement values*. As discussed previously, these values may be expressed in terms of interpersonal relations, where they refer to personal achievement (intellectual, aesthetic, scientific), warm relationships and social contribution; or they may be expressed on an ideological level in the form of progressive social change, elimination of prejudice, and the realization of broad democratic values.

Examples: "To see the day when the people (collectively) really controlled their own destiny and would no longer be dictated to by special interests." "Mass emotion usually; awe that an emotion can be so uniform in so many people at the same time" (empathy, sense of unity with others). "The composition or fine performance of good music." "Impersonal and unselfish love for mankind." "The responsibility that a Negro friend of mine feels for 13 million people." "Birth of anything new—children, animals, seasons, scientific ideas" (references to *birth* and creativity are fairly common in lows). "A great work of art, poem, piece of sculpture, or symphony." "Certain manifestations of human personality where people are unexpectedly good, strong and beautiful, especially ordinary people who haven't had much chance; in people the two qualities which arouse my wonder are the power of courage and the power to accept defeat humbly and without bitterness and resentment." References to being *loved* are low, to being *praised* or popular are high.

[5] The sudden increase in the importance of religion to highs when they are faced with death reminds us of the acquiring of "fox-hole religion" during the war. These results, as well as the interview material on religion, suggest that such last-minute conversions occur more often in highs than in lows.

2. *Power as exemplified in man's achievements and in nature.* The idea of power is expressed by both low and high scorers, but again the same event seems to have systematically different meanings for the two groups. The highs' conception of power is extremely personalized (see below); they admire and are awe-inspired by powerful people, toward whom they show deference and submission. The lows, on the other hand, conceive of power in more impersonal terms; they see it mainly as a means toward socially beneficial ends (rather than an end in itself), as more universal in the sense of existing everywhere and for the over-all social good. The main kinds of admired power are material-technological achievements by man and examples of grandeur in nature.

Examples: "Watch a two-thousand-ton aircraft take off; the Golden Gate Bridge; the view of the Bay Area from Mt. Tamalpais on a clear night." "The great structures which man has built in this world." "Seeing a star explode or earthquakes—any extreme natural manifestation." "Great material achievements—building projects, etc." "The atomic bomb, Grand Canyon, Boulder Dam, etc." References to the *atomic bomb* in itself are neutral; it is scored L in a context of man-made power or material achievement, H in a context of destructiveness or other high trends.

3. *Intense nature experiences.* References to nature are scored L if there are explicit indications of a strong aesthetic, sensual-emotional experience, or if there is fairly specific description of what one would be looking at. Vague, empty references to nature in general or to "just looking" are scored H (see below).

Examples: "Natural phenomena such as Crater Lake, Grand Canyon." "Thoughts of God's infinite intelligence, power, etc., as shown in nature—the structure and physiology of living creatures, behavior of the universe, etc." (This is a good example of a low religious response; understanding, imaginative, universalistic, idea of God-in-universe rather than God-over-universe.) "Watching a beautiful sunset; seeing Frisco at night from a ferry boat in the middle of the Bay." "A descent into the center of the earth; a walk on the bottom of the ocean."

High Categories (Question 8)

1. *Realization of conventional values.* These are highly conventionalized responses referring to acquisition or possession of things, to peace of mind (in the sense of freedom from worry), to a vague, undefined sense of virtue, and to incidental, desensualized pleasures.

Examples: "Feelings of good, examples of good." "Marriage and happy family life; ownership of something important such as a home, new auto, business concern, etc." "Love, I guess; from what I understand, when it dawns a fellow he has met the right girl; this is something I imagine and I really believe will be true" (love as a completely strange emotion, more imposed from without than motivated from within). "To know that when I get married I would be able to live very comfortably in a home with my wife and child." "If my husband were home evenings" (no reference to relationship). "To get married." "Get rid of my stomach trouble." "Be

in a good frame of mind all the time." "Possession of great wealth; outstanding accomplishment of any kind" (note the equating of wealth and accomplishment). "Knowing my husband loved me without a doubt; peace on earth" (this seems to refer more to freedom from anxiety than to emotional warmth and exchange). The responses in this category suggest a lack of inner emotional vitality.

2. *Power: deference and submission toward power figures.* The highs' references to power are in an *authoritarian* context: the power is personalized in a strong man toward whom the subject has, implicitly or explicitly, a deferent, submissive relation. The authority figure may come from various areas of social life: military, political, industrial, religious. There is often an emphasis on *ritual* and a concern with what is *external* rather than with intrinsic meanings and values.

Examples: "During the war: to sit in on a meeting of the German General Staff; to witness a V-2 bomb launching. For peacetime: a presidential conference with his aides and Cabinet; a meeting of the country's leading personnel men." "Watching politicians in action in Washington; talking with professional athletes." "A coronation, a college graduation, awarding of Nobel prizes" (emphasis on ritual and success, not an achievement in an inner sense). "Meeting a truly great man such as Admiral Halsey or General Patton, or President Truman."

The religious references by highs express the same underlying variables.

Examples: "Certain church services I have seen; religion in the midst of war, on battlefields I have seen." "A conversation or sight of God." "A picture of President Roosevelt, whom I admire; being in church during the service." Note the primary concern with religion as ritual rather than as ethics, and the conception of God in terms similar to those expressed above with regard to personnel men, athletes, military authorities, politicians. Again we find an indication of religion as a fox-hole phenomenon—something that one turns to only as a support against external threat and inner anxiety. A mystical, *superstitious* trend is illustrated by the following response: "The feeling relating to something that is supernatural, something that happens in a weird way and has no factual reasons about it."

In some cases the subject wants to play the power role *himself*, often with specific reference to someone else playing the deferent role.

Examples: "To be able to fly in the Army Air Corps" (gaining power through the plane; desire for military experience). "I have the mad desire to hear an audience screaming 'Author' for me when my play has been the greatest ever to see Broadway" (more emphasis on personal prestige, audience deference, than on achievement). "To know the basic actualities of electricity; to create something or see something created, heretofore considered impossible or unbelieveable" (not achievement values, but wanting to do what no one else is powerful enough to do).

3. *Destruction-harm of other persons.* Many of the military experiences in Category 2 have this aspect, but it is the focal one here.

Examples: "Death of a close relative; torture to reveal an important plan." "To see death" (this presumably means death in someone else; references to one's personal experience of death would be scored L). "To see San Francisco destroyed by an

earthquake." "To see the results of the atomic bomb." "To watch a delicate stomach operation" (references to *surgery* are usually high; they seem related to the body-anxiety found in previous items). "To see an alcoholic who cannot help himself stay away from the cravings of liquor, a person who has been severely crippled by a disease, and to go to a funeral." (Note the associative sequence from dependency to disease to death.)

4. *Dilute experiences of nature and beauty*. These responses are matter-of-fact, general, superficial descriptions of aesthetic or "nature" experiences, with no detail and no indication of sensual-emotional involvement. The person is for the most part "just looking."

Examples: "Experiences in nature." "The sight of rare jewels and metals; the viewing of great natural wonders of the world." "Traveling to another planet-galaxy, though I doubt the probability of it" (note the "constriction of fantasy" observed also in Item 7). "The great natural beauties of nature have thrilled me and probably always will." "Trips through all the important nations of the world and not have to worry about the expenses involved" (note the limitation to "important" nations and the desire for gratuities). "Music." "Watching some unusual scientific event such as atomic energy" (merely watching, not participation or achievement). "Scenic grandeur." "Seeing something of real importance."

5. *Omissions* are recorded as Nb, scored as H. Of the 6 omissions (9 per cent), 5 were by highs.

Note: Due to various circumstances (see p. 580), only 65 of the total of 312 subjects received this question. It is likely, therefore, that further experience will suggest modifications and particularly additions to the present scoring scheme.

SUMMARY OF PROJECTIVE QUESTION CATEGORIES

High Categories	*Low Categories*
Question 1: What moods are unpleasant or disturbing?	
1. Violations of conventional values	1. Conscious conflict and guilt
2. Threatening or nonsupporting environment	2. Focal dependency and love-seeking
3. "Rumblings from below"	3. Open hostility, by self or others, toward love objects
4. Omissions	
Question 2: What desires are most difficult to control?	
1. Nonfocal and/or motor aggression	1. Focal (usually verbal) hostility directed against violators of achievement values
2. Ego-alien passivity	2. The tendency to violate achievement values oneself
3. Impersonal sex	3. Miscellaneous
4. Incidental pleasures and violations of conventional values	
5. Omissions	

Question 3: What great people do you admire most?

1. Power and control	1. The arts and philosophy
2. Conservative Americans	2. Physical and biological scientists
3. Parents and relatives	3. Social scientists, liberal-radical political figures
4. Miscellaneous	4. Active denial of admiration

Question 4: What might drive a person nuts?

1. "Rumblings from below"	1. Inner psychological states
2. Threatening, irritating, or non-supporting environment.	2. Dominating, blocking, rejecting environment
3. Omissions	

Question 5: Worst crimes a person could commit?

1. Crude aggression and sex	1. Violation of achievement values
2. Other immoral acts	
3. Various legal offenses	

Question 6: Most embarrassing moments?

1. Violations of convention and etiquette	1. Hurting another's feelings.
2. Blows at exhibitionism and narcissism	2. Feelings of inadequacy, failure, being rejected

Question 7: How would you spend your last six months?

1. Conventional morality and inhibitions	1. Achievement values: creativity and social contribution
2. Incidental, dilute pleasures	2. Open sensuality and active pleasure
3. Passivity	
4. Omissions	

Question 8: What experiences would be most awe-inspiring?

1. Realization of conventional values	1. Realization of achievement values
2. Power: deference and submission toward power figures	2. Power as exemplified in man's achievements and in nature
3. Destruction-harm of other persons	3. Intense nature experiences
4. Dilute experiences of nature and beauty	
5. Omissions	

D. RESULTS

Practical considerations prevented quantification of the Projective Question material from every group to which the questionnaire was administered. (For a complete list and description of these groups, see Chapter IV.) The responses of the entire high and low quartiles of the following groups were analyzed. (The N's in the parentheses refer to the number of cases in the

extreme high and low quartiles combined, on which the Projection Question analysis was made.)

1. *Psychology Women* (N = 63): the members of a Psychology class at the University of California. Initial forms of questionnaire, prior to Form 78.
2. *Employment Service Veteran Men* (N = 51): an unselected sample of the Veteran population going through an office of the United States Employment Service. Forms 45 and 40.
3. *Psychiatric Clinic Men* (N = 29); and 4. *Psychiatric Clinic Women* (N = 34): in- and out-patients at a local Community Clinic. Most of these subjects received Form 45, but some were given a shorter form which included only four projective questions.
5. *Middle-Class Women* (N = 70): A highly diversified sample from various middle-class groups: religious, political, business, and the like. Form 40.
6. *Middle-Class Men and Service Club Men* (combined) (N = 65): While the scale responses of these two groups were statisticized separately, it seemed feasible to combine them into a single group for the present purposes. The Middle-Class Men were obtained from largely the same groups as the Middle-Class Women. Form 40.

These groups constitute a fairly representative sample of all those studied. On the basis of the present results, it appears likely that similar quantitative differences between the highs and lows would have been obtained had we analyzed the Projective Question material of the remaining groups. The determination of qualitative differences among the highs from various groupings, and among the lows from various groupings, remains an interesting problem for future research.

Questionnaire Form 45 contained the eight Projective Questions in the order listed above (Section A). As part of the process of cutting Form 40 down to an absolute minimum (see Chapter IV), only the first five of these questions were used. Further complications occurred in the case of the initial form (taken by the Psychology Women), which contained only the first seven questions, and in the case of the Psychiatric Clinic Men and Women, some of whom received a shorter form which contained only Questions 3, 4, 5, and 6. The inconsistency is part of the general problem of working out a standard set of questions. However, the inconsistencies in Form 40 and in the form given to the clinic patients must be regarded as methodological errors, since complete data on all eight questions would have compensated for any possible increase in administrative difficulties. As a result of differences in the number of questions in each form of the questionnaire, there are also differences in the number of subjects receiving a given question. The number of subjects receiving each of the eight questions is indicated and explained in Table 1(XV), below. All 312 of the subjects received forms containing Questions 3, 4 and 5. The N varies for the other questions, reaching a low of 65 on Question 8, which was contained in Form 45 given to the Employment Service and Clinic groups.

The Scoring Manual presented above is a slight modification of the one used by the scorers. The original Manual contained the same categories with substantially the same definitions. It was based on an analysis of the responses of two large groups: University of California Students (male and female) and the University of California Summer Session Adults, Form 60 (adult men and women from various sections of the middle class). As the scoring proceeded, certain additional implications and theoretical points were brought out and incorporated as notes in the original Manual. Also, an attempt was made to clarify certain ambiguities pointed out by the scorers. These notes are in the text of the present Manual. The only further change is the addition of a number of examples from the groups on which the data below are based. While the present Scoring Manual is more articulate than the original, no essentially new theoretical points have been added.

1. RELIABILITY OF SCORING

The critical reader may, after going through the Scoring Manual above, legitimately ask whether the proposed differences between highs and lows are "really" there, or whether they are not imposed by the writer's bias. A partial answer to this question is offered by means of the controlled scoring procedure. In the last four groups (all but the Psychology Women and the Veteran Men), the following scoring procedure was followed.

The high and low quartiles from a given group were combined and their responses to each item typed in a single, randomly ordered series. Each response was identified by a code number, so that the scorer did not know whether it was given by an individual scoring high or by an individual scoring low on ethnocentrism. Moreover, the code numbers for each individual varied from item to item in order to prevent halo effect (e.g., the tendency to give an individual a score of H on Item 2 because he was scored H on Item 1). Each rater went through all responses of the combined-high-plus-low grouping for each item, recording her scores of H, L, Na, Nhl, or Nb (see Section A for key to symbols) for each code number. Only after all items had been scored were the code numbers taken away and the identity (with respect to standing on E) of each subject restored. The scorer was, therefore, entirely on her own in deciding whether each response fell into a high, low, or neutral category. This is what is meant by "blind" scoring.

In the case of the Psychology Women and the Employment Service Veterans the scoring was not done blindly. This was recognized as a methodological error and corrected on all subsequent groups. However, the advantage in knowing the subjects' standing on E may have been partially counterbalanced by the newness of the task for the scorers, and by the emphasis placed on caution.

As a further check on the dependability of scoring, it was always done independently by two raters. Their degree of agreement in assigning scores

gives a measure of reliability, i.e., of the probability that these results can be duplicated by other raters with similar training. While high reliability does not in itself prove the correctness of the *interpretations* regarding the deeper meaning of the scoring categories, it does indicate that the scoring categories, *as specifically defined*, have been objectively measured and are not merely figments of the imagination. Scoring reliability is, then, one index of objectivity.

A word ought perhaps to be said about the training of the raters.[6] Both were, when the scoring started, at approximately the level of first-year graduate students in psychology. Their learning of the Scoring Manual was part of the process of becoming familiar with the general theoretical orientation of the present research. Neither had had any clinical experience or intensive training in dynamic personality theory, beyond a few undergraduate courses. In addition to studying the Scoring Manual, they had the benefit of several preliminary practice sessions on groups not included in the final statistical treatment. The nature of the scorers' background and training is stressed because it reveals that detailed familiarity with a particular psychological theory is not essential for scoring; theory is, of course, essential for an integrated understanding of the total pattern of data.

When the two raters had independently made and recorded their scores for a given group, a conference was held for the purpose of assigning a final score for each response. As has been noted above, each response was scored High, Low, or Neutral; the H or L scores did not specify which particular category (e.g., high category 3 or low category 1) the response represented. The reason for this is that a response might represent variables in more than one category; or it might express in abstract form an underlying high or low trend without falling into a specific category as described. A scoring disagreement was registered whenever the two original scores were not identical. Discussion of the disagreements usually convinced one rater or the other to change in the other's direction. Occasionally a response scored H by one rater and L by the other received a final score of Na or Nhl.

The scoring reliability, that is, the percentage of agreement between raters, was computed as follows. A full error was counted when one rater scored H, the other L. A half error was counted when one rater scored Na or Nhl and the other scored H or L. Thus, if in a group of 50 there are 8 full errors and 4 half errors, the percentage disagreement is 10/50 or 20 per cent, or in positive terms there is 80 per cent agreement.

The reliability data are presented in Table 1(XV). The mean percentage agreement of 90 meets current standards for materials of this sort, and indicates that the two sets of scores, independently and blindly derived, agreed very well. In the case of Groups 1 and 2, which were scored independently but not blindly (the raters knowing which was the high-on-E subject, which

[6] We wish to express our thanks to Anne Morrow and Ellan Ulery for their work "beyond the call of duty" in learning and applying the scoring scheme.

TABLE 1 (XV)

SCORING RELIABILITY (PERCENTAGE INTERRATER AGREEMENT) FOR THE EIGHT PROJECTIVE QUESTIONS

Group	N	Percentage Agreement								Mean[b]
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1. Psychology Women[c]	63	94	75	87	84	95	94	85	-	88
2. Employment Service Veteran Men	51 (24)[a]	100	96	95	95	94	90	100	87	95
3. Psychiatric Clinic Men	29 (17)[a]	76	82	91	71	90	90	59	71	80
4. Psychiatric Clinic Women	34 (24)[a]	96	79	94	88	87	84	81	88	87
5. Middle-Class Women[d]	70	91	82	96	92	97	-	-	-	92
6. Middle-Class and Business Club Men[d]	65	86	83	95	80	98	-	-	-	89
Mean Percentage Agreement[b]		93	85	94	88	95	90	83	83	90
Total N	312	290	290	312	312	312	150	128	65	1859

[a]The N for Groups 2, 3, and 4 is complicated by the fact that two questionnaire forms were given. Only 24 of the 51 highs and lows in Group 2 received Form 45, which contained all 8 questions; the remaining 27 received Form 40, containing only questions 1-5. Similarly, some of the subjects in Groups 3 and 4 filled out Form 45, while others received a modified form containing items 3, 4, 5, and 6 only. The differences between subgroups within each sample are random.

[b]The over-all group and item means are based on single item means weighted by N.

[c]Group 1 received Form 78, which did not contain question 8.

[d]Groups 5 and 6 received Form 40, which did not contain questions 6, 7, and 8.

[e]Key to questions: 1 (Moods), 2 (Desires), 3 (Great People), 4 (Drive Nuts), 5 (Crimes), 6 (Embarrassing), 7 (Last Six Months), 8 (Awe-inspiring).

the low), only Group 2, with 95 per cent agreement, is above the over-all mean. For only one group, the Psychiatric Clinic Men, does the reliability drop conspicuously below 90 per cent. This drop (to 80 per cent) seems due in part to certain intrinsic ambiguities in the responses of this group, and in part to the fact that this was the first group to be scored blindly.

The reliabilities for the individual items are also satisfactory, ranging from 83 to 95 per cent. Questions 1 ("Moods"), 3 ("Great people"), and 5 ("Crimes") were scored most consistently. The average agreement on Questions 7 ("Last six months") and 8 ("Awe-inspiring") might have been higher had they been filled out by Groups 5 and 6. In only 6 cases out of the total of 41 did an item have a reliability of less than 80 per cent. It would appear, therefore, that the present scoring scheme is relatively reliable, and in this sense "objective."

2. PROJECTIVE QUESTION SCORES IN RELATION TO STANDING ON THE E SCALE

To what extent are L scores on the Projective Questions characteristic of the anti-ethnocentric individuals, H scores characteristic of the extremely ethnocentric individuals? The Scoring Manual is based on the hypothesis that the low quartiles on the Ethnocentrism scale will give responses falling mainly in the low categories, whereas the responses of the high quartiles will fall mainly in the high categories.

Data bearing on this question are presented in Table 2(XV), which indicates the degree to which the Projective Questions differentiate the ethnocentric from the anti-ethnocentric subjects.

In order to obtain a quantitative measure of the relationship between Projective Question scores and standing on the E scale, the *percentage of PQ-E agreement* was computed for each quartile. This is called the *L%* in the case of the low quartile, *H%* for the high quartile, and *%A* for the two quartiles combined (average over-all agreement). Let us use L% to illustrate the procedure. Had scores of H and L been the only ones assigned, the L% would be simply the number of L scores divided by the total number of cases; thus, if all the low quartile members received L scores on a given item there would be 100 per cent agreement between PQ and E. But this procedure was not feasible because of the neutral scores.[7] Since a neutral score represents a half error, i.e., it signifies less agreement than an L score but more agreement than an H score, the L% was computed according to the following formula:

$$L\% = \frac{\text{Sum of L scores plus } \frac{1}{2} \text{ sum of neutral scores (Na, Nb, Nhl)}}{\text{Number of subjects in low quartile}}$$

[7] One possibility would have been not to consider subjects receiving scores of N, and to get a L/H ratio for the remaining subjects. This would have given higher L% values than those obtained by the method finally used, since in the latter method the N scores were used in such a way as to lower the L%. It was believed that all individuals taking the test should be included in the statistical treatment.

where Na means "ambiguous," Nb means "blank" (omitted), Nhl means "mixed high and low trends."

The only exception to this formula is in the case of Nb on Items 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8, where Nb is equivalent to H and is included among the H scores.

The computation of H% is based on an equivalent formula:

$$H\% = \frac{\text{Sum of H scores plus } \frac{1}{2} \text{ sum of neutral scores (Na, Nb, Nhl)}}{\text{Number of subjects in high quartile}}$$

Finally, %A is the average of L% and H%, weighted by N (number of cases in each quartile), and it indicates the over-all PQ-E agreement.

Table 2 (XV) gives the L%, H%, and %A for each group tested and for all groups combined. It also gives the number and percentage of Nb, Na, and Nhl responses. It may be noted first that the over-all PQ-E agreement (%A) is 74.9 per cent—a value which indicates a statistically significant relationship between Projective Question scores and high vs. low standing on the E scale. On a purely chance basis, the agreement would be only 50 per cent. The highs tend, however, to be more consistent in their PQ responses than do the lows: the highs have an over-all H% of 80.7, while for the lows the L% is only 69.1. In other words, the lows received more H scores than the highs did L scores. It is, so to speak, easier to make an H than an L score. The reason for this does not appear to lie primarily in the subjects themselves, for our general impression, based on other results and on clinical judgment, was that the low quartiles fitted the over-all conception of the "democratic" personality at least as well as the highs approximated the prototypic "authoritarian" personality. The preponderance of H scores is probably due to the conditions of testing. Since many of the groups were pressed for time, and since the instructions were not emphatic in suggesting that a fairly detailed answer be given, many of the responses were brief and superficial. It will be recalled from the Scoring Manual that references to "vague, dilute emotional experiences," as well as references only to "behavior or the situation *per se*, without consideration of inner meanings and motives," were important cues for assigning a score of H. It may be argued that if the instructions emphasized the giving of more detailed answers, both highs and lows would give more responses meriting a score of L. In the present groups, however, the elaborations of most lows took an L direction, of most highs an H direction. It might be expected, then, that the obtaining of longer responses would clarify and increase the differences between the low and high quartiles. It would also probably reduce somewhat the proportion (8.8 per cent) of responses scored Na and Nhl. We should not, of course, overlook the likelihood that numerous pressures in our culture, and perhaps the predominant ones, tend to make for authoritarianism in the individual. To the extent that this is true, we should expect some H trends even in individuals attempting to achieve a thoroughly democratic orientation.

TABLE 2 (XV)

PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT BETWEEN PROJECTIVE QUESTION SCORES AND E-SCALE SCORES

	N[a]	Score	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Mean[b]	
1. Psychology Women	63											
Low quartile	32	L%	90.6	84.4	79.7	73.4	59.4	60.9	62.5	-	73.0	
		N_b	0	1	0	0	3	3	0	-	7	21.4%
		N_a-N_{HL}	2	4	7	13	1	4	10	-	41	
High quartile	31	H%	91.9	79.0	72.6	79.0	91.9	88.7	82.3	-	83.6	
		N_b	0	3	3	2	3	1	1	-	13	14.3%
		N_a-N_{HL}	3	3	4	7	0	0	1	-	18	
Total	63	%A	91.3	81.7	76.2	76.2	75.4	74.6	72.2	-	78.2	
		N_b	0	4	3	2	6	4	1	-	20	17.9%
		N_a-N_{HL}	5	7	11	20	1	4	11	-	59	
2. Employment Service Men	51											
Low quartile	25 (10)	L%	78.0	66.0	76.0	82.0	66.0	80.0	65.0	80.0	73.9	
		N_b	4	5	1	2	1	1	0	1	15	15.5%
		N_a-N_{HL}	1	1	2	3	0	1	1	0	9	
High quartile	26 (14)	H%	88.4	94.2	84.6	100.0	100.0	75.0	89.3	78.6	90.1	
		N_b	1	4	1	3	0	1	0	2	12	12.2%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	1	5	0	0	0	1	2	9	
Total	51 (24)	%A	83.3	80.4	80.4	91.2	83.3	77.1	79.2	79.2	82.6	
		N_b	5	9	2	5	1	2	0	3	27	13.8%
		N_a-N_{HL}	1	2	7	3	0	1	2	2	18	

3. Psychiatric Clinic Men	29											
Low quartile	14	L%	55.6	38.9	82.2	50.0	53.6	46.4	50.0	88.9	58.1	
	(9)	N_b	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	6)	16.3%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	1	2	0	3	2	1	0	9)	
High quartile	15	H%	75.0	75.0	83.3	86.7	83.3	66.7	93.8	50.0	77.7	
	(8)	N_b	0	2	0	1	0	1	0	0	4)	13.1%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	0	3	0	3	1	1	0	8)	
Total	29	%A	64.7	55.9	82.8	69.0	69.0	56.8	70.6	70.6	67.9	
	(17)	N_b	0	4	1	1	2	2	0	0	10)	14.7%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	1	5	0	6	3	2	0	17)	
4. Psychiatric Clinic Women	34											
Low quartile	17	L%	84.6	76.9	70.6	82.5	55.9	70.6	42.3	88.5	71.3	
	(13)	N_b	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	3)	12.5%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	0	3	0	3	4	1	1	12)	
High quartile	17	H%	72.7	55.5	50.0	94.1	97.1	58.8	86.4	81.8	74.5	
	(11)	N_b	0	2	1	0	1	4	1	3	12)	17.0%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	0	4	0	0	2	1	0	7)	
Total	34	%A	79.2	66.7	60.3	88.3	76.5	64.7	62.5	85.4	72.8	
	(24)	N_b	0	2	2	0	1	6	1	3	15)	14.7%
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	0	7	0	3	6	2	1	19)	

TABLE 2 (XV) (continued)

	N[a]	Score	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Mean[b]	
5. Middle-Class Women	70											
Low quartile	34	L%	72.1	60.2	76.5	60.2	76.5				69.1	
		N_b	2	4	2	0	2				10	
		N_a-N_{HL}	1	1	4	1	2				9	8.9%
High quartile	36	H%	82.0	80.5	56.9	79.2	76.4				75.0	
		N_b	8	12	8	0	3				31	
		N_a-N_{HL}	1	0	5	1	4				11	23.3%
Total	70	%A	77.1	70.7	66.4	70.0	76.4				72.1	
		N_b	10	16	10	0	5				41	
		N_a-N_{HL}	2	1	9	2	6				20	17.4%
6. Middle-Class Men	65											
Low quartile	33	L%	69.7	43.9	71.2	62.1	71.2				63.6	
		N_b	3	7	3	1	6				20	
		N_a-N_{HL}	4	1	4	3	3				15	21.2%
High quartile	32	H%	81.2	78.1	81.2	76.6	75.0				78.4	
		N_b	6	10	4	3	4				27	
		N_a-N_{HL}	0	0	6	1	8				15	26.3%
Total	65	%A	75.4	60.8	76.1	69.2	73.1				70.9	
		N_b	9	17	7	4	10				47	
		N_a-N_{HL}	4	1	10	4	11				30	23.7%

	Score	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total	Mean
7. All groups combined											
Low quartile	L%	76.7	63.0	75.8	68.4	65.8	63.0	57.0	85.9		69.1
	N_b	9	19	8	3	14	7	0	1	61	6.6%
	N_a-N_{HL}	8	8	22	20	12	11	13	1	95	10.3%
	ER	146	146	155	155	155	73	64	32	926	116
High quartile	H%	84.0	79.9	71.3	84.4	86.0	75.3	85.9	72.7		80.7
	N_b	15	33	17	9	11	7	2	5	99	10.6%
	N_a-N_{HL}	4	4	27	9	15	3	4	2	68	7.3%
	ER	144	144	157	157	157	77	64	33	933	117
Total	%A	80.3	71.4	73.6	76.5	76.0	69.3	71.5	79.2		74.9
	N_b	24	52	25	12	25	14	2	6	160	8.6%
	N_a-N_{HL}	12	12	49	29	27	14	17	3	163	8.8%
	ER	290	290	312	312	312	150	128	65	1859	232

[a]For Groups 2, 3, and 4 the number of subjects varies somewhat from item to item because two questionnaire forms were used. The number indicated in the "N" column is the total N in each group or quartile. The N in parentheses refers to those subjects who received the complete set of projective questions. Thus, in Group 2 all 51 subjects received items 1 - 5 (Forms 45 and 40); only 10 Low and 14 High received all 8 questions (Form 45), so that the N's on items 6, 7, and 8 are 10 and 14 respectively. as indicated in parentheses in the "N" column. Similarly, of the 14 Lows in Group 3, only 9 received the full battery, the remaining 5 receiving a form which did not include items 1, 2, 7, and 8. For the high quartile in Group 3, there is an N of 8 on items 1, 2, 7, and 8. In Group 4, the N on these same items is 13 for Lows and 11 for Highs.

Group 1 received a form which did not include item 8 (see text).

Groups 5 and 6 received Form 40 which contained items 1-5 only.

Thus, while there were 312 subjects in all, the N per item varied. This is shown in the table under "All groups combined," where the row "ER" gives the number of subjects answering each item.

[b]In the computation of all means, the component values are weighted by N.

Key to questions: 1 (Moods), 2 (Desires), 3 (Great People), 4 (Drive Nuts), 5 (Crimes), 6 (Embarrassing), 7 (Last Six Months), 8 (Awe-inspiring).

The average agreement varies among the six groups from 67.9 per cent for the Psychiatric Clinic Men to 82.6 per cent for the Employment Service Veteran Men. It appears that the scorers, try as they did to be unbiased, were systematically influenced by the fact that they knew the E-quartile standing of the Psychology Women and the Veteran Men. Thus, the %A for these two groups is about 80 per cent, whereas for the remaining four groups (scored blindly) it averages slightly over 70 per cent. The relatively low %A for the Clinic Men is consistent with the low scoring reliability for this group (see Table 1(XV)). The data for the Clinic Women and the Middle-Class Men and Women probably best represent what can be expected with the present Scoring Manual; the average agreement of about 72 per cent for these groups might have been slightly higher had all subjects received questions 6, 7, and 8.

The over-all average agreement for the individual items varies from 69.3 to 80.3 per cent. The poorest questions are 2 ("Desires"), 6 ("Embarrassing"), and 7 ("Last six months"). In all three of them the L% is particularly low (57–63 per cent), probably because of the brevity of the answers, as discussed above. Correction of this error should lead to considerably better results, particularly for Item 7. The agreements for the individual items reveal again the great consistency of the highs. Thus, the L% varied within a range of 29 points (57–86 per cent), whereas the H% covered a range of only 15 points (71–86 per cent). It is of some interest that the two most differentiating items, 1 ("Moods") and 8 ("Awe-inspiring"), deal with issues which, in their literal meanings, are completely removed from ideology about group interaction.

Table 2(XV) provides the empirical basis on which omissions (Nb) of Questions 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8 were converted into H scores in the statistical treatment. On each of these questions approximately two-thirds or more of the total number of omissions were made by the high quartiles. Moreover, it is consistent with the differential trends found that the highs should omit, more often than the lows, questions dealing with inner life (moods, desires, drive nuts) and with emotionally intense experiences (last six months, awe-inspiring). Question 3 might also have been scored in this way since some 70 per cent of the omissions were by highs. However, omissions on this item were not scored H because they did not appear to fulfill the requirement of theoretical consistency. Should the highs continue, in future groups, to make most of the omissions, Nb would have to be scored H and a theoretical rationale found. The scoring of Nb as H would, in the present groups, have raised the over-all agreement several points.

Having considered the degree to which groups are distinguished with respect to the H and L categories, we may consider briefly how the scoring scheme applies to the individual. It is possible to give each subject a total score which is the sum of his individual item scores. This total may be called

the *L-H score*, and is computed as follows: One point is given for each H score, zero points for each L score, and one-half point for each Neutral score (except for Nb on Items 1, 2, 4, 7, and 8 where, as noted above, Nb is converted to H). Thus, the L-H scores may range, for eight questions, between 0 (all L scores) and 8 (all H scores), with a mid-point of 4.0. A subject receiving 4 H scores, 3 L's and 1 Na has an L-H score of 4.5, i.e., just on the high side of center. The over-all H% of 80.7 for the high quartiles can be converted to an average L-H score of 6.5 for the eight items. Similarly, the over-all L% of 69.1 for the low quartiles becomes an L-H score of 2.5.

The computing of L-H scores for each subject provides a means of determining the amount of overlap between the low and high quartiles. This has been done in the case of the Middle-Class Men and Women, who have a combined N of 135, and who received a battery of five Projective Questions. The L-H scores of the low quartile ranged between 0.0 and 4.5, those of the high quartile between 1.0 and 5.0, the mean for the total group being about 2.7 (slightly more H than L scores were assigned). Using 2.7 as a dividing point, we may then say that all L-H scores of 2.5 and below will be called "low," all scores of 3.0 and above will be called "high." On the basis of this criterion, 22 per cent of the low quartile members would be considered high in terms of Projective Question score, while 14 per cent of the high quartile members have a low L-H score. These are the exceptions. Or, to put it positively, 78 per cent of the anti-ethnocentric group, and 86 per cent of the ethnocentric group, would be correctly diagnosed on the basis of total Projective Question score.

The above data do not, of course, include the middle scorers on E. However, it is not unlikely that a longer Projective Question Test of perhaps fifteen or twenty items, applied to all subjects and not merely to the extreme quartiles, might yield correlations in the neighborhood of .7 between L-H score and E. The Projective Questions might then be used, like the F scale, as an indirect measure of ethnocentrism—a measure in which no reference to current social issues need be made. They also, like the F scale, permit one to go beyond the immediate limits of the scoring scheme and to make numerous inferences regarding individual dynamics. That the variables in the two techniques are so consistent is an important argument in favor of the validity of each.

In summary, the results indicate that the Projective Question Test meets current standards of reliability, under the most demanding of scoring conditions. It has also been demonstrated that the categories denoted as "high" are in fact characteristic of the high scorers on the Ethnocentrism scale, the "low" categories characteristic of the low quartile on E. There are, however, many highs who get L scores on single items, and many lows who get scores of H, the average PQ-E agreement being in the neighborhood of 75 per cent. In terms of individual L-H scores, the ethnocentrists and anti-

ethnocentrists could, in the two groups considered, be diagnosed with approximately 82 per cent accuracy.

The present results can probably be improved in the future by modifications of the Scoring Manual, by an increase in the number of items (which, other things being equal, will improve the reliability of the L-H score), and by instructions which lay greater stress on full answers (two or three sentences would do). Moreover, in its practical application the test may be scored in a clinically more meaningful way, once the scorers have demonstrated their competence. If all the items for a given individual were scored at once, many apparently ambiguous responses might be interpreted in the light of the total pattern. This would not only improve the quantitative scoring but would also stimulate further differentiation and elaboration within the broad framework now conceived. There is also considerable research which needs to be done regarding additional categories, relative frequencies of specific categories, sex differences, various patterns among lows and among highs, differences among various religious, political, and other groupings, and so on.

3. VALIDATION BY MEANS OF CASE STUDIES: MACK AND LARRY

Throughout the present research the attempt has been made to develop techniques that would yield *statistically significant* relationships among numerous variables and that would, as well, provide *clinically meaningful* material regarding the individual. Accordingly, following the presentation of statistical (group) results for each technique, the protocols of the high man, Mack, and the low man, Larry, have been considered in relation to the group data. To the extent that their results on a given technique are consistent with those for the total sample, and to the exent that interpretations based on the technique are congruent with those derived from other techniques, further evidence of validity appears to be indicated.

The Projective Question responses of Mack and Larry are as follows (the scores being given at the end of each response):

MACK (High)	LARRY (Low)
1. Moods	
Physical weakness, perhaps due to ill health over the last 4 years. (H)	A lonesome mood, or a feeling that I am not progressing toward my goal, or a feeling that I have hurt someone. (L)
2. Desires	
Anger. (Na)	When someone is persecuted unjustly, or to see a Negro serviceman endure unjust discrimination and prejudice. (L)

3. Great people

Lincoln, Lee, Gen. Geo. C. Marshall, Edison. (H)	Lincoln, Willkie, Washington, Stalin, Chiang Kai Shek, Churchill, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and the great scientists of past and present. (H)

4. Drive nuts

It depends a lot on definition, but if crazy is meant, such a thing as losing my wife and children would most closely approximate it. (H)	A person might become insane over too much interest in love, religion, money, etc. Any obsession carried too far might drive a person insane. (L)

5. Worst crimes

Murder, rape. (H)	Murder, rape and a person that will incite hate toward another people, and groups that incite wars. (Nhl)

6. Embarrassing

Not included in this form.

7. Last six months

Seeing all of the world possible, with a particular person to see it with me. (H)	Trying to enjoy life as I have always wanted; travel, meet important people, have lots of friends, go to a lot of parties. All this without harming anyone. (L predominantly, despite some H trends.)

8. Awe-inspiring

The viewing of great natural wonders of the world, new scientific achievements, meeting really great men and women and the sight of rare jewels and metals. (H)	To see American people practice true democracy. Such incidents as a member of one race protects a member of another race. True comradeship between races. (L)

The scoring, done blindly and with complete agreement between two independent judges, gives Mack an L-H score of 6.5 out of 7 (or an H% of 93), Larry an L-H score of 1.5 (or an L% of 79). Mack's responses are relatively typical of those given by the high men; if he shows no bizarre features, neither does he show much individuality. Given an opportunity to be emotionally expressive (Items 7 and 8), he responds in a shallow, conventionalized manner; his concern with "looking," with a minimum of differentiation or focal affect, appears to be based on a deep but inhibited curiosity for which he has few constructive expressions. His tendency to align himself with power and success is expressed in Item 3 and again in Item 8 ("meeting really great men and women"). Item 1 reveals his anxiety over bodily harm and his conception of ill health as a form of weakness (rather than, for example,

a barrier in the way of achievement). The equation of sickness with weakness is particularly interesting in the light of his mother's and his own weakness during childhood (see Chapters II and XX). It suggests, as does the material from other techniques, that his surface identification with powerful figures and groups is at least in part a means of maintaining his sense of mastery and of allaying his anxiety over bodily harm. It is not clear from his Projective Question responses alone whether Mack's aggression is more a surface defense against the admission of passive dependency or, rather, a strong underlying need. That he has aggressive impulses which he cannot easily assimilate into the ego is suggested by his "Murder, rape" on Item 5 and "Anger" on 2. Moreover, that these impulses are partially directed against family (ingroup) members is suggested by his response to Item 4: his fear of "losing my wife and children" (particularly since he is not yet married) would seem to be based on unconscious hostility toward them—hostility which is projected onto the "threatening world." (His fantasy, while he is still unmarried, of the death of wife and children may also be a projection of his own fear as a child that he might die when his mother did.) However, the over-all impression given is that of a conventional, deferent, pseudo-independent façade, and that what lies beneath the surface is primarily anxiety and dependency rather than active destructiveness.

Larry's responses, here as elsewhere, are less characteristically low than Mack's are high. Like Mack, Larry is attracted to those who have power, but his conception of power is different from Mack's. Thus, Larry can admire foreign as well as American leaders (Item 5: in 1945 Chiang Kai Shek was still conceived as a democratic leader). And his relationship to power figures seems to be based more on the open expression of dependency and need for support than on defense against fear of his own weakness. Indeed, Larry is openly and intensely identified with the weak and the helpless, and he can therefore be opposed to social authority when it mistreats Negroes and others (Items 2, 5, and 8). He is also characteristically low in his intraception, intrapunitiveness, achievement values, conscious guilt, and the like.

Larry's "timid dependency" is clearly expressed in his response to Item 7: what he wants most is to be loved and protected—"all this without harming anyone." The great fear of hurtng anyone, expressed also on Item 1, seems to imply deep-lying hostility which he must at all costs inhibit. Thus, his inhibition of aggression, combined with his tremendous love-seeking dependency, probably prevent Larry from fighting actively even for those things in which he believes most. He is disturbed by discrimination and he would be awe-inspired by the attaining of democratic group relations in America, but is not likely to be able militantly to oppose those who violate his basic values.

It cannot be said that the interpretations above were made in the absence of other clinical material on these two cases. However, the scoring was done

in a controlled manner and many of the inferences follow fairly directly from the theory contained in the Scoring Manual. The conclusions reached here regarding Mack and Larry are in general agreement with those derived from other techniques, for example the F scale (Chapter VII) and the Thematic Apperception Test (Chapter XIV). It would seem, then, that the Projective Question technique may fruitfully be used not only for purposes of group research but also as an aid in the intensive study of the individual case.

E. CONCLUSIONS

It was apparent in the Scoring Manual that certain themes were repeated, with perhaps minor variations in form or content, in many of the Projective Question categories. There are, moreover, several instances in which two or more recurring themes, taken together, permit inferences regarding deeper-lying trends and processes. The results and theoretical constructions derived from the application of this technique are similar to those obtained from the other techniques used in the present research. In some cases there is almost exact duplication of variables; in others there is a more complementary or congruent relation, the variables from several techniques expressing diverse facets of a single, inclusive structure. Because the amount of duplication is considerable, a very brief discussion of the theoretical implications of the present results will suffice. Differential trends for high and low scorers on the E scale seem to exist in the following areas.

1. *General Ego Functioning.* Highs and lows differ markedly in their manner of handling deep-level trends such as aggression, sex, dependency, anxiety, and the like. We are not yet in a position to say whether one group or the other shows a greater total amount of any given trend; what is clear is that both groups exhibit all of these trends to a significant degree. The primary difference seems to lie in the ego functioning, and particularly in the relation of the ego to the deeper levels of personality. In the lows, as other techniques have shown, the underlying trends are more *ego-assimilated*, in the highs more *ego-alien.*

The lows appear to differ from highs in at least the following respects. The relations between the various levels of personality are more fluid, the boundaries more permeable. The ego defenses of the lows are relatively more impulse-releasing: at best we find considerable sublimation, to perhaps a greater degree we find that impulses have been assimilated into the ego without being fully integrated—witness the recurring Projective Question category, "Conscious conflict and guilt." In the highs, on the other hand—and the analysis of interviews led to the same conclusion—the ego defenses are characteristically more countercathectic; there is less sublimation and more use of defenses such as projection, denial, and reaction-formation, defenses which aid the individual in maintaining a moral façade at the expense of self-expression and emotional release.

These formulations are supported by many of the Projective Question results. Compare, for example, the low category, "Conscious conflict and guilt," with the contrasting high category, "Rumbling from below" (Questions 1, "Moods," and 4, "Drive nuts"). The former category refers to impulses which, disturbing though they may be, the individual at least to some extent recognizes and tries to handle. If there is conflict, there is also an attempt to integrate; if there is much that remains unconscious, there is also a willingness to look within and an attempt to assimilate. For most highs, on the other hand, there are few focal conflicts but there is a deep sense of anxiety and distress. The conflict is covered over by a moral façade or by symptomatic behavior; the disturbance is explained on the basis of a distressing (overdemanding, boring) external situation or of poor bodily condition, and the conflict is never faced in psychological terms. The difficulty of the highs in assimilating many important needs is shown by several other categories. Thus, when asked about highly satisfying emotional experiences ("Last six months" and "Awe-inspiring") they show much less intensity and inner vitality than the lows, that is, much less ability to utilize their psychic energies for constructive and ego-satisfying purposes. When the highs refer more directly to needs such as dependency, sex, and aggression ("Desires" and "Worst crimes"), they are more crude, impersonal, primitive, object-less and ego-less.

2. *Specific Properties of the Ego.* These properties are, of course, intimately bound up with ego functioning as discussed above. As might be expected from their use of primarily countercathectic defenses, the highs have comparatively narrow, circumscribed egos. One manifestation of this narrowness is *constriction of fantasy* (particularly in Question 6, see also Chapter XIV); this is probably related to the highs' emphasis on "sticking to the facts," to their extraceptiveness, and to their rejection of "imagination" and "emotion."

The highs also differ from the lows in their greater *concreteness of thinking* and in their *less differentiated emotional experience.* Thus, the responses of the highs characteristically refer to specific behavioral acts or situations, while the lows tend, to a greater degree, to describe more subtle experiences and more abstract, generalized situations. On Question 3 ("Great people"), for example, the lows, more than the highs, give the qualities that they admire in a person, with or without specific examples. The same is true for Question 5 ("Worst crimes"). Evidence of the greater complexity and abstractness of the lows has been given in the interview chapters (Part II) and in Chapter VIII (showing negative correlations between ethnocentrism and intelligence). These results are consistent with those showing the highs to be more stereotyped in their ideology (Chapters III, IV, XVI, XVII), more rigidly concrete in their solutions of arithmetical and spatial problems (Rokeach (98)).

The lows tend, in a frustrating situation, to blame themselves (*intrapunitiveness*), the highs to idealize themselves and to see the evil as existing in the external world (*extrapunitiveness*).

Finally, the greater *intraception* of the lows and the great *anti-intraception* of the highs is apparent in their responses to the Projective Questions as well as in the material elicited by the interviews, the T. A. T., and the F scale.

3. *Achievement Values vs. Conventional Values.* This distinction has been essential for the scoring of the Projective Questions. It is important not only because of the difference in the content of the values, but also because the values themselves express significant aspects of the personality dynamics of the two groups. It should be noted first that the two sets of values are not entirely mutually exclusive; few individuals will have only one set or the other. It is, rather, a matter of degree and of primacy. In most individuals one set of values is likely to be primary and most potent, the other to be of secondary importance. An individual who is struggling to decide between these two value orientations is, we believe, essentially struggling to decide, consciously or unconsciously, between conflicting needs and between conflicting conceptions of himself as a total person.

Achievement values found predominantly in the lows place primary emphasis on self-expression. Abstract and open-ended, they always leave room for further development and they can never be defined in terms of simple behavior formulae or rigid rules. Their main emphasis is on long-range goals, and the attainment of a given goal leads always to the formulation of new, higher goals expressing the same basic values. Examples of achievement values, taken from the Projective Question material as well as from the interviews and other material, include the following: Value for scientific, intellectual, and aesthetic achievement, and for understanding for its own sake, regardless of immediate practical application. Creativity is valued above efficiency, constructiveness above practicality; productive living, even if it involves inner conflict, is preferred over good adjustment at the expense of self-expression; richness and intensity of inner experience are valued more than "mere contentment." In personal relationships, as other techniques have shown, there is concern with giving as well as taking, and with the exchange of love rather than the exchange of things. What is particularly important here is that recognition of one's own individuality is the basis for recognition of the individuality of everyone, and for the democratic concept of the dignity of man.[8] These values are expressed ideologically in terms of opposition to all social structures (military, religious, educational, politico-

[8] This point has also been made by Fromm (43). His distinction between "humanistic" and "authoritarian" ethics corresponds very closely to the present one between "achievement" and "conventional" values, and is based on a similar attempt to distinguish two broad psychological approaches to man and society.

economic) which are based on the principle of absolute authority, which value power more than love, which engage in group suppression and exploitation, in short, which prevent man from developing his innate potentialities to a maximum degree. Once again we find anti-ethnocentrism as but one facet of a larger psychological framework.

What has been called "conventional values" might also have been called "*conditional values*," since their main function is to place limitations or conditions on the expression of needs rather than to stimulate need-experience. They might also have been called "*authoritarian values*," since they are based on the assumption of conformity to external authority rather than on inner moral responsibility. Whatever the name given, both of the above meanings, as well as others, belong to its definition. The prototypic examples of this value system are the Emily Post book of etiquette, the military "rules of behavior," and certain custom-ridden cultures, literate and nonliterate.[9] The main content of these values, at least for individuals with a strong middle-class identification, deals with conformity and loyalty to ingroup standards.

The difference between achievement values based on inner authority (internalized conscience), and conventional values based on external authority (and thus replaceable when the authority changes), results also in a difference in reaction to value-violations. This is the difference between *guilt* and *shame*.

It would be an exaggeration to state that the lows feel no shame, the highs no guilt. Nevertheless, there is considerable evidence from the Projective Questions, as well as from the ratings of interviews, that guilt is most characteristic of lows, shame of highs. The low categories for Questions 1, 2, 4, and 6 are for the most part concerned with personal violations of achievement values, with practically no reference to "being caught" or to external authority. For the same items there are high categories referring to violations of conventional values most of which require, almost by definition, an external observing and punishing agent. Indeed, the explicit idea of inner conflict in any form is practically lacking from the high responses. Moreover, it is much more common for the lows to refer to their own personal violations of values, whereas the highs refer either to violations by others, or, more often, to events which have, explicitly, neither moral nor motivational significance.[10]

These results are in keeping with the findings reported in earlier chapters that the highs, particularly those who are more conventional and "middle-class," have a punitive but poorly internalized superego. The ego, submitting

[9] See Kardiner (59, 60) and Benedict (15) for nonliterate societies, and Reich (96); these are but a few of many examples.

[10] We should have to predict—and there is already considerable supporting evidence—that studies of specific cultures will show a connection between shame as a predominant emotion, threat of punishment or isolation as a means of discipline in raising children, emphasis on ritual and custom, an authoritarian conception of God, relative lack of achievement values, and ethnocentrism in group relations within the culture and with other cultures. The higher E scale means made by the more ritualized, fundamentalistic religions in our own culture (see Chapter VI) may be cited in support of this hypothesis.

out of fear, must constantly forego conscious, constructive impulse gratification; instead, it finds morally acceptable ways of gaining indirect satisfaction (e.g., aggression by means of ethnocentrism and moral indignation, dependency through submission to powerful authority), and it "cheats" the superego when fear of detection is minimized (e.g., at conventions). Again we have a contradiction in levels: The highs, so moral on the surface, are essentially most concerned with underlying anxiety and with the gratification of impulses which, being ego-alien, have developed but little beyond their primitive, infantile form; whereas the lows, often so rebellious and so opposed to traditional morality on the surface, have more fully internalized moral *principles* and in their emotional functioning are more troubled with moral conflict.

4. *The Handling of Dependency as an Underlying Trend.* General differences in the ego functioning of lows and highs have been discussed above. We may turn now to a particular disposition, namely dependency, and see what light the Projective Questions shed on its differential ego-assimilation in lows and highs. It should be noted that there are certain sex differences here, since the expression of dependency is culturally permitted, even valued, in women, whereas in men it is opposed and inhibited. For convenience the following discussion will focus on high versus low *men*, with the understanding that for women some of these differences are somewhat reversed, while others hold equally well and still others are not found.

Dependency in lows is expressed mainly in the form of *concern with love*; many of their Projective Question responses deal with love-giving (nurturance) and love-seeking (active, focal dependency). They seem highly concerned with emotional exchange in their personal relationships.

Dependency plays a much different role in the personality of high men. It remains for the most part an ego-alien trend which can seldom be expressed directly because it violates the image (ego ideal) of the *normal, masculine man*: rugged, practical, realistic, earthbound, independent, "normally sexual and acquisitive, ready to take an active part in the bitter competition demanded by human nature, and eager to rise to the top of the ladder of success." It is apparent that not all men who have this self-ideal are high with respect to E or personality. Nevertheless, the present results indicate that most high men have this ideal, and that most men with this ideal are high.

Part of the high man's defense against ego-alien passive dependency—it is not the love-seeking dependency of the lows—is the rigid value for work, and anxiety over dependency is expressed in the idea that overwork would drive one nuts (Projective Questions 1 and 4).

If dependency promotes a concern with love in the lows, it promotes a *concern with power* in the highs. One of the more direct forms in which high dependency is expressed is *submission to power figures.* Whereas the ego-assimilated dependency of the lows is expressed in their value for equali-

tarian relationships and social structures, the ego-alien dependency of the highs leads to the acceptance of absolute authority and to a value for authoritarian forms of social interaction. As shown in Projective Question 3 ("Great people"), what the highs admire most in others is power, strength, authority, rugged masculinity. While the aggressive-assertive needs of authoritarian individuals are the most conspicuous ones, the dependent-submissive needs are equally if not more important. In the Projective Questions, particularly 7 ("Last six months") and 8 ("Awe-inspiring"), it was the highs' deference to authority which was expressed most strongly.

The ego-alien passive dependency of the highs is expressed in another form in Projective Questions 1 ("Moods") and 4 ("Drive nuts"). In Question 1, the most unpleasant moods are those involving a feeling of helplessness and dependency in the face of a threatening or barren environment. The dependency comes to the surface but meets an unwelcome reception in the weak, superego-ridden ego: there are no persons toward whom it can be satisfyingly expressed; there is no differentiated affect to make it an enriching experience; there is only a vague anxiety which is actually based not on the external situation but on a deep inner conflict between the superego and the upsurging primitive dependency. It is as if to express the impulse would be to lose one's masculinity or even to undergo bodily harm. Similar conflicts are expressed in Question 4. Again we find the inability to look inward and the vague rumblings of ego-alien trends, including body anxiety and aggression as well as dependency.

5. *The Handling of Other Trends.* There is evidence that aggression, sex, curiosity, homosexuality, and other trends are handled by highs and lows in ways similar to those discussed above. One additional point should be made regarding aggression. It appears not to have undergone much real socialization in highs but has, rather, remained relatively crude, destructive, punitive, unsoftened by ego-assimilation. If the term "hostility" be used for the aggression found in lows, then the term "destructiveness" seems most appropriate for what exists in highs, especially as revealed in Questions 2 ("Desires"), 5 ("Crimes"), and 8 ("Awe-inspiring").

The results and interpretations discussed above must not be applied in a stereotyped way. It should be understood that, while *most* highs show *most* of the high variables, and similarly for the lows, there are numerous exceptions and numerous variations on the central theme. The personality prototype above was that of the pseudodemocratic high, and other patterns, such as the "fascist leader" or the "psychopath" will be different in many respects. It is believed, nevertheless, that the Projective Question technique has yielded results comparable, and congruent, with those of other techniques, and that it may profitably be used for the study of other personality structures.

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